THE BUDDHIST COSMOPOLIS

Lokesh Chandra

This book is a study of various aspects of Buddhism in its evolution and decimation in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, China, Japan and SE Asia, besides the general threat to cultural sovereignty and values in their erosion by globalism and sweeping technocratism.

Constant development and qualitative changes in iconography leading to the rise of royal attributes in the bejewelled Buddha images. Comparative archaeology of the Buddhist cosmopolis to explain regional variations, internalisation and innovation in Buddhist art, maṇḍalas of Vairocana and Trika Śaivism of Kashmir, are followed by a new interpretation of the genesis, expansion and trans-Indian contacts of the three major Buddhist universities of Nalanda, Vikramaśilā and Vidiśāgiri (modern Sanchi).

Beginning with Bamiyan to Sanskrit on the Silk Route, Khotanese panels, naya-maṇḍala in Khotanese verses identified with the help of the living practice in Japan, and Sasanian objects in the Shoso-in are related as the dynamics of the historic role of Buddhism to bring nations together.

The cultural space of Tibetan commencing with the translation of Sanskrit sutras, the correct name of Atiśa, the Kashmiri icons at the Hemis monastery, the beginning of scientific Tibetology by Kőrösi, and the studies of George Roerich as a catalyst to Tibetan researches in India are detailed herein.

Quadrilingual corpus of more than 10,000 Sanskrit mantras from the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the Cheena Bhavan at Santiniketan for the study of Chinese Buddhism in India, Sinocentrism and Chairman Mao, are discussed. A Japanese xylograph of the Sanskrit text of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha with interlinear Chinese meanings has been reproduced at the end of the book.

Chapters on Cambodia, Champa in the global vision of Classical India, and the Marine Silk Route or K'un-lun and the lighthouse of King Mūlavarman open new perspectives on this important region.

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THE BUDDHIST COSMOPOLIS

ŚATA-PIṬAKA SERIES

INDO-ASIAN LITERATURES

Volume 646

Reproduced in original scripts and languages
Translated, annotated and critically evaluated by
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आचार्य—रघुवीर—समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां
(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति—साहित्य—समुच्चय—
सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

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THE BUDDHIST COSMOPOLIS

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INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY OF INDIAN CULTURE
and ADITYA PRAKASHAN, NEW DELHI

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First published: 2014

ISBN 978-81-7742-139-2

Published by Aditya Prakashan, 2/18 Ansari Road, New Delhi – 110 002.

email: contact@adityaprakashan.com
website: www.adityaprakashan.com

Printed at Rakmo Press Private Limited, C-59, Okhla Industrial Area Phase-I, New Delhi – 110 020

Funding by IKS-MoE

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PREFACE

This volume brings together my new *scripta minora*. It begins with the royal attributes of Śākyamuni, traditionally termed his representation in sambhogakāya. From a kṣatriya prince to ascetic Śākyamuni, to Śākyasiṁha, and the gradual addition of more royal insignia to the Buddha are explained in the opening chapter. The second chapter deals with the comparative archaeology of the Buddhist heritage of sculptures, paintings and structures, in its immense spread over Asian lands. Each region can shed new light on the exhumed antiques, standing ruins and living traditions of other regions and solve problems that defy interpretation when considered in geographical isolation. The etymology of Śuddhodana in the Chinese and Tibetan translations as 'Precious Rice' or 'Pure Rice' has been reconsidered. The vanquishment of Māra by Lord Buddha parallels the burning of Smara (Cupid) by Lord Śiva. Apalāla the nāgarāja had to be suppressed for Buddhism to prevail in the Udyāna (Swat) area. He was Apollo the god of the Greeks who had to be subdued with the help of his father Zeus who accompanies the Buddha as Vajrapāṇi (p.30). The fourth chapter on internalisation and innovation in Buddhist art was written for a symposium in Ulanude, Buryatia (p.32). The Buryats speak of their country as the Land of Vajrapāṇi and hence its accent on the evolution of the art and cult of Vajrapāṇi. The fifth chapter is a prologue to Sung Min Kim's forthcoming book in which she interprets the Buddhist maṇḍalas in the light of Trika Śaivism of Kashmir. The interaction of different Indian philosophical schools was a constant phenomenon. Tibetan systems were being suffused with Śaiva elements, howsoever, infinitessimal. The sixth chapter brings out for the first time importance of the monastic complex of Sanchi as a major centre of Theravāda learning, Pali grammar and textual exegesis, from the third century BC to the twelfth century AC. It had a longer span of academic life than Nalanda and deserves detailed study by the upcoming university (p.51). The seventh chapter discusses the genesis of Nalanda as emanating from *ekayāna* of the Lotus Sutra, at the instance of monk Rājavaṁśa from TransGandhāra by the Gupta emperor Śakrāditya *alias* Kumāragupta. The eighth chapter is devoted to the Vikramaśilā University a prime seat of Vajrayāna, and its contributions to Tibetan Buddhism (p.60).

Lajjā-Gaurī, a breast-touching goddess and other votive goddesses are the theme of Dr. Seema Bawa's book. In the foreword I have suggested a change of nomenclature as well as a reconsideration of their crucial role to fulfill the need of a higher population to meet the demands of development (p.66). The tenth chapter is a short note on the Himalayas as the ascent of the mind and as a shelter when kingdoms were drenched in blood (p.68). Sanskrit vis-a-vis European languages, its westward spread as evidenced by hydronymy and Vedic deities in West Asia in the second millenium BC, and as the inspiration of the Buddhist cosmopolis are discussed at length in chapter 12 (p.71). Romany the language of the gypsies of Europe (p.101), maṇḍala of Durgā (p.106), Bamiyan as the jewel of Afghanistan's glory but now a haunting silence (p.109) are visions of time in its ruthless march.

Silk Route was more of a Sutra Route studded with Buddhist monasteries where Sanskrit scriptures and philosophical studies dominated. Chinese sought the original texts of Dharma on this international highway (ch.16, p.113). The next chapter outlines the fragments of Sanskrit texts found here, beginning with the grand vision of Aśoka who laid the foundations of this cultural flow by sending his son and ministers to Khotan. The Turks, Sogdians, Yüeh-chihs, Parthians, Khotanese, Kucheans and people of the Turfan oases were outstanding men of Buddhist letters whose contributions are alive in the East Asian lands (p.115). Chapter 18 identifies anew two wooden panels from Khotan as belonging to the Zoroastrian and to the Avataṁsaka traditions (p.130). Travels of Mrs. Sunita Dwivedi to western Central Asia and its Buddhist heritage are amplified in ch.19 (p.137). The close nexus of Sasanian Iran with India, its end after a rule of 427 years, its indelible mark on the life of T'ang China, and exotic Persian objects preserved in the Shoso-in repository of 8th century Japan are a glimpse of centuries throbbing with international contacts (p.149). The naya-maṇḍala in the Khotanese verses of Kim-śan has been identified from Japanese sources where it is a living tradition to this day (p.159).

The beginning of Indo-Tibetan contacts during the reign of Emperor Lha.tho.tho.ri in 373 AC with the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta were crowned by the establishment of the Commission for Translation under Emperor Khri.lde.sroṅ.brtsan in 814 AC which laid down the principles for the rendering of Sanskrit into Tibetan. This became the foundation of the immense corpus of Tibetan literary creativity (p.163). The correct name of Atiśa has been discussed from the colophons of his works (p.171). The Hemis monastery with its treasure of Kashmiri bronzes (p.177) and the foundation of Tibetology by Kőrösi Csoma Sandor and its impact on the study of East Asian Buddhist texts are the theme of chapters 24 and 25 (p.179). The Tibetan studies of George Roerich and the esoteric shimmer of Shambhala in the poetic writings of his father Nicholas Roerich (p.185) have been an inspiration to India to understand the rich heritage of Tibet. They have been waves of our consciousness to view Tibet as the profound depths of the mind in a clearly defined sovereignty of its own as distinct from that of China, in the Samye debate.

Emperor Ch'ien-lung had all the 10402 Sanskrit dhāraṇī-mantras, which had been transcribed into Chinese over centuries, collected in a quadri-lingual corpus of 80 fasciculi for the 80th birthday of his mother. Chapter 27 details this imperial project to comprehend the Sanskrit heritage of China alas! the last one in the classical tradition (p.201). Prof. Tan Yunshan established the Cheena Bhavan in Santiniketan and presented sets of the Chinese Tripiṭaka to four Indian institutions to promote the study of Chinese Buddhism (p.216). The next chapter 29 relates the sinocentrism of Chairman Mao (written by me in Nov 1965) with his dictum: "thunder in the East, strike in the West" (p.221). The Sanskrit text of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha with Chinese meanings of words on the left side, and pronunciation in katakana on the left has been reproduced on pages 303-380 from a Japanese xylograph. Cambodia the only country with the name of a sage, the only known SE Asian lighthouse (*ākāśadīpa*) of King Mūlavarman, and Champa in the global vision of Classical India (ch.31-33) pertain to SE Asia.

While it is a collection of researches on specific points of the art, literature and archaeology of Buddhism and Sanskrit in Central Asia, China, Japan, Tibet and SE Asia, it closes with the contemporary cultural scene across continents. General problems of culture in the contemporary consumerist ambience have been discussed as life and transcendence, cultural erosion by technocratic imperialism, the dominance of English as the twilight of European cultures, cultural sovereignty as an emerging paradigm and

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India's role in the inception of a new Western world-view. Amidst the turbulent waves of aggressive globalisation, the autonomy of cultures whispers in silence:

> I am also a drop of nectar
> With tomorrows inside.

Lokesh Chandra

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1. ROYAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE NIRMĀṆAKĀYA ŚĀKYAMUNI AND THE DHARMAKĀYA BUDDHAS

Prof. Claudine Bautze-Picron has done a detailed and perceptive study of the bejewelled Buddha in her latest book *The Bejewelled Buddha*. It was published by Sanctum Books, New Delhi, in 2010 as their inaugural *opus*. The author has divided the assignment of royal insignia to the Buddha in four phases:

First phase from the first century BC to the third century AC at:
  Bharhut: umbrella (*chattra* and garlands), umbrella and flywhisks (*cāmara*, p.10).
  Sanchi: umbrella and flywhisk
  AP: flywhisk and garlands
  Mathura: flywhisk, lions on a royal throne, umbrella (p.13).
Second phase from the fourth to the sixth century AC at:
  Gandhara and Greater Gandhara: (i) laurel wreath held by two cherubs (they have their counterpart in the Mediterranean tradition)
    (ii) umbrella and wreath
  Maharashtra: umbrella and/or wreath
  Phophnar and Sarnath: umbrella and garland
Third phase from the sixth to the eighth century AC at:
  Bejewelled Buddha in Bamiyan, Fondukistan
  Crowned Buddha from Parihāsapura (p.47)
  Two 'shoulder-effulgences' representing Sun and Moon (p.47)
Fourth phase from the ninth to the twelfth century
  Bodhgaya, Kurkihar, Antichak, and other places in Eastern India.

The assigning of royal emblems had its origin in the royal kṣatriya caste of the Buddha, his being a scion of the most venerated dynasty of Indian history the Ikṣvākus, the politico-economic imperative of the Yüeh-chih/Kushans to don the imperial mantle and philosophical sophistication of Buddhism to counteract the Chinese concept of being barbarians, the Buddhist expedient means (*upāya-kauśalya*) of interiorisation of Solar deities prevalent in ancient NW India, and other factors.

Buddha as a scion of the Ikṣvāku family. The royal connection of the Buddha is a frequent assertion in the Sutras and other Buddhist texts. The very first stanza of the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa says: "There was a king of unconquerable Śākyas, Śuddhodana by name, of the race of Ikṣvāku and the peer of Ikṣvāku in might". This has been translated from Tibetan and Chinese versions, as the Sanskrit is lost. Johnston (1936:2.1) has restored it tentatively as:

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Aikṣvāka Ikṣvāku-sama-prabhāvaḥ
Śākyeṣv aśakyeṣu viśuddha-vṛttaḥ |
Priyaḥ śarac-candra iva prajābhyaḥ
Śuddhodano nāma babhūva rājā ||

Thus the Buddha was a descendant of the Solar Dynasty of the Ikṣvākus, from which came Lord Rāma. The commentary on Jātaka 1.49 says that the Bodhisattva saw that the khattiyas were the highest caste, so he selected the khattiya caste to take birth. Among them the Licchavīs, Mallas, Videhas and Śākyas were noted for their well-organised system of government, with the Śākyas excelling them all (EBu. 6.204). Naturally his choice fell on the Śākyas as the appropriate clan to incarnate. Sêng-yu compiled a *History of the Śākya Family* between the years 502-557 (T2040). He says: "In India the population is divided into four castes: the kṣatriya warriors, brāhmaṇa scholars and sages, vaiśya traders, and śūdra agriculturists. The first two classes are noble and the last two are low. The Buddha is never born in a class other than the first two. Having appeared in a troubled age when the warriors were most honored, the Buddha preferred to be born in this class." Here the kṣatriyas are mentioned first and the brāhmaṇas are second. Three passages in the *Shih-chia ju-lai ying-hua shih-chi* 'Life of Nirmāṇakāya Śākyamuni', compiled by Pao-ch'eng in the Ming period from Chinese Sutras translated from Sanskrit from the third to the ninth century, state that the Buddha was born in the Śākya clan of the Kāma tribe (Lokesh Chandra, *Life of Lord Buddha from Chinese Sūtras Illustrated in Ming Woodcuts*, New Delhi, 2010: 33, 175, 177). It is repeated in the 'Sutra on the Cause and Effect of the Past and Present' translated by Guṇabhadra between 435-443 AC (p.174): the Buddha is an ex-prince of the Kāma tribe and the Buddha of the Śākya clan (p.175). The same Sutra affirms again: Siddhārtha, the son of Śuddhodana of the Kāma tribe, has become the Buddha of the Śākyas (p.177). In the Mahāmāyūrī 93 a locality is called Kāmada. The Kāma tribe seems to have hailed from the area around the modern town of Kamdesh the tribal headquarters of the Kam Kafirs, about 2000 feet above the right bank of the Bashgal river, where Robertson spent an year in 1895 (George Scott Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-kush*, London, Lawrence and Bullen Ltd., 1896, p.19). "Katis and Kāms speak different dialects of the same language (*Katī*)" (Morgenstierne, Some Kati myths and hymns, *Acta Orientalia* 1953:21.161). The migrations, history, kinship organisation, political leadership, social ranks among the Kam are discussed in the *Cultures of the Hindu-kush*, ed. Karl Jettmar and Lennart Edelberg (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974).

To revert to Sêng-yu who says that "having sprung up from the blood of Gautama the Younger, they took the name of Gautama and that of Kāma from the sugarcane field. Later the family adopted the clan name Śākya". Kāma has been discussed above. The sugarcane field refers to the Ikṣvāku dynasty, from *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane'. The name Ikṣvāku occurs as early as the Ṛgveda 10.60.7 and Atharvaveda 19.39.9. Their affluence, might and renown beyond the borders of India was due to the sugar that was in great demand and was a flourishing export from very ancient times.

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The primacy of the kṣatriyas is well attested in the Pali Tripiṭaka. Whenever the four castes are refered to, the khattiyas always occur first, e.g. in Saṁyutta-nikāya 1.98, Dīgha-nikāya 3.82, Aṅguttara-nikāya 2.86, etc.

Dīgha-nikāya 3.97, Majjhima-nikāya 1.338, Saṁyutta-nikāya 1.153, 2.284 say:

The khattiya is the best among folk
Who put their trust in lineage.

The Buddha was a kṣatriya and his right to teach a new path was canonised by the presence of Brahmā who is the 'Lord of the Earth' (*Brahmā Sahāmpatiḥ*, *sahā* 'earth'). Brahmā addressed him as Tathāgata and requested him to deliver his message to humanity and other sentient beings. The way of meditation was evolved by the kṣatriyas as early as the Upaniṣads. The kṣatriyas assert their right to teach in general and in cases even brāhmaṇas. An interesting episode is that of the kṣatriya King Pravahana giving instructions to the brāhmaṇa Āruṇi in the Chāndogya-upaniṣad 5.3.7. Āruṇi says: "Because, as you have told me, O Gautama, this doctrine has never been in circulation among the brāhmaṇas upto the present time . . ." He refers to King Pravahana as Gautama. Lord Buddha was also Gautama. As a kṣatriya Buddha must have been steeped in the Upaniṣads. While the brāhmaṇas were involved in complex rituals of sacrifice to the Devas, the kṣatriyas were seeking enlightenment in the contemplation of Brahman, or in the expansion of consciousness (Brahman is from the root *bṛṁh* 'to expand'), in the incandescence of being that is beyond matter and beyond mind. The Laṅkāvatāra distinguishes five vehicles of transcendence: devayāna: the way of ritual to the Devas or Vedic saṁskāra (brāhmaṇas), brahmayāna: the way of contemplation of Brahman (kṣatriyas), śrāvakayāna, tathāgatayāna: Buddhism, and pratyekayāna:

devayānaṁ brahmayānaṁ śrāvakīyaṁ tathaiva ca |
tāthāgataṁ ca pratyekaṁ yānān etān vadāmy aham ||

(D.T. Suzuki, *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*, 1930:360, 408). The continuity of brahmayāna of the Upaniṣads in Buddhism was a kṣatriya phenomenon.

Earth Goddess as a symbol of sovereignty. The Earth Goddess plays an important role as witness in support of the Bodhisattva on the greatest of all occasions, namely, the attainment of Enlightenment or Buddhahood. When Māra challenges the Buddha-to-be to provide witness to his Enlightenment, he touches the Earth as witness to his Bodhi. She emerges to attest the magnitude of his spiritual enlightenment (Lokesh Chandra, *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* 15: 4295). Why did the Buddha invoke the Earth Goddess? She is the goddess who grants dominion to kings, and can be seen emerging between the feet of Caturānana Viṣṇu to bless the King and Queen in sculptures e.g. Kashmir ca. 800 AC, Kashmir 9th century, Chamba 9th century (Pratapaditya Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir* 1975: 9, 10, 84). The Earth was the Goddess of Regnum. Royal symbolism was a constant underlying milieu in the life of the Buddha and in the ongoing evolution of Buddhism.

The Tathāgata is surrounded by five great goddesses in the opening paragraph of the Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra representing learning (Sarasvatī), prosperity (Śrī), security (Hārītī), dynastic deity residing on the banks of Nairañjana (mahākuladevatā), and Dṛḍhā or Mahāpṛthivī-devatā. The five have clear nuances of the concerns of the state. They indicate the princely modes of the mind of the Buddha. The Sūtra (ed. Joh. Nobel p.3) says that they will protect the devotees of the Sutra with hoards of yakṣas (*teṣāṁ rakṣāṁ kariṣyanti anekair yakṣa-koṭibhiḥ*). The five goddesses occur twice:

nidāna p.1 (in the assembly)		p.3 st.13 (as protective goddesses)
Bodhisattva-samuccayā	mahākuladevatā	Nairañjana-vāsinī
Sarasvatī	mahādevatā	Sarasvatī mahādevī
Śrī	mahādevatā	×
Dṛḍhā	mahāpṛthivī-devatā	Dṛḍhā pṛthivī-devatā
Hārītī	mahādevatā	Hārītī bhūta-mātā

Bautze-Picron has rightly remarked on p.39 n.94 that "the presence of the Earth-Goddess in the iconography of the Buddha constitutes a further link to his royal nature".

From Śākyamuni to Śākyasiṁha. There are two names of Buddha: Śākyamuni to denote his hieratic aspect as a sage, and Śākyasiṁha to stress his royal birth. He was not only a *muni* but also a *siṁha* 'lion'. The Bodhicaryāvatāra 7.55 says: "I have to conquer all. I am not to be conquered by anyone. I have to keep up this dignity, for I am a disciple (*suta*) of the Jinasiṁha (= Śākyasiṁha)":

mayā hi sarvaṁ jetavyam, ahaṁ jeyo na kenacit |
mayaiṣa māno voḍhavyo, jinasiṁha-suto hy aham ||

The term Śākyasiṁha occurs in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, Lalita-vistara and Mahāvastu. The ever-victorious march of Buddhism over vast geographic regions was due to the royalty of various ethnicities, and they were keen to accentuate the royal constituents in the iconography of the Buddha.

The Yüeh-chih strategy of Buddhism. The Yüeh-chih viewed the Buddha as a royal personage. Bautze-Picron says: "as a consequence of the Kuṣāṇa views of the royalty that the Buddha acts as if he were a king, and hence sits in pralambapādāsana on a throne in the way introduced by the Kuṣāṇa rulers" (p.21). The Kushans were a clan of the Yüeh-chihs. Benjamin (2002.v) points out that the probable ancestors of the Yüeh-chihs established a powerful federation in present day Xinjiang and Ganur, based on trade in jade and horses. The Yüeh-chih enjoyed military superiority over their neighbours and established a strong kingdom. In 162 BC the Hsiung-nu inflicted a devastating defeat on them and converted the skull of the Yüeh-chih king into a drinking cup (p.71). The Hsiung-nu expelled them and they migrated through the Ili Valley, Ferghana and Sogdia to northern Bactria. They conquered the Greek state of Bactria. Inspite of the fact that the Yüeh-chih were the backbone of the defence of China in supplying them Ferghana horses for the cavalry as well as bringing jade which was crucial for all imperial ceremonies, they were regarded as "barbarians" by the Chinese. This hurt their pride and diminished their status. They showed their cultural hegemony to the Chinese in the sophistication of Buddhist thought and its regal origins in the epic dynasty of the Ikṣvākus and thereby came to be respected as civilised. Monks headed by śramaṇa Shih-li-fang brought over two hundred Buddhist sutras to the capital of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti who ruled from 221-208 BC. He was the 'First Emperor' who united China by making the Great Wall, abolished all dialects of the Sinic family, created one spoken and literary language that has come down to this day, and had all the Confucian Classics destroyed. He did not accept the Sutras and all the monks were imprisoned. Later on, a Yüeh-chih crown prince instructed a Chinese envoy to the Yüeh-chih court and Ching Lu of the Imperial Academy in Buddhist Sutras in the year 2 BC (Zürcher 1972:24). Han Emperor Ming (ruled 58-75 AC) sent Ts'ai yin and Academician Qin-Jing to invite Buddhist masters to China. They met Indian monks Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmaratna in the Yüeh-chih kingdom and escorted them to China in 67 AC. The Emperor built the White Horse Monastery for them on the outskirts of the capital Loyang to preach, as stated in the Later Han Annals and in the Wei Annals (Tan Chung & Geng Yinzeng, *India and China: Twenty Centuries of Civilizational Interaction and Vibrations*, New Delhi, 2005: 287). The name of the monastery itself indicates that horses and Buddhism were a bi-unity in the Yüeh-chih mind.

Buddha depicted in bhadrāsana of the Kushan kings. The Yüeh-chih divided the kingdom of Bactria into five chiefdoms. Around 139BC the imperial envoy of the Former Han dynasty Chang Ch'ien visited the Great Yüeh-chih of Bactria. The Kushans, who were one of the five chieftains, defeated the other four and established the Kushan dynasty in the mid-first century. Yüeh-chih monks Laugākṣin, Chih-ch'ien, Dharmarakṣa were the early translators of Sutras into Chinese.

The Kushans were proud of being of royal descent, and to them the worship of Buddha the great kṣatriya, was a matter of dignity and of self-identity. They introduced the image of the Buddha sitting in bhadrāsana on a throne in the way they sat (Bautze-Picron 2010:21). The term pralambapāda is a modern coinage of A.K. Coomaraswamy and it does not occur in any Buddhist text. The correct term is bhadrāsana, which is common in Tibetan iconographic texts in a literal translation: *bzaṅs.poḥi.ḥdug.staṅs*, and also as *hor.ḥdug* which means 'the āsana of the Hor or Central Asians' (N.G. Ronge & Loden Sherap Dagyab, *Ikonographie und Symbolik des tibetischen Buddhismus*, Teil AII.222, Wiesbaden). Bhadra is a Sanskritisation of Bactria.

The annotations of Hsüan-tsang and I-tsing clarify that Bhadra was the name of a village in their time (see details in my Trapuṣa and Bhallika, *Cultural Horizons of India* 1993: 3.140-147). The correct term bhadrāsana should be used in place of the newly coined pralambapādāsana. Moreover, bhadrāsana indicates the origin of the sitting posture. The Kushans consciously expressed their imperial style in many ways: they put a headline on the Brāhmī script to crown it as the imperial script. The Yüeh-chih and the Kushans worshipped the Buddha as a kṣatriya of royal blood in conformity with their imperial glory (as distinguished from clan chieftains) and the regalisation of Buddha's iconography was an expression of their pride and power.

From the historic Buddha to the transcendental Buddhas. Bautze-Picron discusses the constant evolution of the images of various transcendental Buddhas, with the iconic attributes and mudrās becoming more specifically defined. Theogony was a fundamental process in the *upāya-kauśalya* strategy of Buddhism to link the outside with the inside. The alterities were not taken as opposing metasystems, but they were interiorised within the system. The outside was subjectified and it became the inside of the inside. The royal cults of the NW of India were heliotropic, dominated by solar worship. The heliotropic evolution can be tabulated as follows:

Maitreya
↓
Amitābha
↓
Rocana (of the Avataṁsaka tradition)
↓
Vairocana

Mitra or Mithra became Maitraka (which gave the SinoJapanese Miroku) or Maitreya, who sat in the bhadrāsana posture of Bactria. He is also known as Ajita who is Mithra Invictus. In his Chinese translation of the Lotus Sutra, Kumārajīva translates Ajita as Maitreya. His paradise Tuṣ-ita can be a camouflage of Tuṣ-āra (Tukhari-stan). The idea of a divine saviour in the future is prominent in the Iranian pantheon. Maitreya's mount is a peacock, which reminds us of the Peacock Throne of Iran down to the present. The stūpa represents the state: stūpa is Crown in the Ṛigveda, while his other attribute of the close-necked flask (kuṇḍikā) is the earlier wine-flask, as wine was used in Mithraic rituals. Later it became the bread and wine of the Christian sacrament. Mus (1935: 418f) takes up Śākyamuni and Maitreya in 'royal' ritual and the assimilation of the quality of the Buddha to royal dignity (p.429).

Amitābha replaced Śākyamuni, and the historic Enlightenment was transcended into Supreme Illumination. The distant corridors of etymology provide links that are missing in the texts. *Amita* is 'infinite, transcendent' and *-ābha* is 'light, illumination'. The component *-ābha* can be seen in *af* of *af-tab* 'sun' (*af* 'sun', *tab* 'shine' Skt. *tāpa*, compare *meh-tab* 'moon': *meh* 'moon' Skt. *mās* + *tab* 'shine'): an indication that the name Amitābha originated in the NW of ancient India. The Pure Land of Amitābha is transcribed as Hsü-ho-mo-t'i (= Sudhāmatī) in Chinese and translated as An-lo, in which the Chinese character for *An* is the same as the ethnicon for Parthia.

Amitābha evolved into Rocana, the thousandth of the Thousand Buddhas of the Gaṇḍavyūha. No specific characteristics were attributed to him, except that he was an *abhyucca-deva* or colossus, a concept that must have come from Hellenised regions through the Tokharians who spoke a

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European language. The gigantic images of Bamiyan inspired the Northern Wei colossi in Lung-men which were Lu-she-na (= Rocana) of Buddhabhadra's translation of the Avataṁsaka done in 420-421 from a manuscript secured in Khotan.

Vairocana or 'Great Sun' as the Cakravartin. A further evolution was the several types of Vairocana with well-defined attributes. The family descent of Śākyamuni was a crucial factor in the development of heliocentric Buddhas, besides the imperial role of the Sun in the NW. As Lord Buddha was a scion of the Solar Dynasty of the Ikṣvākus, the transition from Śākyamuni to Vairocana was inherent in the lineage of the Enlightened One. Vairocana means 'The Sun', and the Sino-Japanese translation of Vairocana is *Dai-nichi* 'Great Sun'. By this time definitive iconic attributes, related to specific texts, had become the norm. Thus some types of Vairocana discussed by Bautze-Picron can be correlated to different textual traditions:

Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, crowned, hands in samādhi-mudrā (different from the dhyāna-mudrā),
  from the Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra
  main deity of the Mahākaruṇā-garbhadhātu-maṇḍala
  Bautze-Picron (p.54 n.41) says that this maṇḍala integrates two aspects of nirmāṇa-kāya in the Śākyamuni quarter and sambhoga-kāya in the central quarter of Abhisambodhi-Vairocana. Śākyamuni represents the originating Buddha and the trikāya is not applicable here.
Vajradhātu-Vairocana, crowned, hands in bodhyagrī-mudrā AKA
  jñāna-muṣṭi-mudrā, from the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṁgraha (STTS)
  main deity of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala
  The bodhyagrī-mudrā is specified in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī §19. It is illustrated in Śubhākarasiṁha's Gobu-shingan pantheon.
Durgati-pariśodhana Vairocana, hands in dharmacakra-mudrā, from the Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana-tantra
Sarvavid Vairocana with four faces, crowned, hands in samādhi-mudrā hold a cakra.

There are 37 types of Vairocana in my *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* 13:3770-3829. The author Bautze-Picron has taken into consideration the icons *per se*, without correlating them to the steady evolution of texts which contributed to ever-renewing (i) philosophical formulations, (ii) ritual to accompany the new thought system with new rites, mantras, mudrās, (iii) new iconography of the main deity and its entourage. As pointed out above, every Vairocana belongs to a specific root-tantra. The Tibetan tradition of the Nyingma sect divides the evolution into two grand divisions of (i) inner tantras which include yab.yum deities in conjugal embrace, and (ii) outer tantras which pertain to Amitābha, and various manifestations of Vairocana. While the first are erototropic or derive from orgiastic practices, the second are phototropic or centred around solar worship.

State and sacred palladia. Vairocana in his designation as Ekākṣara Cakravartin (Jap. *Ichiji Kinrin*) sits on seven lions with the hands in bodhyagrī mudrā and is surrounded by seven

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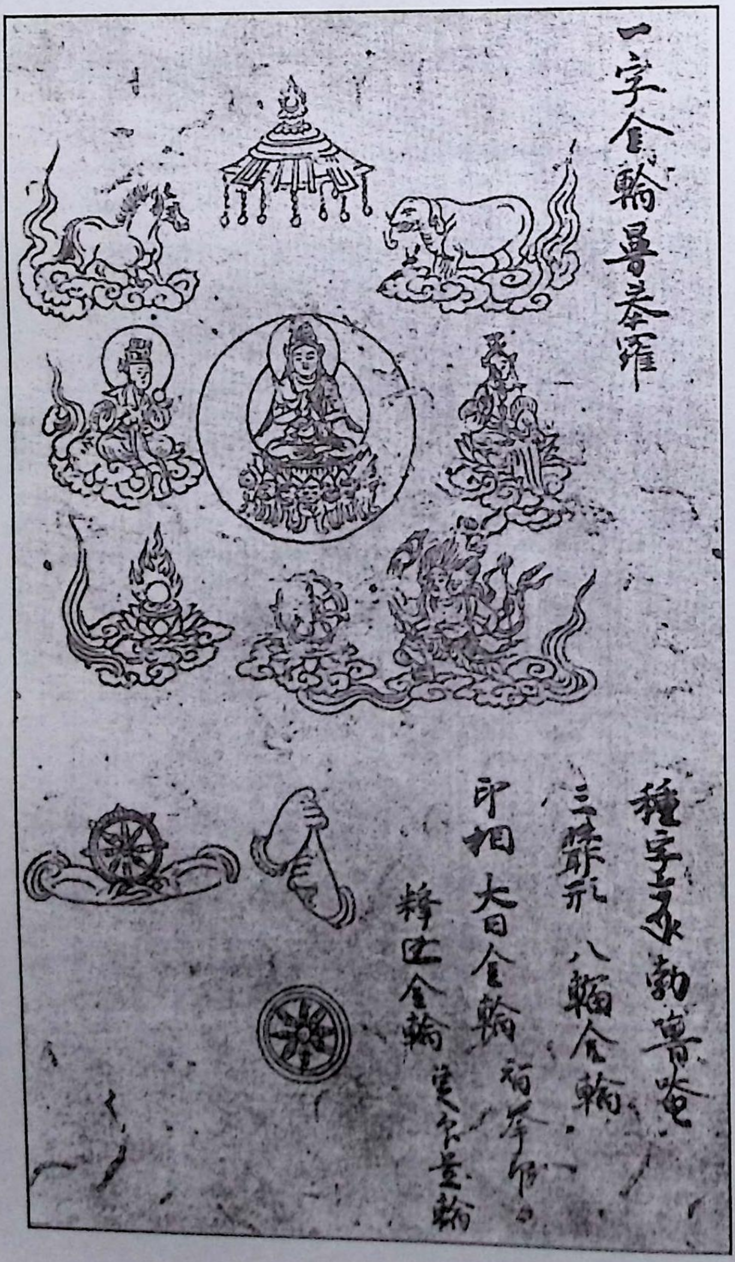
constituents of the state. His symbol is a cakra in dhyāna-mudrā. He is illustrated in several Buddhist pantheons and his images are found in Japan. His representation from the Shoson-zuzō by Shinkaku (1117-80 AC, TZ.88:7) is illustrated below:

	chattra (imperial umbrella)	
horse (cavalry)		elephant (one of the four constituents of the army)
queen (continuity of the dynasty)	VAIROCANA	prime minister
cintāmaṇi (prosperity)	cakra (imperium)	general of the armed forces (defence)


一字金輪曼荼羅
種字 勃嚕唵
三摩耶 八輻金輪
印相 大日金輪 智拳印
釋迦金輪 定印蓋輪

The residence of Vairocana is equated with the metropolis of a cakravartin which has seven ramparts made of gold, silver, beryl, crystal, ruby, coral, and one of all jewels. Kuśavatī is surrounded by such seven enclosures in the Dīghanikāya. Kuśavatī can stand for the capital (*vatī)* of the Kushans (*kuśa*). The central lotus enceinte of Vairocana in the Mahākaruṇāgarbha-maṇḍala has seven lines of different colours representing the seven precious metals and stones. The statues of the bejewelled Buddha have to be reconsidered in the light of comparative iconography. It is not "Buddha as Vairocana" (Bautze-Picron p.141), but a new Transcendental Tathāgata / Jina / Buddha, representing a new order based on the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṁgraha or other texts. The maṇḍala is an architectural structure, and hence the central parts of the "maṇḍalas are square" (Tucci 1949: 1.249), while the outer parts are round and represent the psychic elements: circle of flames (*jvālāvalī*) to burn the sins, *vajrāvalī* to represent that the practitioner has become a vajrasattva, and the circle of lotuses (*padmāvalī*) that the devotee has attained the full purity of heart to approach the sanctum.

Bautze-Picron (p.24) interprets *devaputravat* in the inscription of one of the Sarnath images as: "the one who possesses devaputras, those born of the gods" I would like to translate the term as "like a devaputra". Devaputra is a translation of the Chinese 'Son of Heaven' for the Emperor. The portrait of Kaniṣka is inscribed *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputro Kānishko*, where he is the Indian mahārāja, Iranian rājātirāja, and Chinese devaputra. Thus the Sarnath image was like that of a devaputra or emperor. Statues were donated at Sarnath and Kauśāmbī early in the reign of Kaniṣka (John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans*, 1967:144).

The close connection of the state and Buddhist statuary is pointed out by Bautze-Picron (p.56 n.48). The crowns of various figures of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in the Gobu-shingan of Śubhākarasiṁha (637-735 AC) recall the crown of Sūrya from Khair Khaneh (Afghanistan) dated to the late fourth or early fifth century.

Internetting texts and iconics. Bautze-Picron uses the term vajraparyaṅk-āsana. The Niṣpanna-yogāvalī has *vajraparyaṅka* and *sattvaparyaṅka*, where *paryaṅka* means a mode of sitting. The suffix āsana is tautology and should better be avoided. Correct technical terms have become known from a number of Sanskrit Buddhist texts. We need to study and correlate them to graphic representations. For this the vast Tibetan and Japanese oeuvre on theography will have to be compared.

The historic Śākyamuni and the multiple Transcendental Buddhas who evolved over the centuries like Maitreya, Amitābha, Rocana, and Vairocana have to be contradistinguished on the basis of attributes. As there are very few inscriptions in India that define their nomenclature, the texts in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan as well as images in these regions can help us to name the specific Buddhas individually, rather than as developments of the historic Śākyamuni.

The book of Bautze-Picron is a model of a comprehensive approach, as well as of precision. She has covered India and SE Asia, and at times compared them with the extensive Sino-Japanese evidence. It is a crowning *magnum opus* on the culmination of the Buddha *paré*, from being surrounded by elements of royal paraphernalia to being fully jewelled and crowned. A work that provokes, raises questions, and inspires further study of the enigmas of mantrayāna, Uttarāpatha (NW of ancient India), the Kushans and the silence of Buddhist statuary over the centuries and climes, that once were the light that gave life to everything, and were the apotheosis of power and purity, of statecraft and spirituality.

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2. "COMPARATIVE ARCHAEOLOGY" OF THE BUDDHIST COSMOPOLIS

The awakening curiosity of the humanistic traditions of the Renaissance in the 15th century gave rise to archaeological excavations as part of an interest in the history of ideas in Classical Greece and Rome. The philosophical orientation of archaeology centered around the Classical lands, and by extension to the Biblical lands. The very first archaeological excavations were organised in Greece, and that too immediately after its liberation from Ottoman domination in 1828. Likewise Buddhist archaeology represents the twin aspects of classical archaeology: the fine arts or museums branch and the scholarly branch, wherein excavations can be explained in terms of extensive and intensive literature not only in Sanskrit and Pali, but also in Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Simhalese, Burmese, Cambodian, Thai, Old Javanese, etc. All of them contribute to comprehend the materials exhumed. Buddhism has been human endeavour to reconstitute itself free from theocentric despotism. Buddhist liberalism awakened open paradigms, for example, sinocentrism reached out to the multiple Buddhist paradises of Sukhāvatī, Abhirati and so on. The Chinese quest for Sutras across different lands became cosmopolitan sharing. Buddhist archaeology is pan-Asian and represents the glittering profusion of masterfully faceted diamonds to represent the dazzling relativity of multiple lands. The antiquities of Buddhism extend over twenty former and present states of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Central Asian region with "36 kingdoms" according to Chinese annals, Parthia, China, Vietnam, Korea, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia, Buryatia, Kalmykia, Bhutan, SriLanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Indonesia.

The pan-Asian study of immense treasures of the "world as a jewelled buddha-field" in the words of the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa can contribute to a more precise and more subtle interpretation of archaeological discoveries from the Buddhist sites of Asia. True to the contemporary spirit of globalisation, the profound silence of the monastic remains will become a dazzling reality of several lands beaming in the fraternity of values. The antiques exhumed from historic sites, and the standing monuments will find meaning in a social, political and philosophical context by the immense corpus of the written heritage in more than twenty languages, each supplementing the others, filling in the gaps and providing linkages of each other's lacunas. Buddhist archaeology with its exhumed materials, ruined monuments with architectural grace, sculptures and murals, and vast written resources are reminiscent of the flow of historic time, in the passion of the eyes, the essence of thought in the philosophic moorings of the Avataṁsaka, Prajñāpāramitā, the Lotus Sutra, Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, the Suvarṇa-bhāsa and thousands of other sutras and śāstras. Whenever I traversed the vast Buddhist world, monks and academics had a perennial question: why do Indian scholars not study our traditions, as they will be able to enlighten us on problems that stem from the long pre-Buddhist Indic traditions taken as well-known and hence not spoken of in the texts of

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Buddhism. The complexity and sophistication of Buddhist archaeology in several countries with its ineffable miracle of time, space, volume and mind can be understood more precisely in a global elucidation. International discourse on the "Comparative Archaeology" of Buddhist themes has to be a domain like the well-known discipline of "Comparative Linguistics".

The multi-national archaeology of Buddhism resonates inextricable complexity of thought and morphology, which can be clarified only by a comparative study of individual themes in several countries and across many centuries. To give an example. The painting from the dome of the Kakrak Cave temple in Afghanistan can be identified only from the Amitāyus-sūtra translated into Chinese by Saṅghavarman in 252 AC. They are the Twelve Light Buddhas (Chin. Kuang-fo) in the cycle of Amitāyus. The last translation of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha into Chinese was done by Fa-hsien of Kashmir in 991 AC, which enumerates thirteen epithets of the central Amitāyus with Twelve Light Buddhas. The Twelve Light Buddhas are still worshipped in the Pure Land Sect in Japan.

When the Taliban blew up a stone statue of the Buddha in one of the caves near the Bamiyan Valley, hundreds of fragments of manuscripts were rescued by local people taking refuge in the caves. They are in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts and date between the first and the seventh century. They come from a library of the Mahāsāṅghikas. These five thousand fragments on palmleaf, birch-bark and vellum embody the oldest traces of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit. The Japanese Broadcasting Station NHK showed the site, the codices and the pots in which some of the texts were found. Indian scholarship needs to take interest in this discovery of manuscripts of the earliest period from the Gandhara region for the first time.

The new discoveries in Central Asia during the last fifty years by Chinese archaeologists have brought up hundreds of Kharoṣṭhī tablets from Niya in Gandhari Prakrit. They are unique in being the only administrative documents of the second century in any Indian language. Wherever the Chinese excavate in Xinjiang they find Sanskrit documents and they hope that someday an international seminar on "Sanskrit on the Silk Route" will take place. The antiquities discovered in the first quarter of the 20th century by Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein, Pelliot and others still await precise identification. For instance, the ivory plaque from Yotkan in the Sven Hedin Collection at the Ethnographical Museum at Stockholm can be identified only by the series of 132 Ngor maṇḍalas from Tibet as Vajravārāhī and confirmed by sādhana 217 of Advayavajra in the Sādhanamālā. The plaque could have been enshrined in a royal chapel and worshipped to preempt the clouds of aggression hovering over Khotan in the 10th century. Dr. Amarendra Nath's paper on the pan-Asian context of Mahāmāyūrī is a commendable attempt to study this Goddess of Protection, one of the Pañca-rakṣā, whose earliest depiction from Japan goes to the ninth century. The Tokharian mummies in the Museum at Ürümchi come from Loulan where Sven Hedin dug Kharoṣṭhī tablets similar in language to those Stein found at Niya. It raises hosts of questions: does Gandhari Prakrit indicate that the Tokharians came from Tokharistan in Gandhara? Loulan was an important stop in the desert on the ancient route to the west. The Chinese commandery at Loulan ceased to function around 330 AC. The earliest mummy of the "Loulan Beauty" has been dated to 2000 BC. The parallelism of language and textile links form ties between these Central Asian mummies and the West.

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Indian archaeologists have to study their ethnicity, textiles and documents using Prakrit for administrative purposes.

I-tsing (635-713) wrote the lives of sixty monks who travelled to India in search of Dharma in the Great T'ang dynasty during his sojourn at Palembang on way home in 685. He mentions that master Hui-lun, native of Silla (Korea), visited a monastery which was in ruins and only its brick foundations were visible. It was called the Chih-na or Chīna Monastery which was built by Mahārāja Śrīgupta for Chinese monks. He was the founder of the Gupta dynasty and reigned in the fourth century. In the time of I-tsing there were more than twenty Chinese monks at the nearby monastery of Mṛgasthāpana. It would be interesting to investigate the site of these two monasteries, as Chinese monks used to come here by the sea route. The history of navigation of the South Seas by various nations and its descriptions in the lives of Buddhist monks is a fascinating chapter of transmission of ideas, goods, technologies and of who ruled the waves.

In 1987 relics of Lord Buddha were dug from the stupa at the Famen Monastery, whose original structure was constructed in 147 AC to house the holy *śarīra*. These relics are said to have been donated by Emperor Aśoka whose seated statue is shown handing them over to the Chinese emperor. This statue had been wrongly identified as that of Lakṣmī at an exhibition of the Famen Monastery at Taipei (Taiwan) where I saw it in 2010, alongwith various statues, objects and an estampage of the Chinese inscription detailing the history of the holy relics. Aśoka had exiled his ministers and a prince to Khotan, and the "Nidāna of the Extraction of the Eyes of the Prince of Aśoka" translated by Dharmanandi in 391 AC (K 1018) mentions that Kucha was "one of the parts of the great empire which Aśoka proposed to give over to his son Kuṇāla" (Watters 1904:1.59). Aśoka could have had contacts with China, and the relic excavated from the crypt of the Famen Monastery could be Aśokan. As early as the third century BC, a group of Buddhist monks headed by Shih-li-fang brought hundreds of sutras to the capital of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti (ruled 221-208 BC), First Emperor of China who built the Great Wall. The Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā of Kumāralāta, translated by Kumārajīva during 402-412, speaks of merchants of Taxila who traded with China and became very affluent (Edouard Huber, *Sutrālaṁkāra*, 1908:213f.). The finds from the crypt of the Famen Monastery deserve to be studied by Indian archaeologists and historians of art.

A large number of paintings from Tun-huang have been identified as those of Avalokiteśvara. They are standing, with their hands in añjali-mudrā in permanent worship. They do not seem to be Avalokiteśvara, but are votive bodhisattvas donated in the memory of departed dear ones by their relatives. Prof. Nirmala Sharma and me have proved this by the dedicatory Chinese inscriptions accompanying some of them. There are statues of bodhisattvas in añjali, sitting with their feet turned inside in the Central Asian style. They are clearly distinguished as dedicatory statues by their secular posture of sitting: they are deceased devotees represented as bodhisattvas dressed in a dhotī like the divine bodhisattvas.

The Six Principles of Painting of Hsieh-ho were related to the ṣaḍaṅga theory from a Sanskrit stanza in Yaśodhara's commentary on the Kāmasūtra 1.3.15. Hsieh-ho had enunciated these principles under the influence of the Tattvasiddhi movement begun by the disciples of Kumārajīva who translated Harivarman's Tattva-siddhi-śāstra in 411-412 AC. These principles have been interpreted as abstract concepts referring to the inner sensibility of the painter as well as formal elements of a figurative tradition. Their interpretation has been a problem in Chinese aesthetics due to the translation of the abstract nature of Sanskrit in uninflected Chinese. The Sanskrit *tattva* has been rendered as "is actually what-it-is" (Peter Way, How to read Xie Ho's Six Principles, in *East and West* 1997: 47.288). The present seminar is the first and unique in its synoptic view of Buddhist archaeology which of course includes art that enriches the caves of Ajanta, Tun-huang, Kizil, Borobudur and hundreds of other monuments. This holistic view of the Archaeological Survey of India can elucidate the complex ambiguities of Asian monuments as well as bring nations closer in academic endeavours.

Let us take the Buddhist archaeology of Korea. I-tsing says: "Those who respect the cocks are the people of Korea, which is called Kukkuṭeśvara" (Takakusu's translation p.17). Korean annals state that a Princess of Ayodhyā arrived from India to Korea in 48 AC at Kimhae aboard a ship. She became the founder of the first Korean state of Karak, whose capital was named Gaya. From a tribal order Korea emerged a state. This powerful kingdom with a highly developed culture continued till its defeat by Silla in 532 AC. The rocks used as ballast to balance the boat still exist near the Haeunsa 'Temple of Sea Grace' built by the King and it is a national treasure today. This monument needs to be studied in its multiple facets and the huge stones have to be identified.

The last Indian ācārya to visit Korea was Dhyānabhadra (Chikong). He arrived in 1340s and established the Juniper Rock Monastery on the pattern of the Nalanda University. Its foundations can be seen near Seoul. An inscription at this monastery dated 1378 records the life and work of Dhyānabhadra and informs us that the King of Kanchi was his nephew. The inscription is a veritable history of Buddhism in 14th century India, as he travelled to Buddhist centres at Kanchi, Dvāravatī the capital of Hoysala Ballālas, Gujarat, Bengal, and Jalandhar in Panjab before going to China and Korea. The Monastery deserves to be excavated by a joint Indo-Korean team. Dhyānabhadra was the 108th descendant of Kāśyapa, the first patriarch of Dhyāna Buddhism. It is a very important inscription for Buddhism in mediaeval India (Arthur Waley, New light on Buddhism in medieval India, in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 1.355-376).

The Onjōji Monastery of Japan has a scroll illustrating the iconography of the Ṛta-saṁhāra or Tattva-saṅgraha, dated 855 AC. It is a copy of the original scroll signed by Śubhākarasiṁha of Nalanda who lived from 637 to 735. It is the only known *signed* work of an ācārya of Nalanda.

The influence of the Gupta style (c. 320-475) spread with Indian and Nepalese craftsmen from the 7th century onwards. Brass and copper images from NE and NW India in Gupta style are displayed in the Li.ma Temple of the Potala Palace in Lhasa (Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, Hongkong, 1.56-57, 68f., 214, 394, 436-437). These icons need to be integrated into the history of the Buddhist art styles of Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Pala dynasty, and Late Gupta, radiating in Newar idiom. The artistic impulses from India had a lasting influence in the formation of Buddhist art of the Asian cosmopolis. The idea of convening this seminar is laudable in that it initiates a discussion of the internetting of the multiple strands of Buddhist antiquity as well as its continuous development, which will clarify lacunae of one tradition by supplementing it with another.

In 2010 the Government of Mongolia celebrated the 2200 years of the Hūṇa state in Mongolia. Mongolia has around 5000 Hūṇa tumuli and the tombs have textiles and other objects of historic interest. They should be of interest to India because of Hūṇa incursions. Emperor Kublai Khan (ruled 1260-94) invited the Prince-Artist Aniko to construct a variety of buildings in his capital of Beijing. The earliest of them is the White Stupa (Chin. Baita) of the Miaoying Monastery in Beijing dedicated in 1271. It is inscribed with a five feet high bījākṣara HRĪḤ which is visible from long distances and symbolises the might of the Chinese State: HRĪḤ is *Hari* 'Viṣṇu', *hari* 'sun' (representing the Solar Dynasty), and *hari* 'lion' the defence of the empire. The statue of Pañjara-nātha Mahākāla dated 1292 comes from the school of Aniko and Emperor Kublai Khan got its empowerment to defeat the Southern Sung and thus united north and south China, a unity that has come down to our times. The tradition of Aniko continued in Mongolia and culminated in the transcendent sculptures of the Head of Mongolian Buddhism Zanabazar (Skt. Jñānavajra), cast from 1683 onwards. These Mongolian sculptures are a continuation of the Indic tradition and follow ancient iconographic treatises. They represent a period when Buddhist art had vanished from India.

The kīrtti-stambha of Kumbha Rana at Chittor built in 1442-1449 is eighty feet high and commemorates a victory. Its graceful exuberance towering in many stories resembles a richly carved ivory. The earliest reference to the establishment of such a "pillar of glory" is commemorated in the Kĕlurak Inscription of the Śailendra King Saṅgrāma-dhanaṁjaya dated Śaka 704 (= 782 AC, stanza 9). It was *sarva-deva-mayaḥ* like the Chittor tower enshrining statues in its niches. The kīrtti-stambhas of the Nanzhao (653-937) and Dali kingdoms (937-1253) in the Yunnan province of China are replete with images and Sanskrit inscriptions. A comparative study of the concept of kīrtti-stambha will be possible in the new discipline of "Comparative Archaeology".

The so-called Kesariya terraced stupa is not a stupa but a Sumeru for a three-dimensional architectonic maṇḍala (*pura-maṇḍala*). The Sumeru with stūpa on top has been described in precise configuration in a Tibetan text published from Dharmasala in 1970 (*Byaṅ.chub.lam.gyi rim.paḥi dmar.khrid myur.lam.gyi sṅon-ḥgroḥi ṅag.ḥdon.gyi rim.pa khyer bde bklag chog: bskal.bzaṅ mgrin.rgyan zhes.bya.ba*). According to this text Sumeru has five terraces, three-storeyed eaved palace of Indra called Sudarśana, topped by a stupa. The Borobudur is the most outstanding monumental Sumeru, which I have detailed in my articles on Borobudur. The Niṣpanna-yogāvalī clearly states that the maṇḍalas were in a kūṭāgāra (eaved palace) atop Sumeru (*sumerūpari kūṭāgāras tasya madhye* . . . p.42 of the Sanskrit text). It is essential to treat every theme or category in a comparative study of the various Buddhist monuments and texts in different countries.

Emperor Aśoka sent his son Mahendra to preach Buddhism in SriLanka during the reign of King Devānampiya Tissa, with gifts including a *nandyāvarta*, which has so far defied an acceptable interpretation. *Nandyāvarta* is a six-storeyed palatial (*prāsāda*) building in the Mānasāra 24.24. Aśoka must have had an impressive palace constructed for King Devānampiya Tissa as a symbol of a new secular and sacred order of Buddhism. To interpret the shreds of information available in different countries with a Buddhist heritage, it is essential to evolve a comparative approach.

The Archaeological Survey of India collaborated with Cambodian archaeologists to restore the magnificent Ta Prohm. It was the Royal Monastery, or Rāja-vihāra according to the inscription, to sanctify the imperial power of Jayavarman VII. The central deity was Prajñāpāramitā sculpted in the likeness of his mother, accompanied by 260 deities in the jumble of galleries. It reflects the idea of a kīrtti-stambha with an olympian assembly of divinities, so that *śruti* and *smṛti* converge to inform power with virtue, as per the mantra of Prajñāpāramitā *oṁ dhīḥ śruti-smṛti-vijaye svāhā* in the Sādhanamālā.

The archaeology of Buddhism is a polychrome canvas of languages, stratum cultures, fusion of times, intersection of ethnicities and institutions, a verbal cosmos in a unity of the profound and the profane.

Presented at the 'International Conference on the Archaeology of Buddhism in Asia', New Delhi, held on 17-19 Feb 2012

3. ŚUDDHODANA AND ...

Śuddhodana. The name of the father of Lord Buddha, Śuddhodana has been rendered into Chinese as "Pure Rice", and also the same in Tibetan (*Zas.gtsaṅ*). The sandhi of Śuddha + odana will be Śuddhaudana (-a+-o = au). Śuddhodana has to be analysed as śuddha+udana where a+u = o = śuddhodana. *Udana* is a noun from the root *ud* 'to irrigate'. *Udanyati* means 'irrigates' in RV10.99.8, *udanyu* 'irrigating' in RV 5.54.2, 9.86.27. Thus Śuddhodana means one who makes pure water available for irrigation. Bhagīratha is famous for bringing Gaṅgā to earth to bless the land with irrigation. Prince Vijaya and his successors in SriLanka brought the knowledge of agriculture and the construction of reservoirs for irrigation. The sixth inscription of Mūlavarman from Borneo points out that he created a vast network for irrigation (*jaladhenuṁ* ... datvā vipreṣu rājendraḥ). *Jaladhenu* or channels of water are among the kinds of *dāna* in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Mahābhārata and other texts. See my discussion of the seven inscriptions of Mūlavarman in *CHI.*7.226-227.

Māra the profane Eros leads to yogic metamorphosis. Māra "is not the king of evil, but the king of love and life" (G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica* III/1.106). He is the inducer to temptation. Vimalaprabhā says that Māra is the conscience which attaches us to life, to passion. The word Māra is a variant of Smara 'the God of Love'. Aśvaghoṣa clearly says so in the Buddhacarita 13.2 (Johnston 1936:188).

yaṁ kāmadevaṁ pravadanti loke
citrāyudhaṁ puṣpa-śaraṁ tathaiva /
kāma-pracār-ādhipatiṁ tam eva
mokṣa-dviṣaṁ māram udāharanti //2//
Him whom in the world they call the God of Love,
Him of the bright weapon and also the flower-arrowed,
That same one, as the monarch of the activities of the passions
And as the enemy of liberation, they style Māra.

Buddha's victory over Māra reflects the burning of Cupid, which is a prime event in the legend of Śiva. Smaradahana is a full-length kāvya in Old Javanese and it has been a favourite theme of illustrated palmleaf manuscripts in Bali.

Māra symbolises the passions that overwhelm human beings and hinder the arising of wholesome roots (*kuśala-mūla*) and progress on the path of enlightenment. He is the lord of the sixth heaven of the Realm of Desire (*kāmadhātu*), sometimes depicted with a hundred arms and riding on an elephant. As Eros he is the irresistible impulse but there must be no interference in human striving towards integration beyond the bounds of time. He is also the personification of evil, a devil king who rules over a retinue of numerous devils of all kinds.

In Chinese, the word Māra is translated as 'robber of life", for Sanskrit *māra* means 'killing, death'. He is the embodiment of spiritual death. Death is an element in the perpetual flux in which life and death alternate, one working the other as phases of becoming in space-time, the bi-unity of energy from which all flows and by virtue of which all things continue.

Māra is a complex figure, symbolising both eros (as sigmatic s-*māra*) and death (*māra*), who has to be transcended by the most subtle and difficult practices of yoga to a mystical metamorphosis.

Bodhisattva Siddhārtha sat beneath the Bodhi Tree steadfast in his resolve to win perfect enlightenment. Then Māra, the King of Desire, who brings delight to the senses and clouds the intellect, shot an arrow at him and sent his daughters Lust, Delight and Thirst with his sons Confusion, Gaiety, and Pride to disturb the calm of his mind.

Māra's daughters, appeared as beautiful young maidens, begged him to abandon his life of detachment and return to the ease and pleasures of his kingdom. But through the powers of the Bodhisattva, they became transformed into old ugly hags.

Then Māra, bitterly afraid and ashamed of defeat, ordered his army to attack the Bodhisattva with spears of copper, flaming swords, and cauldrons of boiling oil. They came riding decaying corpses, and lashing out with hooks and whips and spiked wheels of fire. Some sprouted flames from every hair, or rode mad elephants through the tree tops. The earth shook, and the regions of space flashed flames. Yet whenever any implement or barbed flaming destruction came near the Bodhisattva, it turned into a rain of flowers, fragrant and gentle to touch. Then a voice from some celestial being addressed Māra: "O Māra, cease this vain fatigue. Throw aside enmity and retreat to peace. This sage will no more be shaken by you than Mount Meru by a fickle wind." Māra, beaten, ceased his torment, and the Sage's mind was still.

The Bodhisattva remained calm, not moving so much as an eye, smiling, free from all passion, hatred and confusion, unshakable as a king of mountains, his mind perfectly firm. He entered the gate of wisdom and answered the daughters of Māra. In the words of his biography the Lalitavistara:

I do not dwell with either passion or hatred;
I do not see anything of permanence, attraction, or self;
I do not dwell with what is pleasant or unpleasant;
Like the wind in the sky, my mind is completely free.
Were this world entirely filled with beings such as you,
Were I to live with demons for a kalpa,
Still no anger, desire, or ignorance would arise in me,
For Jinas abide in equanimity — their minds are like the sky.

Thus began the *First Watch.* As the east became grey, with consciousness withdrawn into the Infinite, Bodhisattva perceived a continuous vision of all his past lives and rebirths. In the *Second*

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Watch, He beheld all that lives, and the transient round of birth and death of all mankind. In the *Third Watch*, there came perception higher still, for He beheld the causes of the chain of existence and how all suffering proceeds from ignorance. Having thus perceived the world as it is, the Bodhisattva was perfected in wisdom. In him was completed the destruction of craving and desire, as a fire goes out for lack of fuel.

And so Siddhārtha "Accomplished of Aim" became the Bhagavān, the Tathāgata, the Sugata, the Anuttara Samyak Sambuddha — for he had obtained Perfect Enlightenment, Sambodhi.

Beyond the pain and pressures, the toil and tears of life, away from the illusory scene of transcience and impermanence, transcending loving and hating transitoriness of this world, was the Enlightened One, the Buddha. He had overcome the temptations of Māra and of his demons in their innumerable aspects, some terrifying, some monstrous and some voluptuous. The intense inner struggle of the Bodhisattva makes him an immediately human figure to us. Māra tries to break him even when he has attained complete enlightenment and tempts him to vanish into nirvāṇa and leave mankind in darkness. The Buddha is serene and motionless. He has passed the raging fury of illusory forms. He is supremely Enlightened, aware of the causes of suffering and of the way to attain liberation from them. He calls the Earth Goddess to witness by his earth-touching gesture or bhūmi-sparśa mudrā. By this gesture, he destroys all the demons of the earth.

Coming from the night of time, the Bodhisattva has become the Buddha, among men the superman, the supra-divine Being of exceptional grandeur. He has discovered the Truth beyond impermanence, pain, unreality and emptiness of appearances. The evil Māra discouraged, his heart bleeding from a secret wound, writes on the ground: 'Gautama the Ascetic has destroyed my empire'. The Buddha touches the Earth, impartial Mother of all, as witness to his Enlightenment, in solitude where he had no other witness to confirm.

Having become the perfectly and completely Enlightened One, nurtured by the experience of bliss, having burned the roots of all the propensities for doing wrong actions arising out of ignorance. With the blazing fires of virtue he consumed the forests of defilement. It is the ultimate metamorphosis of passing through untold rebirths and limitless perfectons, whereby Siddhārtha the Prince, Gautama the Ascetic becomes Buddha Śākyamuni. It is a memorable moment, the beginning of a new era for humanity. The Buddha has taught that which leads to the appeasement of passion, to serenity, wisdom and bliss (nirvāṇa).

Māra vanquished, the momentous Enlightenment of Lord Śākyamuni dissolves all phenomena into peace and tranquility, into active fragments of the interior life, the shadows of his sambodhi, away from the whirlwind of saṁsāra. Perturbing visions are nothing but mere images. Solid mountains, wandering clouds, singing birds are but forms of the relative. Form is Emptiness and Emptiness is Form (*rūpaṁ śūnyatā, śūnyatā eva rūpam*) says the Prajñāpāramitā. Forms transmigrate into Emptiness, they show no attachment to Form. They echo the land of Nowhere. No reflecting images soil the Enlightenment of the Solemn One, endowed with the bliss of tranquility, as he remains steady. The moment the Lord obtained omniscience, splendor illumined

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the world-realms. Absorbed in his Enlightenment, the Tathāgata thought: "The Dharma I have obtained is profound, it is the Dharma of a perfect and complete Buddha. It is peaceful, very peaceful, completely peaceful, full of contentment, but difficult to see, difficult to understand" (Lalita-vistara). Deep, peaceful, luminous and silent, free from the meanderings of mind and engrossment of forms is the human consciousness liberated from the turbulence of Māra. Māra dominates as the sovereign of *māyā*, and this *māyā* is not his own doing, but of a Supreme Being who hides in his desire to expand in life. In Mahāyāna, Māra unfolds himself in a quadruple series which symbolises four passions. Vimalaprabhā commentary on the Kālacakra-tantra says that Māra is the maculate conscience which has us attached to life and which drags us through life, the passion as opposed to renunciation, his kingdom is inside us (*tasmān māro nāma sattvānāṁ saṁsāra-cittaṁ.... māraḥ samalaṁ cittam*, end of the fifth chapter). He is the god of life and also the god of death, because one thing of necessity brings about the other. He is the king of *māyā*; *māyā* is *saṁsāra*; and all that which puts us on the way of liberation must of necessity surpass it.

Conversion of Nāgāraja Apalāla. *Apalāla-damana* or the suppression and conversion of Apalāla is not mentioned among the stories included in the Pali Canon in the Three Councils (*saṅgīti*). The Mahāvaṁsa 30.84 says that this episode was represented in the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa in SriLanka. Commentary on the Buddhavaṁsa 29 names Apalāla when the powers of the Buddha are discussed. Samantapāsādikā 4.742 recounts the story of *Apalāla-damana*.

In the Bhaiṣajyavastu (Dutt 3/1.2) of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya, the Buddha proceeds from the city of Rohitaka (mod.Rohtak) to subjugate Apalāla. He leaves behind Ānanda and is accompanied by Vajrapāṇi (*gato 'ham ānanda vajrapāṇi-sahāya uttarāpatham*). Divyāvadāna 348.20 says that the Buddha returned to Mathurā after converting (*vinīya*) Apalāla. Further on (385.3) it says that before his parinirvāṇa, the Buddha converted (*damayitvā*) the nāga, reached Mathurā and called Ānanda. The conversion is referred to in the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa 18.12 and in the Āṭānāṭiya-sūtra (Hoernle, *Ms. Remains* 27.3). In Samādhirāja-sūtra p.42 Apalāla Nāgarāja stands in the sky with flowers and jewels in his hand to honor the Buddha. Mahāmāyūrī 221.24, 247.3 lists Apalāla in the names of nāgas.

Hsüan-tsang relates the story of the conversion of Apalāla in Udyāna. Buddha "descended spiritually" at the fountain of Apalāla, took the vajra from Vajrapāṇi, and bet against the mountain-side. Apalāla was terrified, came out, heard the preaching and was converted. Eitel (1888:14) says that Apalāla was the guardian deity of the source of the Śubhavastu (mod. Swat) River.

The name Apalāla[1] has been translated into Tibetan as *Sog.ma.med* 'without hay or straw' (Mahāvyutpatti 3273). The Chinese translations of the name are discussed by G. Tucci (*East and West* 1958:9.281, 326) who points out that translators could not guess the exact meaning of the name. It seems that Apalāla is a Sanskritisation of the Greek god Apollo whose cult was widespread in the Hellenic lands, because he was foremost as an oracle and Delphi was his main sanctuary. Apollodotus was an Indo-Greek king who ruled in the second century BC and issued many coins. He is said to have murdered his father and drove his chariot through the blood of his father. This detestable parricide may have given rise to the form apa-lāla. The prefix *apa* expresses deterioration, inferiority, and *lāla* is the son of a maitreya and a brāhmaṇa woman (MW), in the derogative sense of hybrid offspring of heterogenous parents of a higher and a lower caste. Maitreya or maitreyaka is a mixed and degraded tribe, the offspring of a vaideha and an ayogavī whose business is to praise great men and announce the dawn by ringing a bell (Manu-smṛti 10.33). Coins of Apollodotus I and II have been found in Taxila (John Marshall, *Taxila* 1951:30, 31, 766-7, 799, 802-3, 859) with Apollo standing or seated.

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[1] In the Sanskritisation Apalāla, the root *lal* means 'to caress, to fondle', but with the prefix *apa-* 'down' it denotes 'deterioration, inferiority' (MW). In the Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira, *lālaka* means 'a king's jester'.

There could have been a sanctuary of Apollo on the source of the Swat River, which would have attracted a large number of devotees. The intervention of Apollo gave victory to the Lepiths when they were attacked. Apollo must have appealed to the Indo-Greek kings as the giver of victory and thus he came in the way of the expansion of Buddhism in Greater Gandhara. The parricide by Apollodotus could have occasioned the subjugation of Apollo in the legend of *Apalāla-damana* in Pali and Sanskrit texts. Zeus the father of Apollo became Vajrapāṇi to accompany the Buddha to convert Apalāla. The Greeks could circumvent Apollo, but from Zeus they asked "approval for those physical and moral qualities that together were designated by the word *arete*" (Pierre Devambez et al, *A Dictionary of Ancient Greek Civilisation*, London, 1967:321). The Buddhist tradition too celebrates the nobility of Vajrapāṇi in contradistinction to Apalāla.

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4. BUDDHIST ART: INTERNALISATION AND INNOVATION

As I sit down to pen stray thoughts on innovation and tradition in Buddhist art on the holy soil of Buryatia, a darkening sky at the Aginsky Monastery and heart-breaking tears flowing down the face of Bandido Hambo Lama hold me captive in the cultural genocide of dogma. An eerie silence and His Holiness wrote on a piece of paper in Tibetan: all is burnt, all xylographs and paintings (pothis and thaṅkas). Suddenly he snatched the paper from me, folded it and hid it in his sleeves. Suppressed agonies had broken into these heart-rending tears on the serene face of the Hambo that glowed with deep learning and radiant hopes of the descent of Maitreya in the near future, so that Dharma would blossom again in his Land of Vajrapāṇi.

While at Ivolginsky Monastery, I had requested for a visit to the Aginsky Monastery whose fame I had heard as a child of ten from my father Prof. RaghuVira. As children our traditional education in Sanskrit was grammar, logic and poetics, supplemented by the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa. The Sanskrit text on logic was hard stuff, so father gave me *Buddhist Logic* by Stcherbatsky. I could not follow this great work but one fact stuck to me from it that Aginsky was a place of stupendous learning and some day I would go to study there. Aginsky was the Oxford University of the Buddhist world in my limited knowing, especially when Nalanda had been burnt down and reduced to rubble. When I was in Aginsky in 1970s, saw remaining fragments of its immense library, and marvelous thaṅka scrolls. I wanted to pay respects to the spot where thousands of manuscripts became victims of fire. Bandido Hambo Lama J.D. Gomboyev pointed out the place, stopped at a safe distance to avoid any eventuality of violating the law of the land, and I went alone. No signs of any burning, but the earth was black. Nature does not lie. I bowed down, took some soil, came back to the Hambo who took away the holy soil and returned it to the ground. He was moved and must have recalled barbarism that had destroyed his alma mater the Aginsky. The pent up feelings of the day hidden under a hard and silent exterior, broke down in the evening when only two of us were watching the colourful evening sky fading into the darkness of the night. We were alone, no built structures which could have been bugged with secret gadgets, and the Hambo could have the freedom to weep. Those times did not permit even "freedom of silence". Such was my tryst with Aginsky. It lives in my dreams of a great future that I shall not see. The Hambo gave me a gorgeous thaṅka of Kālacakra from Aginsky and I treasure it as the radiance of Dharma and as the diamond light of the affection of the Bandido Hambo Lama. It is the great lion's roar of his profound silence.

Prof. Baldanzhapov was my constant companion during the visit to Buryatia. Devout at heart, a widely-read researcher with a fantastic collection of Mongolian, Manchu, Chinese and Tibetan xylographs and documents, he was on duty of the KGB with me as a Member of the Parliament of India. He wanted to open up his mind and to inform me of what had happened, but silence was

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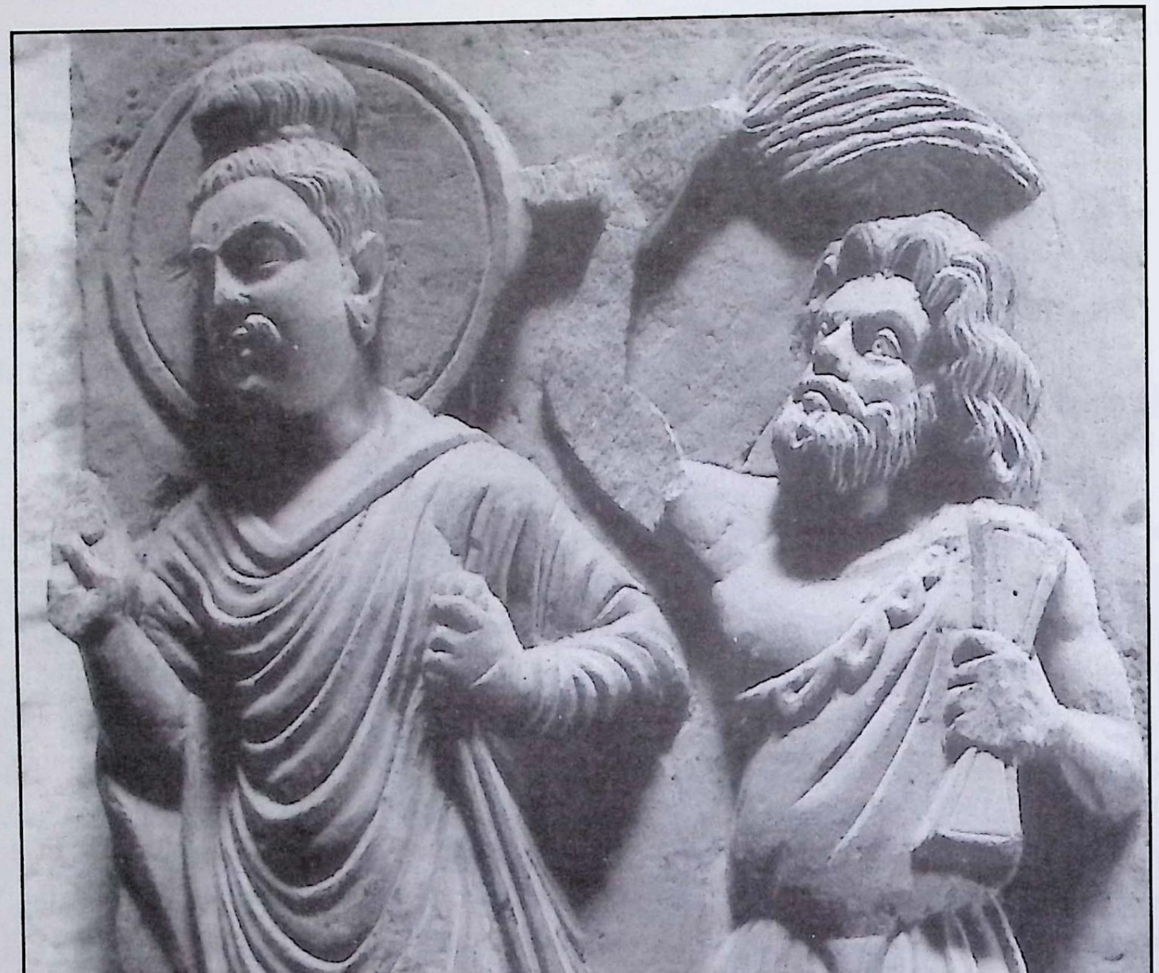
wisdom. His gifted daughter, Ts. P. Vanchikova has written a book on Buryat Buddhism entitled "The Land of Vajrapāṇi" *(Zemlya Badzhrapani,* Moscow, 2008). She speaks of her Magic Land of Buryat-Mongolia in a poem. Some lines are:

Can it be a heavenly Pure Land?
Perhaps, next to Shambhala.
Emptiness is the essence of everything
Buryat-Mongolia is Emptiness.

Its frontispiece has a ferocious Vajrapāṇi, so dear to the Mongols of all the tribes of the Buryats, Khalkhas, Ordos, Tumeds, Kalmyks, and others, who once upon a time were world conquerors. Out of fear of their invasions, the countries of the West were once chanting the litany *Domine, libera nos a Tartaris* "Lord, free us from the Tartars".

As the symposium is being held at the Rinpoche Bagsha Monastery in Ulanude under the patronage of Elo Rinpoche, in the Land of Vajrapāṇi, we will follow the evolution of Vajrapāṇi in the different traditions and the innovations in his iconography in space and time. His iconic transformations are stunning: from the Hellenic Zeus in Gandhara art to a ferocious demonic figure in Buryatia. In the entire Greek world Zeus was worshipped as the master of gods and men. Even when a city venerated another deity, Zeus took the first place. The temple of Olympus had a colossal gold and ivory statue of Zeus. When Buddhism spread in the Gandhara region with its heavy Hellenist overtones, Lord Buddha was accompanied by Zeus as Vajrapāṇi in a dress identical in all respects with that worn by an attendant: a short chiton caught round the waist. He holds a fly-whisk in the right hand and a vajra in the left. He was to attract the devotees of Zeus to Buddhism (John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara,* Cambridge, 1960 p.47 fig.63).

The *upāya* or strategy of interiorisation was to popularise Buddhism. The outside became inside by the admission of the alien deities. It was an ongoing process. Aśoka converted the shrines dedicated to the folk yakṣas into Buddhist caityas. Likewise, in the Lamaist world the local *sa.bdag* became dharmapālas. In course of time, Indra was assimilated into the cult of Vajrapāṇi. It is evident in the rock-cut sculpture of Vajrapāṇi in the Aurangabad cave of about the seventh century (S.K. Saraswati, *Tantrayana Art,* Calcutta, 1977, p. lvii, fig. I 64, see p.36).



Vajrapāṇi as the metamorphosis of Zeus to the left of Lord Buddha. Berlin Museum

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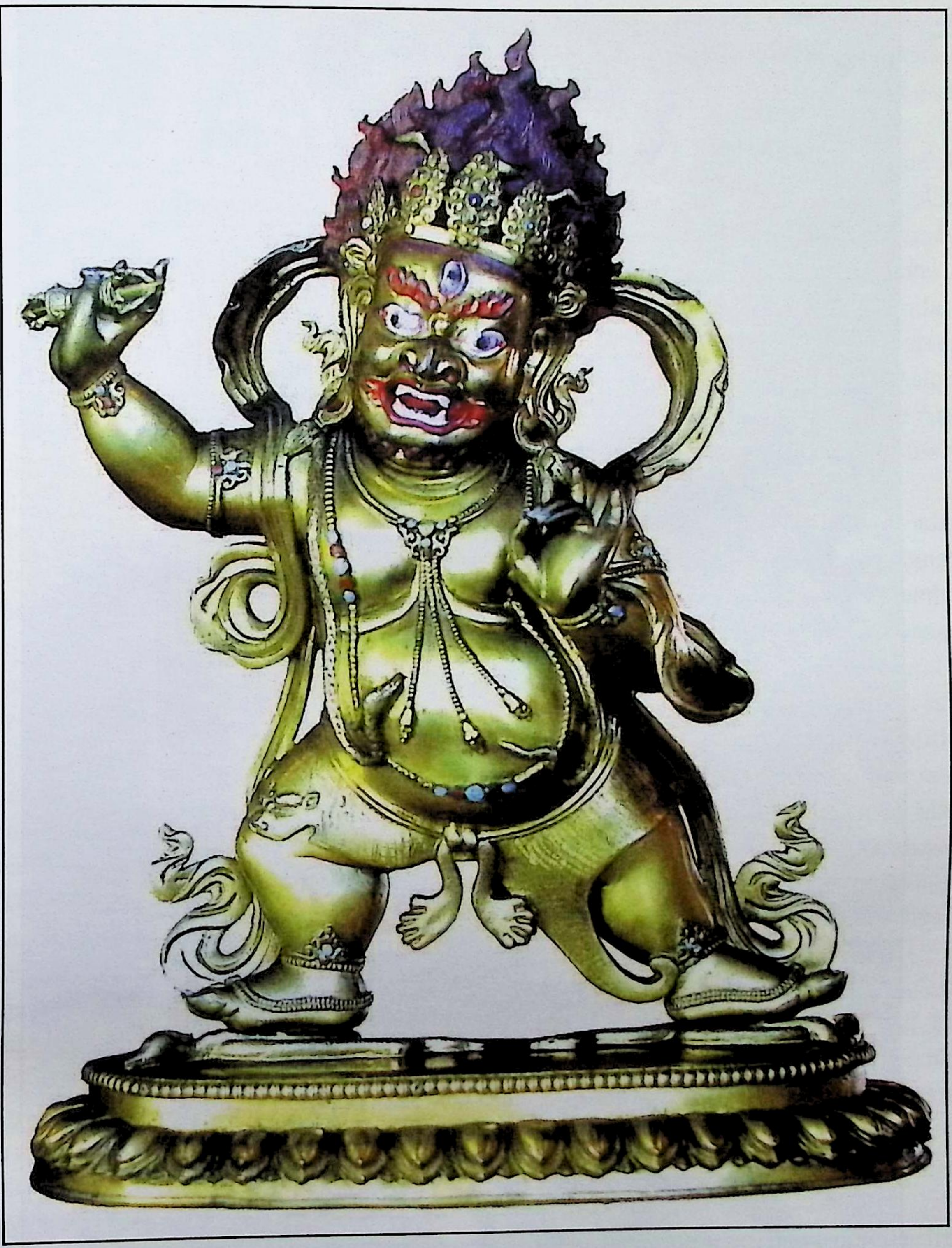
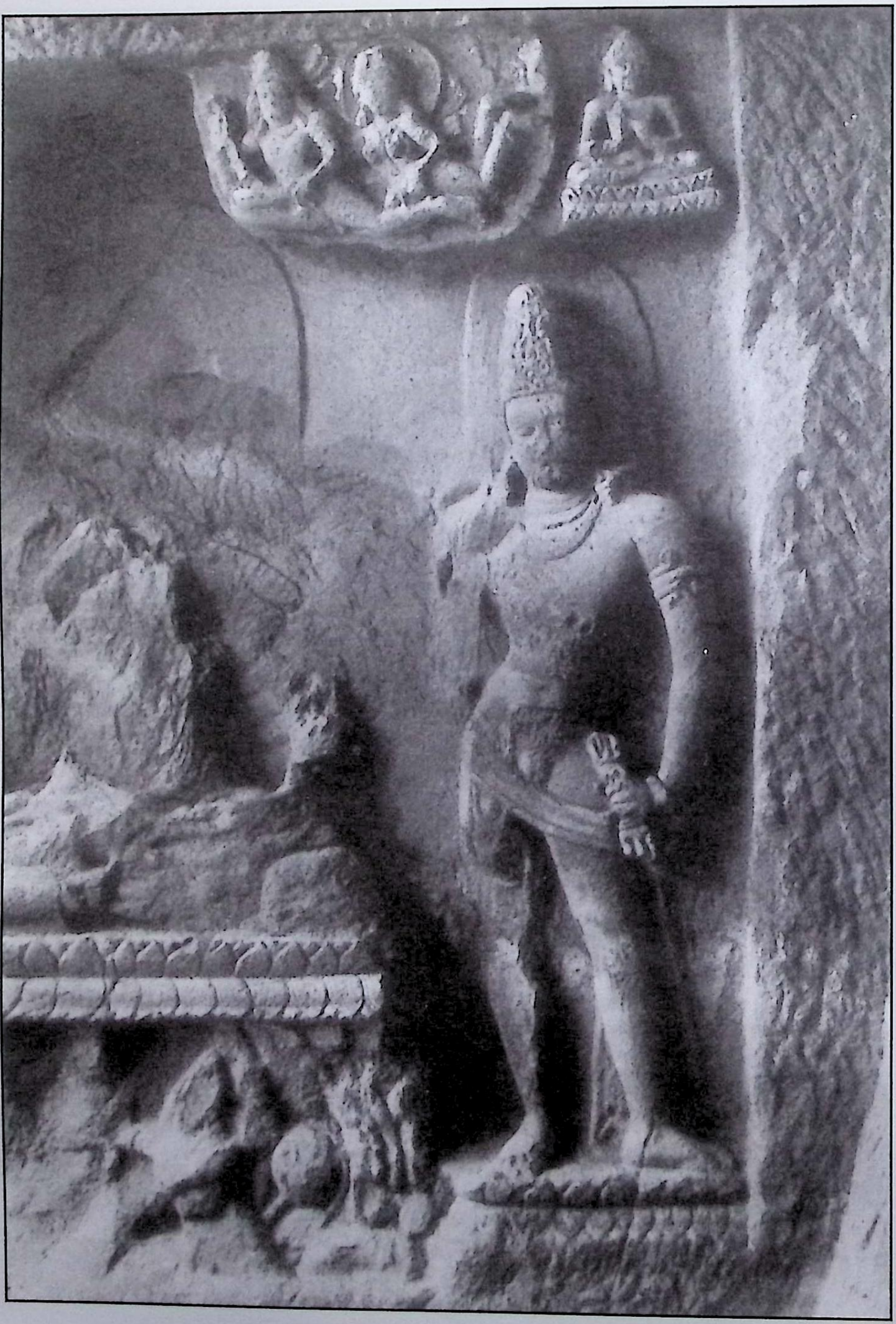


Vajrapāṇi in the Aginsky Monastery, 20th century



Vajrapāṇi as epiphany of Indra to the left of Lord Buddha in the Aurangabad Cave of about the 7th century

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A stone statue of about the tenth century in the Nalanda Museum shows Vajrapāṇi sitting on a throne, wearing ornaments and a jewelled crown (ibid. lvii, fig. 166). The Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra speaks of Vajrapāṇi as a special attendant on the Buddha (Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary,* 1953, s.v. Vajrapāṇi).

The Gilgit Manuscripts of the Bhaiṣajyavastu of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya (Dutt 3/1.2) point out that Vajrapāṇi accompanies the Buddha to the Trans-Gandhara region in place of Ānanda. Ānanda goes up to Kashmir, Mathura, Rohtak and other places. The Buddha says: I have to go to Uttarāpatha (i.e. Trans-Gandhara) with Vajrapāṇi to convert the Nāgarāja Apalāla. After the violent conversion of Apalāla, the Buddha returns to the starting point and finds Ānanda: *gato 'ham Ānanda Vajrapāṇi-sahāya Uttarāpatham.* It is a reference to the role of Zeus in the spread of Buddhism in the NorthWest. From the benign form of the statue in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin to the dreadful yakṣa generalissimo in the Buryat icons shows the incredible range of variation in Buddhist art. In lands of Tibetan Buddhism, he became a ferocious figure in several epiphanies as can be seen in my *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* 14.4017-4057.

The Buddhist concept of *upāya-kauśalya* or Skillful Means was Buddhist skill in adapting Dharma to the context in which it was delivered. Lord Buddha would explain his teachings, for example to the brahmanas, with reference to their rituals and other traditions. The method of teaching in accordance with the capabilities of the hearers was perfected by the bodhisattvas as one of the pāramitās in the seventh stage *(bhūmi). Upāya* is the principle of the manifold integral to the activity of the absolute in the phenomenal world. This led to the continuing adaptation of local deities into the symbology of Buddhism. Maitreya the Buddha of the Future is Mithra of Mithraism, seated in *bhadrāsana* or the Bactrian (*Bhadra*) posture. Mithra was the patron of the Achaemenian emperors, and later of the Roman emperors. The stupa in the crown of Maitreya signifies the State. The *bhadrāsana* of Maitreya is contradistinctive of the *vajrāsana* of Śākyamuni. Dīpaṅkara of the Ramyaka (mod. Lamghan) valley was owned by the Buddhist tradition as the Buddha of the Past. Thus arose the Trinity of Buddhas of the Past, Present and Future (Dīpaṅkara, Śākyamuni, Maitreya).

Innovation was an important aspect of the phenomenal spread of Buddhism where the existent religious orders and the new Dharmadhātu became an integral unity. Innovation has been a tradition in Buddhism and it equally applies to Buddhist art. The very physiognomy of the Buddha varies region to region. The colossi of Bamiyan were created in an area whose inhabitants spoke Tocharian. The Tocharian language belongs to the European family and they were close to the Hellenic world whence they inherited the idea of a colossus, termed *abhyucca-deva* in the Sanskrit Gaṇḍavyūha.

Openness as a creative category is what distinguishes Buddhism from other religions. This hieratic freedom has been the basis of the evolution of fine arts in several countries and over many centuries. To make it clear, we may take a counter-example. In the ninth century, the

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German clergy brought forward the three-language doctrine according to which Church services could be held only in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. In 855 Cyril evolved the script in Byzantium and wrote the Bible in Slavonia in Bulgaria which welcomed him and Methodius. Cyril defended the right of the Slavs to have their own script and the Bible in their language at the Venice Ecclesiastical Council. Slavonic church service says of Cyril: "you raised the axe of reason against the falsehood of the trilingual dogma, named holy". It is just the opposite in Buddhism. Lord Buddha studied 64 scripts at school according to the Lalita-vistara, which signifies that all scripts and languages are holy. From the very beginning Buddhism encouraged the emergence of ethnic units and multiple idioms of visual representations as valid spiritual development. Many windows of heart and mind, in thc bright crystal of eyes, become the intransient essence of the iconic devotion of the Buddhist world. The ever-changing artistic norms were to endow lives, human lives, with glows and glories of the divine. The thousands of Buddhist scriptures evidence the ever-progressive innovation in the metaphoric mindscape.

The vast panoramas of paradises in the caves of Tun-huang show the different conceptions of power and affluence of the changing dynasties. The Pure Land of Amitābha is Sukhāvatī, that of Maitreya is Tuṣita, that of Akṣobhya is Abhirati, that of Vairocana is Akaniṣṭha. These theologic and philosophic Pure Lands from different sutras were the vow of each Buddha to create his own Buddha-land *(Buddha-kṣetra)* that would combine the most outstanding features of various Pure Lands. The splendor of the lands, their perfect bliss, and no suffering gave an opportunity to the artists to innovate, to be "at rest amidst motion". The Buddhist concept of *asaṅga* '"freedom from attachment" became unrestricted freedom in austere sublimity or in sublime austerity. The seen was the activity of the Formless Self. In terms of samādhi, Buddha is not an image, but whatever is seen or arises in the mind is Buddha. Buddhist art was the attaining of freedom from what has form, to be awakened to formlessness. Leaving rules to crumble was part of non-attachment.

The Buddhist paintings are "Visual Dharma" to convey the message of a Sutra in illustrations. The figures do not stand for external beings but represent aspects of transmuted ego. Transmutation is through meditation. Thc awakened mind is characterised by compassion, fearlessness and energy which devastates confusion, and transmutes into all-pervading awareness.

Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa is the glorification of layman Vimalakīrti revered in the graphic arts as inspiration as well as pleasant humor. It represents his goal of spiritual longing, the austerity of spiritual practice, so that our minds open to ever-widening spheres of voidness. Vimalakīrti finds the very disciple of Lord Buddha Śāriputra too complacent in his superiority of wisdom. He opens him to the dazzling relativity of interpenetrating universes. The tenth chapter narrates: Śāriputra thought to himself: "if these great bodhisattvas do not adjourn before noon-time, when are they going to eat?" Vimalakīrti came to know the thoughts of Śāriputra and said: "Śāriputra you should concentrate on eight liberations taught by the Tathāgata, listening to the Dharma with a mind free of preoccupations with material things. Just wait a minute, you will eat such food as you have

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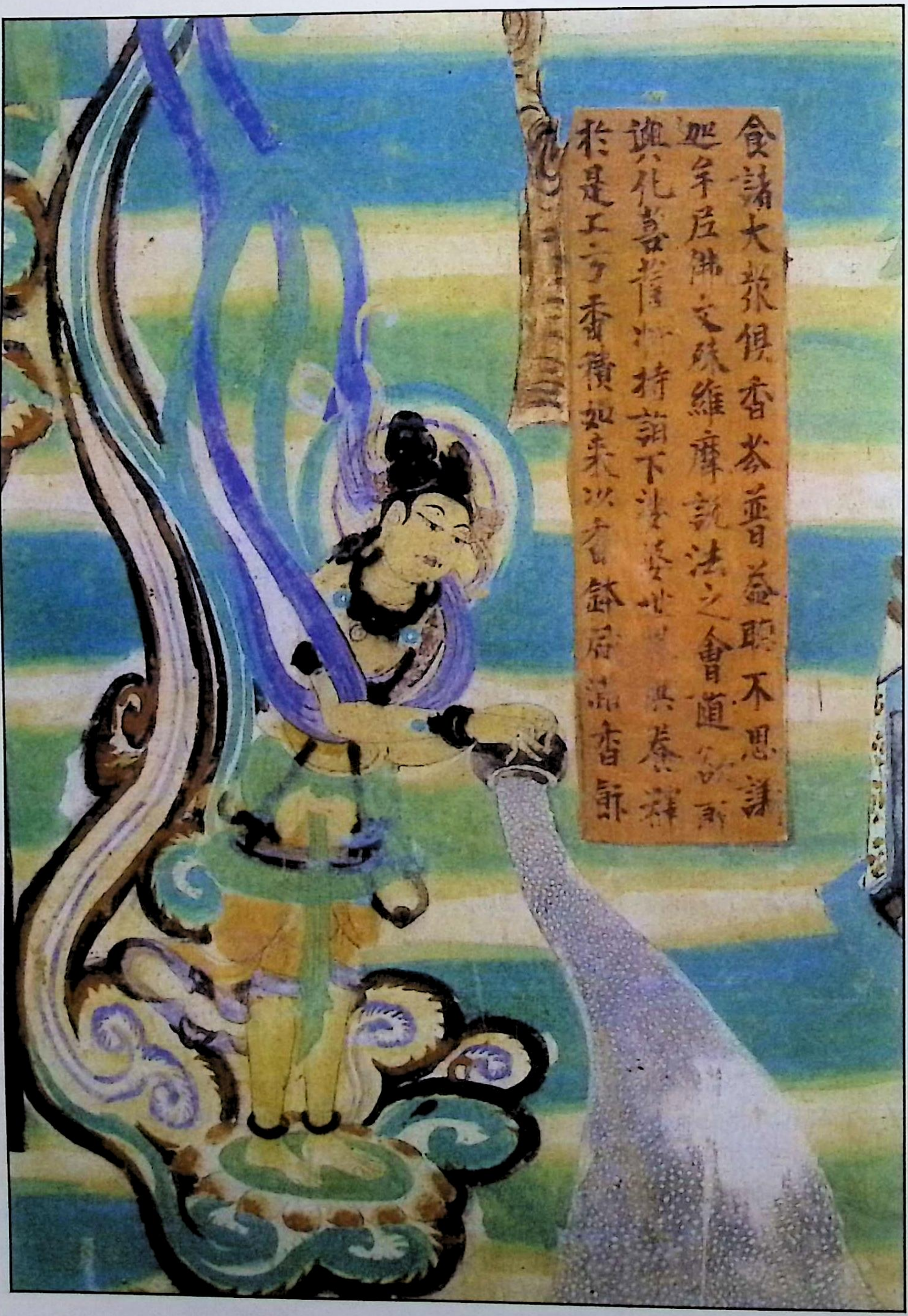
never before tasted". Vimalakīrti concentrated and the bodhisattvas could see the universe of Tathāgata Sugandhakūṭa and his bodhisattvas taking their meal. The text goes on. It is a delightful reading for us all who are more concerned with the externals than with the deeps of Buddhist art. Vimalakīrti spoke to Śāriputra: "Eat of the food of the Tathāgata. It is ambrosia perfumed by great compassion. Do not fix your minds in narrow-minded attitudes". Cave 61 of Tun-huang shows a mural with the Tathāgata Sugandhakūṭa pouring out food "issued from inexhaustible morality, concentration, and wisdom, the remains of the food of the Tathāgata contained in this vessel cannot be exhausted" (Thurman 1983:81).

In Buddhism, as in other traditions of India, an image is *mūrti* 'concrete'. The Unmanifest *(amūrta)* becomes manifest *(mūrta)* in the icon. It is the shape of a transcendent vision in the creativeness of the artist so that the subtle body of his inner experience become plastic form. An artistic work exists on three levels: the physical *(kāyika),* the subtle *(vācika),* and the transcendental *(citta)* planes. They are embodiments of states of being. *Mūrti* requires *Darśana,* the concrete form has to become awareness where the eye and mind are focussed in contemplation. The eye's pilgrimage has to transcend into the beatific vision in detachment from everything.

In Buddhism, continuity and change in our cosmic consciousness are interdependent categories. Our "Store Consciousness" or *ālaya-vijñāna* is the collective psyche in which individual experiences *(mano-vijñāna)* are deposited to reappear in a single flux. In the parlance of art, Classical norms and dynamics of change have to be harmonised. The waters flow because of the two banks of rivers. If there were no banks the waters would not flow, they would slush into marshes. Buddhist art has deep roots and will blossom ever afresh. The saṁskāras have to be firmed by new forms so that they live in our space and in our time. Buddhist art is golden like the Hiraṇyavatī or the Golden River and continues to illumine the Way for millions today and will continue to renew itself.

An extraordinary Japanese Buddhist sculptor was monk Enku (1632-1695) whose wooden sculptures arose from fast chisel strokes, free from traditional iconography, simple and unfinished to preserve the original coarse quality of the material. They were carved on chips and splinters of wood and were known as *koppa butsu* "Chip Buddhas". In the economy of strokes and a rough and direct style they seem extremely modern. Enku vowed to make 100,000 sculptures in his life time. It is termed *lakṣa-pūjā* or "hundred-thousand prayers". It took him 28 years to fulfill his vow, and by then he was fifty-nine. On the back of his last sculpture he wrote "one hundred thousand Buddhas completed". Thus he completed the first part of his worship of the 'iconic' which is technically called *sākāra.* It had to culminate in the *nirākāra* or an-iconic of samādhi. Enku asked a hole to be dug in the ground beside the Nagara River. He sat in it, had it covered thick with earth, and put a bamboo tube to breathe. Fasting, chanting prayers, ringing a bell he remained interred and passed away. He attained supramundane samādhi of *śūnyatā, animitta* and



Sugandhakūṭa Tathāgata in cave 61 of Tun-huang pouring inexhaustible food.
Five Dynasties period (907-960 AC)

nirvāṇa. Tall oak and cherry trees entwined with wisteria vines stand at the spot. People in the village say that these vines will bleed if anyone cuts them. To cite monk Enku himself:

Each day the mind grows purer
The moon in the sky and myself
Round and full.

Presented at the international conference on 'Contemporary Buddhist Art' held at the Rinpoche Bagsha Monastery, Ulanude, Buryatia (Russia) on 25-26 July 2013

5. VOICE OF THE VOID

(prologue to Dr. Sung Min Kim, *Voice of the Void*: aesthetics of
the Buddhist maṇḍala on the basis of the doctrine of Vāk in Trika Śaivism, New Delhi, 2014)

This presentation of Dr. Sung Min Kim seeks to work out the innermost substance of Being in the unfathomed inner steppes of the mind in the transfinite forms irradiating the substantive deeps. It reveals a mind wrapped in gold of the raptures of the creative consciousness, true to her name Kim which means gold. One of major sūtras in East Asia, is *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* 金光明經 금광명경 or the Golden Light Sūtra. It represents the resplendence of the rising sun like *brāhma muhūrtta* (glorious moments of meditation) enshrined in the Gāyatrī hymn. In absolute silence of time the vessels of the spirit have been common awaking in the Vedic and Buddhist traditions. Both the Golden Light Sūtra and the Gāyatrī likewise seek the cosmic, the transcendent in the cadence of the golden light of the dawning day. Dr. Kim's perception of maṇḍala in the ambience of the fourfold *vāk* of the Upaniṣads and Trika Śaivism flows from her noble phylogeny of two millennia. From these precious seeds of time grows the bodhi tree of interpretation of Dr. Kim: the scintillating ripples of *śraddhā* and *sādhanā* (devotion and contemplation).

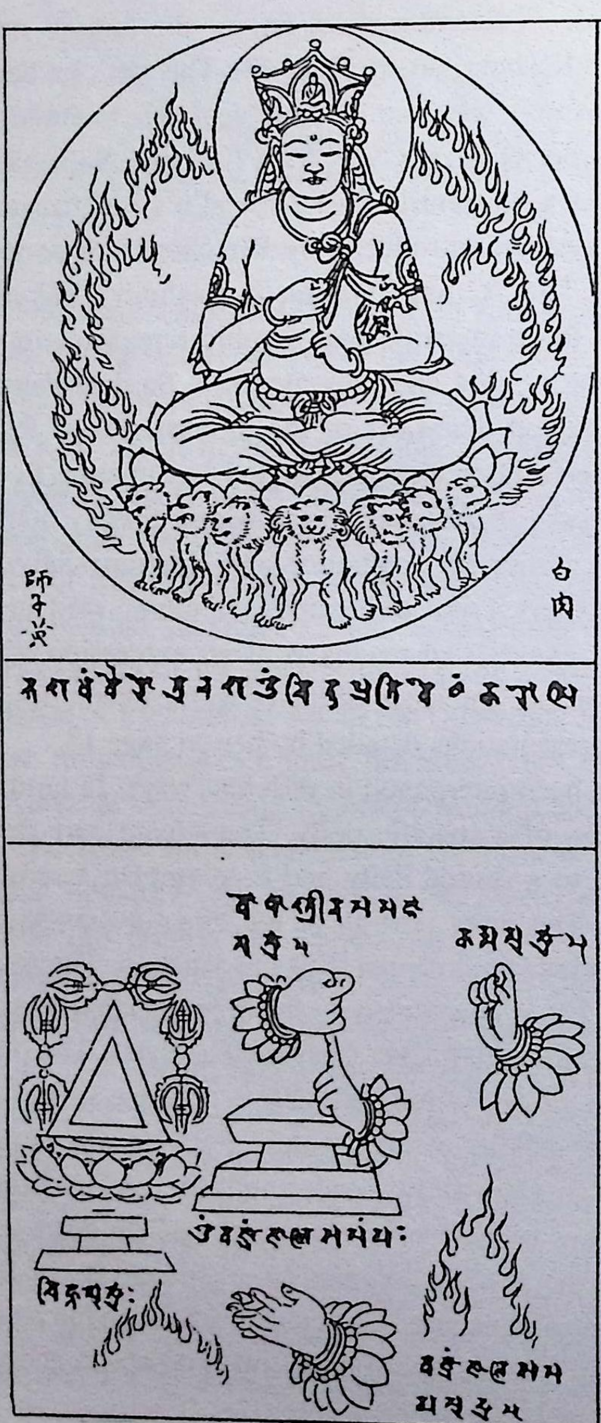
The Kims are descendants of the Princess of Ayodhyā. She arrived in Korea in 48 AC at Kimhae aboard a ship, heeding a call from Heaven. Rocks and ruins around Kimhae are proud heirs of this legacy. She became the queen of King Kim Suro Wang and they founded the first powerful state in Korea, which continued till its end by Shilla in 532 AC. In gratitude to the sea that allowed safe passage to the queen to his shores, the king built the Haeuensa "Temple of Sea Grace" that stands to this day on top of Mount Punsong. The simple subtlety of this queen incarnates in the heart of Dr. Kim so that she can dive deep into her Indic mind to make vivid the inherent but unobserved paths of the phylogeny of maṇḍalas. Dr. Kim captures the profound light of the metaplane of maṇḍalas of Vairocana or the Transcendent (*Vai*) Sun (*rocana*) who casts His sheen of eternity in our invoking minds. Dr Kim's native Land of Morning Calm has been blessed with astounding pensive images of the Maitreya trinity. It is but spontaneous for her to realise, visualise and conceptualise the subtle vibrations of maṇḍalas of Tabo and Alchi, which were masterminded by painters and sculptors from Kashmir.

The monasteries of Tabo and Alchi are in the direct tradition of Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po (958-1055 AC) who came to Kashmir to study the Sanskrit language. In the first period he spent seven years in Kashmir, in the second he was at Vikramaśilā, and in the third period he was again in Kashmir to arrange the materials collected and to finish the translations undertaken with his first masters. Parahitabhadra of Kashmir worked at Tholing [Giuseppe Tucci, *Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet Around the Millennium* (Indo-Tibetica II), 1988:64].

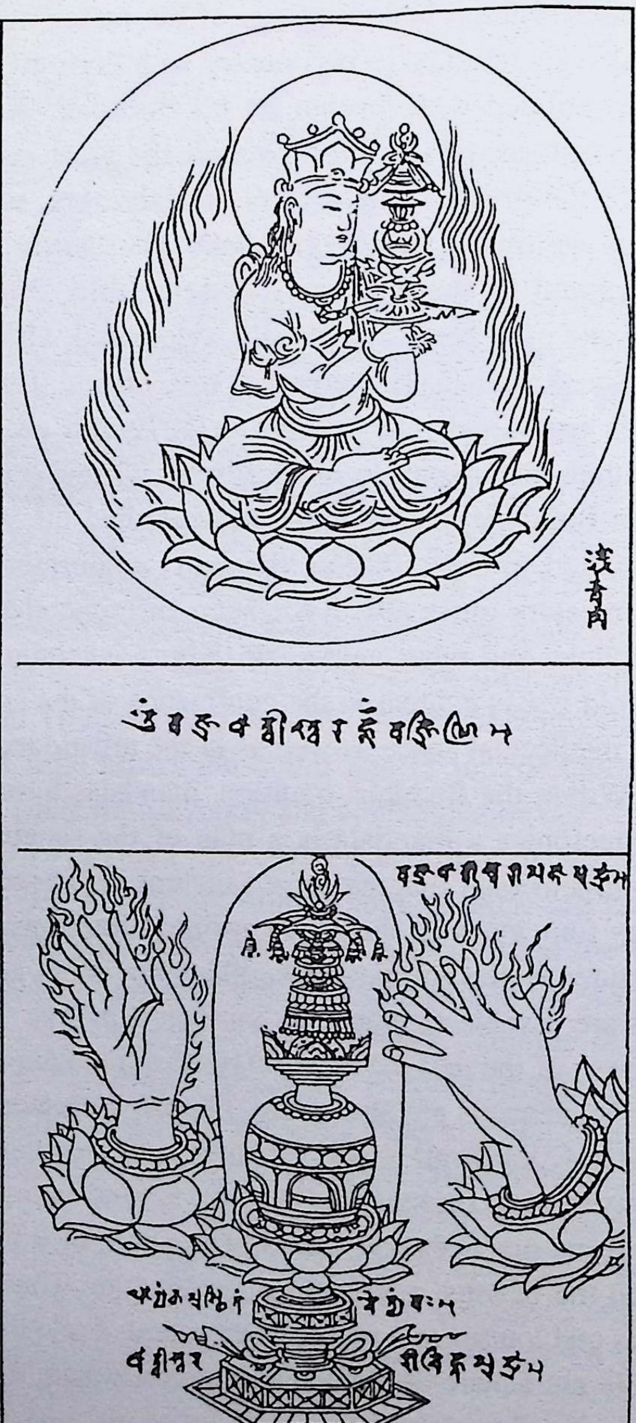
Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po had an image of his father made in Kashmir (ibid. 66) by the famous artist Bhitaka. He returned to his country with thirty-two Kashmiri artists (ibid. 67). The work he began was continued with fervour by his disciples. Kashmir was one of the places where Buddhist masters prospered the most. Naropa, the great teacher of Marpa, was from Kashmir. Somanātha, one of the greatest interpreters of Kālacakra, was a Kashmiri. To Kṣemendra's inexhaustible genius we owe Avadāna-kalpalatā. The tantric systems introduced by Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po were designated as the Kashmiri system (ibid. 39) The "Great Paṇḍita of Kashmir" Śākyaśrī (Kha.che.paṇ.chen) was closely associated with the translation and graphic representation of Avadāna-kalpalatā. He carried it with him to Tibet in 1204 and presented it to Sa.skya Paṇḍita. It was translated into Tibetan in 1272 and enlivened the walls of the monasteries of Rgya, Snar.thaṅ and Jo.naṅ to inculcate the *pāramitā* perfections as a preparation to Supreme Bodhi. These Buddhist masters must have studied the works of Abhinavagupta whose literary activity flourished in 990-1020 as the most celebrated author on aesthetics and Kashmir Śaivism. The masters must also have been influenced by his Trika philosophy as enunciated in his Tantrāloka and other works. Dr. Kim's ingenious exegesis of maṇḍalas as an expression of the fourfold *vāk* is evident in the confluence of the spiritual ambience of the concerned centuries and their intellectual space as well as in the artistic representations detailed by her on page 13.

Within the Buddhist tradition, maṇḍalas have been interpreted in different ways. In terms of architectonics a maṇḍala is a plan of the sanctum of a specific deity. The square parts are a two-dimensional diagram of a sanctum dedicated to a central deity and its olympian assembly. It has four gates in the four cardinal directions. The inner portion of the diagram has square structures which are the walls, pillars and other architectural elements of the sanctum. The round parts are psychic elements. Its innermost psychic core is constituted by the eight-petalled lotus of the heart of the devotee wherein resides the main deity with his/her prominent acolytes. The other psychic elements are also round, like the outermost circle of fire (*jvālāvalī*) to burn the sins of the meditator. Vajrāvalī (circle of vajras) represents the solidity of the adamantine plane wherein the Vajrayāna practitioner has become a vajra-being, a vajra-sattva, one empowered to undertake Vajrayāna practices and rituals. The circle of lotuses (*padmāvalī*) is the purity of the heart with which the devotee approaches the sanctum. Thus the psychic components of the circles of fire, vajras and lotuses in a maṇḍala are round, while the solid material components of the architectonic temple are square. A maṇḍala is thus a square and a circle, the squared material space and the circularity of psychospheres.

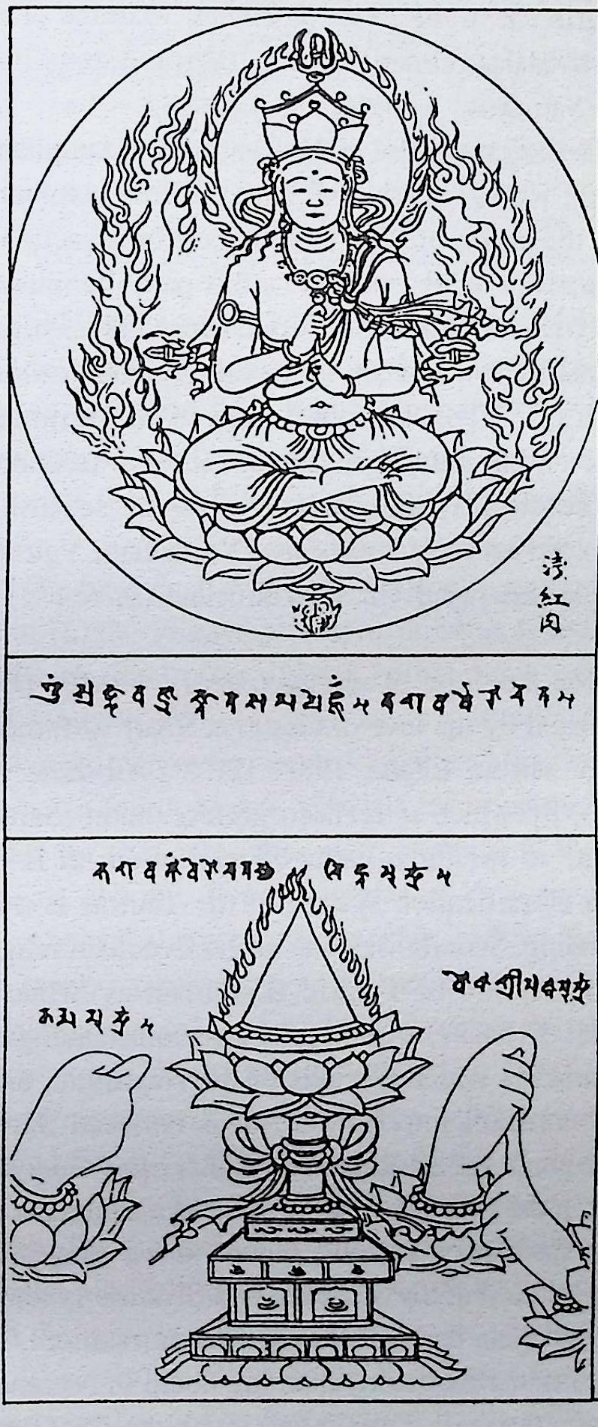
Representation as Trikāya. Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṁgraha (STTS) has been illustrated by Śubhākarasiṁha (637-735 AC) in Gobu-shingan (GS). According to GS, Vairocana is represented in trikāya as: *saṁbhoga-kāya* with his consort Vajradhātvīśvarī, *dharma-kāya* the absolute denoted by addorsed vajras, and *nirmāṇa-kāya* as a monk (not distinguished from Śākyamuni). All are represented in separate maṇḍalas in the four sections of STTS. The central deity of Vairocana is illustrated below from GS in the three kāya's:



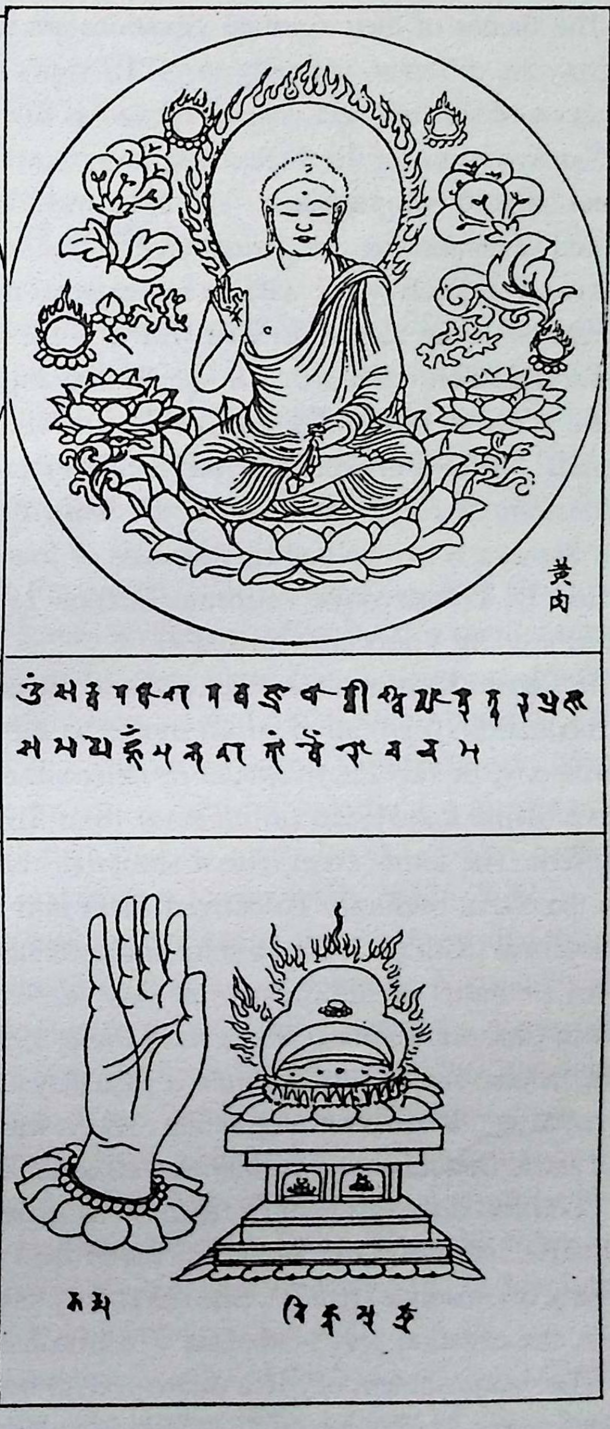
Vairocana as *saṁbhoga-kāya* crowned and decked with ornaments



Vajradhātvīśvarī *alias* Vajriṇī as the consort of Vairocana in *saṁbhoga-kāya*



Vairocana as *dharma-kāya*
symbolised by two vajras
placed cross-wise at his back



Vairocana as *nirmāṇa-kāya*
represented as a monk

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The flames of their spiritual vibrations are different in the four epiphanies. Mantras of each epiphany are different, naturally so. STTS views maṇḍalas primarily as the *trikāya* system, but its colophons of the four sections are viewed as four Samayas.

Samaya is one of the three main ways of awakening kuṇḍalinī in the Tantra to accomplish the highest state of enlightenment. The three ways are: Kaula, Miśra and Samaya. They explain the methods of awakening the primal force to lead to the abode of Śiva. The highest of all schools is Samaya. It is purely yogic without any external rituals. Yogins who follow this path illuminate all the cakras to the abode of Śiva which is the crown of the head (*sahasrāra*). This yoga of consubstantiation (*sam-aya*) was the highest expression of Śaivism (personal communication of Swami Ram in 1984). Samaya is the foundation of STTS, the root Tantra of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala. STTS is divided into four sections representing four Samayas: *abhisamaya* (section 1), *vajra-samaya* (section 2), *dharma-samaya* (section 3) and *karma-samaya* (section 4). Each Samaya is symbolised by maṇḍalas of four epiphanies of Vairocana: Vajradhātu Vairocana (section 1), Trilokavijaya Vairocana (section 2), Sakala-jagad-vinaya Vairocana (section 3) and Sarvārthasiddhi Vairocana (section 4)

In Śaiva Siddhānta "the three paths of salvation are those of service (*caryā*), worship (*kriyā*) and meditation (*yoga*) all of which should be animated by the love of God (i.e. Śiva)" (Mariasusai Dhavamony, in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, 1987: 13.12) All these ways receive divine knowledge (*pratijñāna*) from Śiva, by which is realised perfect union (Samaya) with Śiva. The terms *kriyā*, *caryā* and *yoga* relate to the three paths of realisation, as is clear from the Śaiva tradition. To convert them into a classification system of the Tantras is a later development (Kim p.17) due to some misunderstanding. Śrīśaila was one of the five main religious centres (*maṭhas*) of the Śaivas, as well as a core centre of Tantric Buddhism as Śrīparvata (Lokesh Chandra, *Cultural Horizons of India*, 1993: 3.154-57). Among the three outstanding texts of the Krama tradition of Kashmir is Mahānaya-prakāśa which reminds of the Nayasūtra, one of the fundamental texts of Vajrayāna. There was constant interflow of ideas between Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism in Kashmir as well as in the south (at Śrīśailam and Kāñci *alias* Oḍḍiyāna).

A critical observation of Dr. Kim is that *sarva* in the title Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṁgraha is "a qualitative indication of 'Supreme', rather than a denotation of 'all'. Indeed *sarva* suggests the meaning of 'absolute' (p.87)". She has rightly suggested that Sarva, Śarva and Śiva are synonyms. Again, the equation Sarva-tathāgata = Vairocana tathāgata derives from the Śaiva tradition.

The vanquishment of Māra (*māra-vijaya*) by Siddhārtha before attaining bodhi to become the Buddha too is a reflection of Śiva destroying Kāma (the god of erotic love) with the fire from his third eye when Kāma attempts to disturb his ascetic trance. Kāma becomes Anaṅga (disembodied form) so that creation goes on. Vimalaprabhā commentary on the Kālacakra says that Māra is the conscience which attaches us to life, to passion. He is the king of love and life. The word Māra is the non-sigmatic variant of Smara (the God of Love). Aśvaghoṣa says so clearly in Buddhacarita 13.2 (Johnston 1936:188):

yaṁ kāmadevaṁ pravadanti loke
citrāyudhaṁ puṣpa-śaraṁ tathaiva |
kāma-pracār-ādhipatiṁ tam eva
mokṣa-dviṣaṁ māram udāharanti ||2||

Him whom in the world they call the God of Love,
Him of the bright weapon and also the flower-arrowed,
That same one, as the monarch of the activities of the passions
And as the enemy of liberation, they style Māra.

Siddhārtha was born when his mother Mahāmāyā was between forty and fifty, though she and her sister were married early in their youth to King Śuddhodana. The Bodhisattva entered her right side in the form of a white elephant. The elephant seems to represent Gaṇapati to whom Mahāmāyā must have prayed to beget a son for long years and finally she dreamt being blessed by Gaṇapati (son of Lord Śiva). Śaivism may have been the original dharma of the Śuddhodana family.

We have dealt with three ways of looking at the configuration of maṇḍalas in (i) architectonic terms, (ii) the Trikāya paradigm, and (iii) as four Samayas. There is a fourth mode of representation on the physical plane (*kāya*), verbal plane (*vāk*), and mental plane (*citta*). They are graphically represented as follows: *kāya* as an anthropomorphic icon, termed Mahābhūta Maṇḍala; *vāk* as a *bījākṣara* (hieronym), termed Dharma Maṇḍala; and *citta* as a symbol, termed Samaya Maṇḍala. There is a fourth Karma Maṇḍala for ritual performances, in which the deities are images made of metals for rites (see other interpretations of these four kinds of maṇḍalas in Lokesh Chandra and Nirmala Sharma, *Twin Maṇḍalas of Vairocana in Japanese Iconography*, 2012: 39-40.

Abhayākaragupta distinguishes *bhāvya-maṇḍala* for meditation from *lekhya-maṇḍala*, which is a graphic representation. He details the iconographic depiction of deities in Niṣpanna-yogāvalī as *lekhya-maṇḍala*, while *bhāvya-maṇḍala*s are detailed in Vajrāvalī as symbolic forms (*cihna*). For example, Vairocana in Vajradhātu Maṇḍala is represented in the meditational maṇḍala as a five-pronged vajra (*pañca-sūcika-vajra*, Masahide Mori, *Vajrāvalī of Abhayākaragupta*, Tring, 2009: 1.269). To illustrate, two forms of the maṇḍala of Abhisambodhi-Vairocaana, based on *MVT*, are shown on the following pages 48 and 49. This maṇḍala is popularly termed Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala in Japan. Both the line drawings are from Japan. Symbolic forms of the Samaya Maṇḍala are illustrated by Ishida Hisatoyo in his *Mandara-no kenkyū* (2. 32-54). It begins with the samaya symbols of Mahāvairocana and Ratnasambhava (see p.50).

The substantialism of the Jo.naṅ.pa school contains an echo of the Śaiva schools of Kashmir (Giuseppe Tucci, *The Religions of Tibet*, 1980: 69). The teacher of the founder of this school was a paṇḍita from Kashmir (ibid. 259). The increasing stress on *mahāsukha* in the Rñiṅ.ma.pa school is influenced by *ānanda* (bliss) which is "one of three inherent properties of the real in Śaivite philosophy" (ibid. 81). The philosophical ideas and symbols around the Bon mountain (*Bon.ri*) of Kailāsa are a "middle way between Rdzogs.chen and Śaivism" (ibid. 219). Monk Bsod.nams.rgyal.mtshan of the Bkaḥ.rgyud.pa praises the human body as a means of salvation, "a

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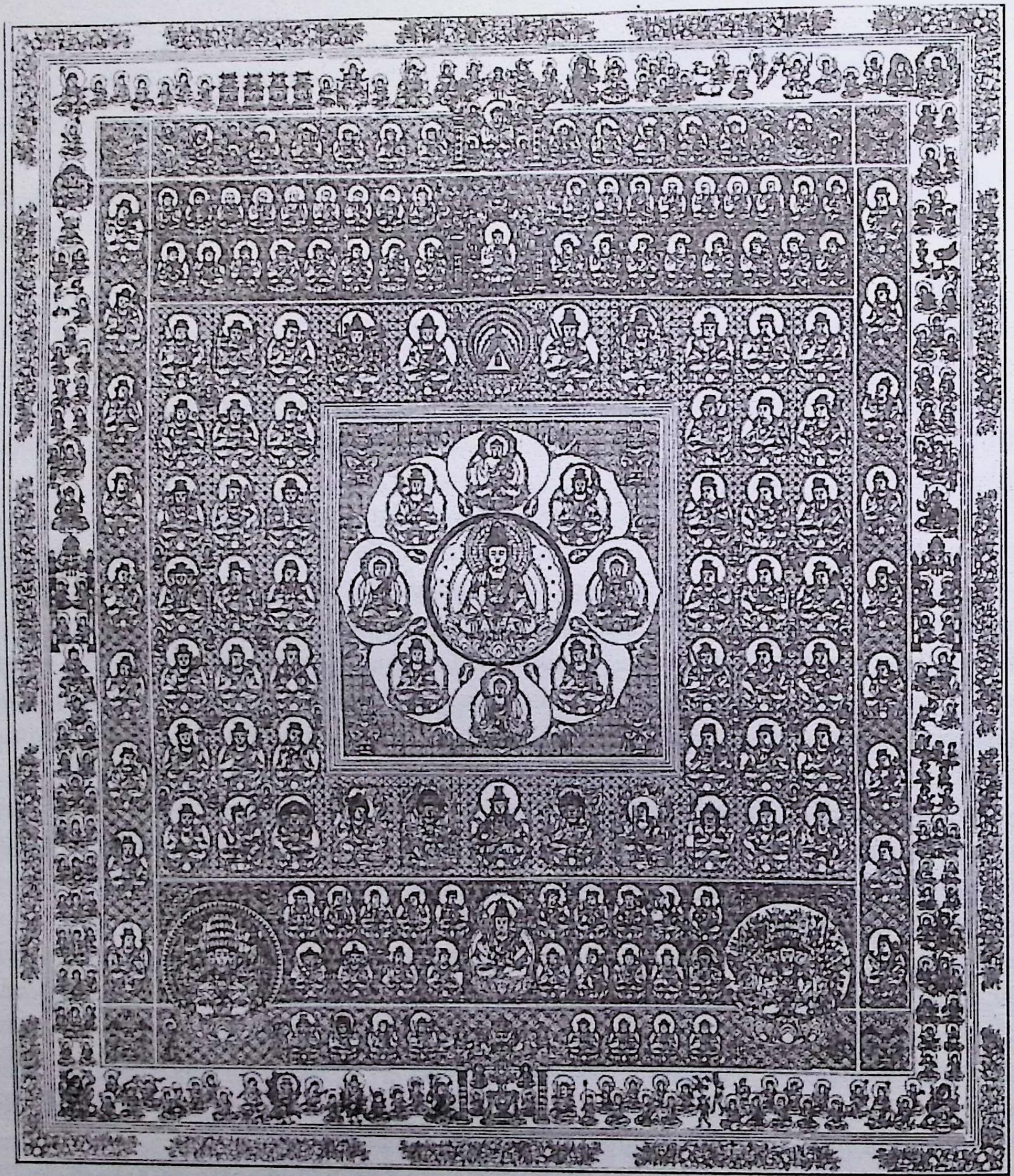
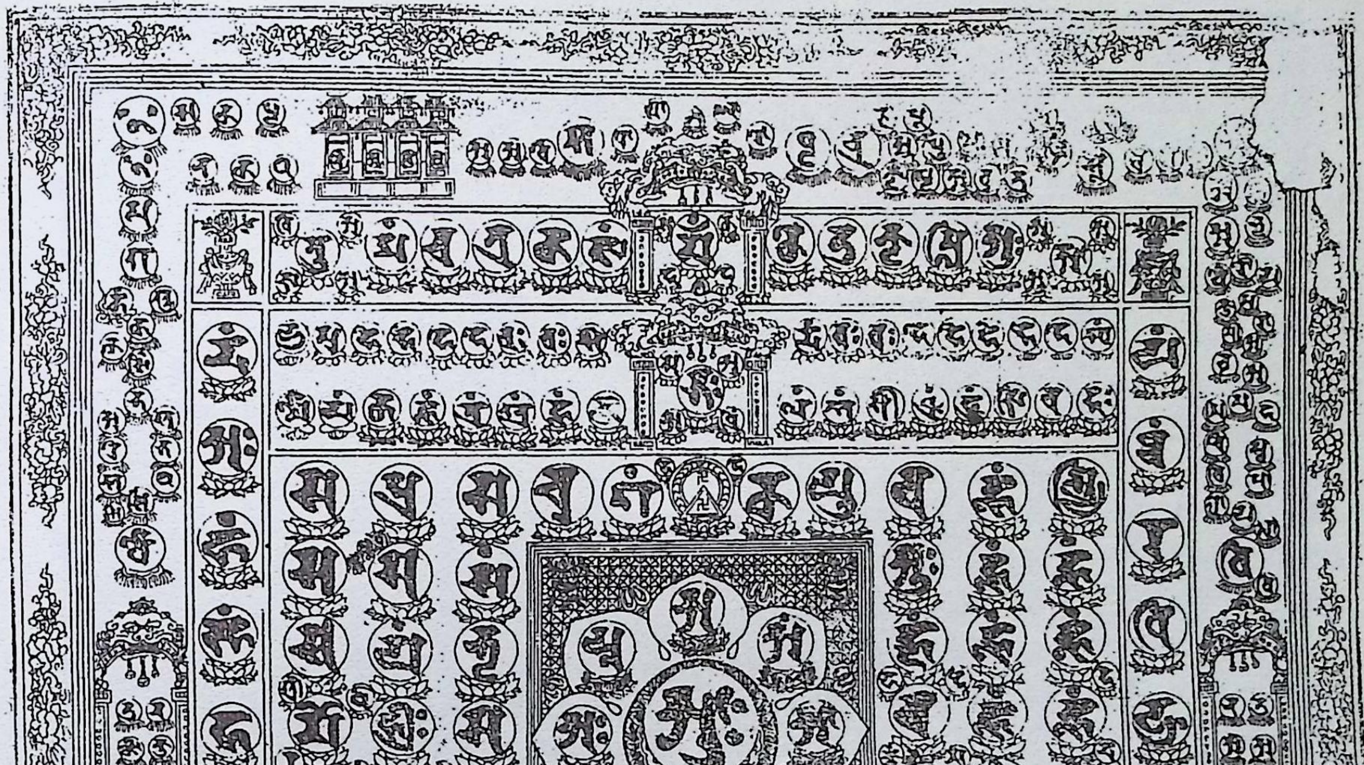


Mahābhūta Maṇḍala of Abhisambodhi-Vairocana



Bīja-Maṇḍala of Abhisambodhi-Vairocana

Bīja-Mandala of Abhisambodhi-Vairocana

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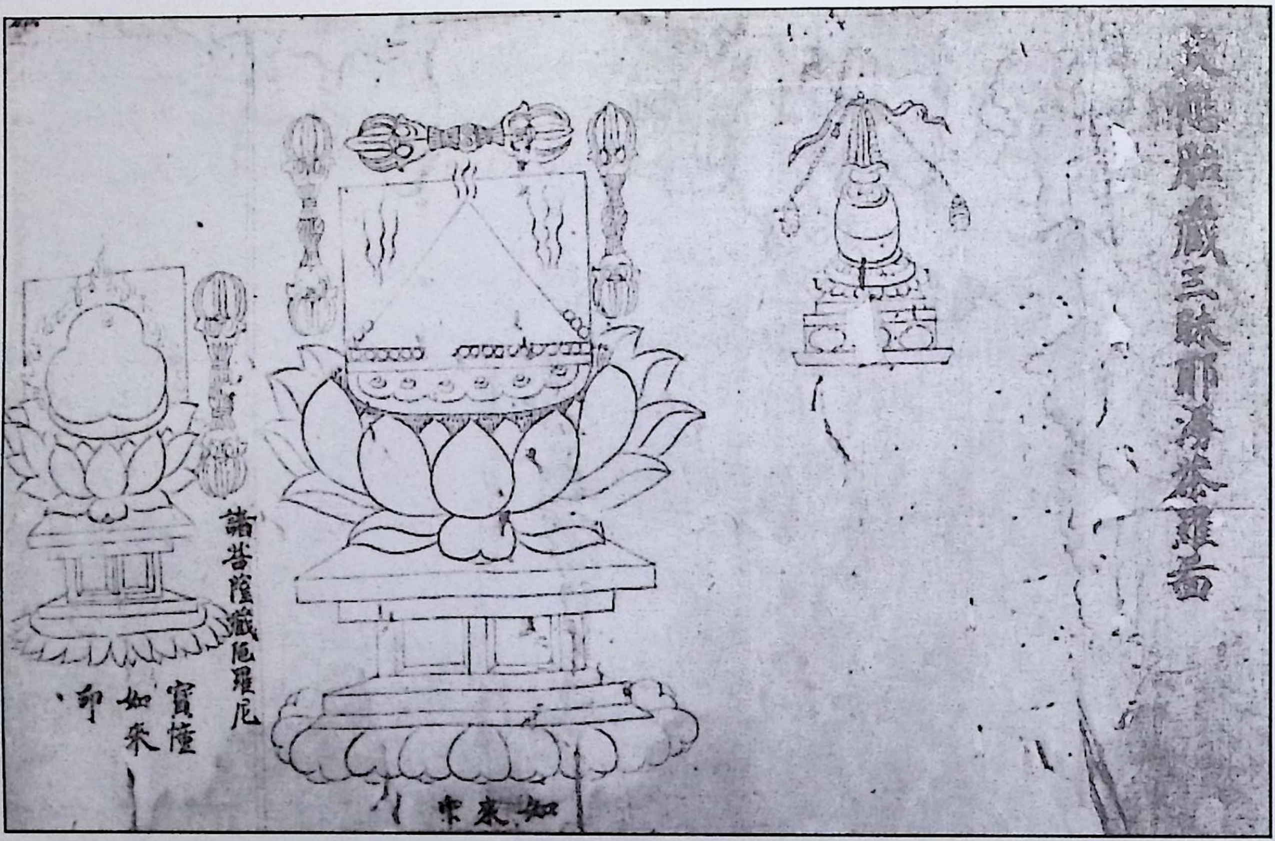
諸菩薩藏陀羅尼
寶幢如來印
如來印

宝幢如来印

如来印、醍醐本云摩訶毘盧遮那如来印

塔

3 Ratnasambhava

2 Mahāvairocana

1 *stūpa*

motif that often recurs in the Śaivite schools" (ibid. 265 n. 32). When Bon began to be organised systematically it came under Śaiva influences which flourished in the bordering regions of western Tibet (ibid. 271)

Tibetan religious schools were constantly being suffused with Śaiva elements under new technical terms. The detailed analysis of the four aspects of *vāk* as *parā, paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī* is a remarkable insight into the ascent into spiritual serenity and supernal vision, where the highest divine is conceived in the nature of sound and in its transience. Dr. Kim revives the archetypal flow of the moving eternity of *vāk* from the depths of the Brahmayāna of the Upaniṣads to deepen the sublime vision of maṇḍalas. The pearls of wisdom that resonate from the *antarjyoti* of Dr. Kim are precious seeds to grow into bodhi trees to realise the rapture of being in the scintillating ripples of *vāk*. In the words of Kōbō Daishi's *Hizō hōyaku* (The Precious Key to the Esoteric Treasury): "The deeper a person penetrates, the profounder the mind becomes, each stage being a stepping stone towards the higher one" (Yoshito S. Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works*, 1972: 217). The work of Dr. Kim is a journey that leads us to the ever higher, ever sublime, in the meticulous precision of analytical comparison of textual and artistic data.

6. THE UPCOMING SANCHI UNIVERSITY

Sanchi University is the flowering of the wrappings of the mind, a journey into the depths of time, to resonate values in the onrush of the future. No flowers can forget the spring. The ruins of Sanchi, more than a hundred structures sprawling over fifteen centuries (3rd c. BC to 12th c. AC), seek their resplendence in the upcoming university. We are embarking upon a journey to lead us into the ever higher and ever sublime, to realise the rapture of being, in the meticulous precision of the scriptural and artistic, supernal and spiritual paradigms.

The Mahāvaṁsa (p.98) says that Vedisa (Vidiśā) was founded by the Śākyas who fled from the massacre of Viḍūḍabha, during the very life time of Lord Buddha. Vidiśā was situated in the monarchy of Avanti. It was one of the four great monarchies at the time of Lord Buddha: Avanti, Magadha, Kosala and Vatsa. The capital of Avanti was Ujjayinī, the Greenwich of Indian astronomy, whence all calculations began. The king of Avanti converted to Buddhism. Special vinaya rules were laid down for the convenience of the monks of Avanti, e.g. monks were allowed use of shoes with thick linings, they could use coverlets of the skins of goats and sheep, robes could be accepted on behalf of a monk who had left the district (Vinaya 3.195-6). Monk Mahākaccāna founded the Avanti School of monks, and he was the greatest analytical exponent of Buddha's time (Vinaya 2.299). The Avanti School of Pali grammar and doctrinal interpretation by exegetical analysis was unique in the Buddhist world. The Pali grammar of Kaccāyana and the Nettippakaraṇa are fundamental linguistic creations of this school. The use of shoes, goat skins and sheep skins pertains to the large number of merchants and monks of Gandhara and Trans Gandhara who came here for trade and learning. The name Vidiśā itself refers to visitors coming from different (*vi*) directions (*diśā*). Heliodoros came to Vidiśā as the ambassador of Antialkidas (ruled ca.140-130 BC) the King of Taxila to the Śuṅga King Bhagabhadra. Heliodoros was a Greek but a bhāgavata by faith. He set up a *garuḍa-dhvaja* pillar in honour of Vāsudeva (=Kṛṣṇa). The Sanchi University is a worthy successor to the international and intellectual traditions of Vidiśā. Vidiśā had a special sanctity as being founded by the Śākya kinsmen of Lord Buddha, in contrast to Nalanda which was established by Kumāragupta I at the request of monk Rājavaṁśa of Uttarāpatha or TransGandhara region.

Aśoka was appointed viceroy of Avanti in his early youth. When he stopped at a merchant's house in Vidiśāgiri on his way to the capital Ujjayinī, he married his daughter named Devī, Vedisa-devī, Vedisa-mahādevī. She was of Śākya ancestry, being descended from a Śākya family whose forebears had migrated to Vidiśā to escape from Viḍūḍabha. She became the first queen of Aśoka. Their son was Mahendra, followed by a daughter Saṅghamitrā. Aśoka sent Mahendra to Laṅkā to propagate the Dharma. On a further request of the King of Laṅkā he sent Saṅghamitrā with a branch of the Bodhi tree of Bodhgaya, to found an order of bhikṣuṇīs. Both of them were born in Vedisagiri which is Mount Sanchi. Before departure to the island, Mahendra paid a visit to

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his mother, who lodged him in the monastery of Vedisagiri (Mhv.13.6-9, 18) for a month. It was of special sanctity as the relics of the two foremost disciples of Lord Buddha, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana were deposited here. It has been confirmed by the inscriptions on the relic caskets found in the Sanchi Stupa.

The Vedisagiri nagara (Mhv.13.6) and Vedisa nagara (Mhv.13.9), where the mother of Mahendra lived, had a monastery which is clear in Mhv.13.7: "Vihāra Vedisagiri". This monastery belonging to the period of Aśoka is the oldest Buddhist university campus. It precedes Nalanda by eight centuries, which was founded in the fifth century AC. The Sanchi monastic university was closely linked to the Śākya clan and thereby commands paramount sanctity.

Special messengers were sent to Avanti to invite representatives to the Vaiśālī Council, as it was an important centre of the orthodox school, famed for its deep exegesis of the Sutras. Eightyeight arhats from Avanti participated in this Council (Vinaya 2.298-9). Vedisagiri was the heart of Avanti.

A polished Aśokan pillar on top of the Sanchi hill indicates that the earliest structures of Sanchi were the work of Aśoka.

Sanchi with 51 ruined monasteries was clearly a major university complex, even though not mentioned by Chinese pilgrim scholars. Why was it excluded by them. Firstly, Sanchi was a seat of Theravāda Buddhism and of its expression of Pali linguistics. The Chinese belonged to Mahāyāna and they visited India to collect as well as study Sanskrit sutras, vinaya, abhidharma and other texts of Mahāyāna. On return home they transcreated them into Chinese to disseminate the Dharma. As such Sanchi was outside their academic and theological tradition. Secondly, Nalanda was the successor to Cīna-vihāra which had been constructed by the founder of the Gupta dynasty Emperor Śrīgupta, towards the end of the third century (Chavannes 1894:82). The need of a special monastery for Chinese monks arose due to the increasing trans-oceanic trade with China. When the oceanic waves tore the hearts of voyagers, they found hope and solace in the prayers of the Buddhist monks. They also played a crucial role in harmonising relations: their good offices in negotiations have to be taken into account.

The reliefs on the gateways of Sanchi stupas, like those of the jātakas, episodes from the life of the Buddha, decorative elements and animals deserve an intensive study. Their symbolism demands that they be replicated in the architecture of the new Sanchi University. Elephants, lions and dwarfs on the north gateway of Stupa 1 and elsewhere seem to represent the Six Pāramitās. They are shown as follows in Nepal, Tibet and Indonesia, with garuḍa on top and lion at the bottom:

1. garuḍa represents dāna-pāramitā
2. nāga-kumāra represents śīla-p.
3. makara represents kṣānti-p.
4. dwarf (vāmana) represents vīrya-p.
5. elephant represents dhyāna-p.
6. lion represents prajñā-p.

The Sanchi University can become a prime seat of learning of all Buddhist schools of all Buddhist lands. It can be a unique success in bringing together different strands in the aura of academic excellence. Unity is the crying need of the hour when cultural barbarism threatens all open systems. There are two sambhāras, both equally important. *Puṇya-sambhāra* is karmic merit (puṇya) gained by performing pūjās, reciting sutras, and so on. It serves the enlightenment of all beings by *puṇya* being transferred to others. It is perfected in the eighth bhūmi 'stage' of a bodhisattva's development. *Jñāna-sambhāra* is intellectual knowledge concerning phenomena and the right definition of all dharmas. It is a component of prajñā 'wisdom' and it is actualised at the tenth bhūmi of the development of a bodhisattva. The Sanchi University has to be a centre of the creativity of both sambhāras.

Buddhism does not have ritual for daily life of the laity and that detracts its social relevance. For example, it is a "religion of death" in Japan, as Buddhist monasteries are repositories of ashes of the ancestors of a family that pays for their annual rituals. In contrast, on birth a child is blessed by a Shinto rite, marriage is conducted in a Christian church, and the whole life is a śūnyatā of saṁskāras. The disappearance of Buddhism in India was due to the total genocide of monks and scorched earth destruction of monasteries down to their foundations by fundamentalist invaders. The householders had to find solace in prevalent saṁskāras that became the gradual fading out of Buddhism. If there had been Buddhist saṁskāras to sanctify the life of the laity, the Dhamma would have lived on till our times. The Sanchi University will have to create and conduct geo-specific and denomination-oriented courses in ritual so that the monks can consecrate four or five stages in a person's life. Moreover, intensive studies of "Engaged Buddhism" are a *sine qua non* to stop the massive conversion activities of monocentric religions. It is imperative that the saṅgha reaches out to the masses on its own, to energise them in the practice of Dharma. The time has come for dynamic action by the monastic order. It cannot wait for a devotee to come to the vihāra to pray, while a monk blesses him as a passive participant.

The Sanchi University has to be different from others in being the Renaissance of both teachings and practices, equally accessible to the people. The silent persecution of Buddhism has to be replaced by determination to fortify its onward march. In the words of the great Japanese monk Nichiren Daishonin: "the nail that sticks up will be hammered down". Buddhism is in a serious life-and-death struggle. It has to draw forth reserves of energy and wisdom. Traditional approach needs a re-appraisal. There can be no renaissance without a thirst for it. Sustained *vīrya-pāramitā*, or Gesamt-kunst-werk in the words of Wagner, has to amplify the positive life force of Dharma, with the harmonisation of the shadow of modernisation and the archetypes. Cultural terrorism of all shades has to be offset with new forms and images that amplify creative dynamism, by the networking of tradition and contemporary relevance.

Frank M. Tedesco organised a panel discussion on "Buddhism and Christianity in South Korea" at the DePaul University in Chicago. His 21 page partial chronology of sixteen years of vandalism against Buddhism in South Korea lists desecration, arson, defamation, and articles against Buddhist temples and individuals. They have been taking place every month. The Dharma Hall of the Kumsan Temple was burnt to the ground, even though it is listed as National Treasure no.476. The main Dharma Hall of the Kyongju campus of the Dongguk Buddhist University was completely burnt to the ground. Christian newspaper run by Rev. Kim Chul-young ran articles justifying and inciting vandalism of Buddhist property. We need studies of anti-Buddhist activism, ways to offset it, and massive protest demonstrations to stop it. Cultural vandalism has to be substituted by "harmonisation of diversity".

A few suggestions to make the Sanchi University an iconic alma mater of Buddhist studies.

1. Special institute devoted to every country or region, e.g. SriLanka, Thailand, and so on.

2. Faculty. Outstanding international Buddhologists should be invited for an year to train select Indian teachers in specific areas. The Indian teacher should have a doctorate. It will be "in-service training", first in India and thereafter in the country concerned.

3. Annual plan of research for every member of the faculty, at the beginning of the year, so that solid research is ensured.

4. Library should have a comprehensive collection of books and research journals, in hard print and electronic media.

5. Creation of a data base of Buddhist manuscripts and xylographs in CDs, hard disks, etc.

6. A data base of Buddhologists

7. An appeal to scholars to donate their collections of books on Buddhism and allied disciplines.

8. Publications.

(i) Reprint of John Marshall's Sanchi in useable A4 size.

(ii) Source book on Vidiśā from Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese, Tibetan, Srilankan, Burmese, Thai, Lao, Indonesian and other sources.

(iii) Research journal.

The footprints of time, the silent shadows of monuments, the immense expanse of the message of the Tathāgata across every land of Asia, the carnival of ageless eternity, the kiss of the eternal, the mindscape of valorisation, the sprawling stupas and vihāras, languages and literatures, architectonics and aesthetics, secular and spiritual are the holy of holies that should find a reincarnation in the Sanchi University. May I end with a few lines from Rabindranath Tagore's poem "To Java, by a pilgrim from India" that he wrote on 21 Aug 1927:

The call reaches me once again
across hundreds of speechless years.
That ancient token, grown pale,
hast not yet slipped off thy right arm.
They help me to retrace my way to the
inner chamber of thy life where
still the light is burning that we kindled together.

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7. THE LOTUS SUTRA AND TRANS-OCEANIC TRADE AS THE PULSATIONS OF NALANDA

Hsüan-tsang says that King Śakrāditya established the Nalanda University due to his faith in the 'One Vehicle' (Watters 2.164, Beal 2.168). 'One Vehicle' is Ekayāna (Jap. *ichijo*) of the Lotus Sutra. The Lotus Sutra places the greatest emphasis on it. It teaches that Ekayāna unifies and refines all the earlier teachings. "In the Lotus Sutra, the term One Vehicle is synonymous with the Buddha's true teaching" (Soka Dict. p. 481). The word 'lotus' in the title of the Sutra refers to the lotuses blooming all over Nalanda. *Nāla* and *nālika* mean 'lotus'. The Lotus Sutra was the foreboding of the future Nalanda.

Nalanda was constructed at the instance of monk Rājavaṁśa from Uttarāpatha by King Śakrāditya, as narrated by I-tsing in his "Memoirs of Sixty Monks". The Gupta kings were in constant combat with the Hūṇas. The monks of Uttarāpatha or Trans-Gandhara region could have acted as peace-makers and brought about peace in the Gupta empire to progress in its all-round prosperity and development. The Gupta emperors promoted art and literature and their proclivity to Uttarāpatha monks was but natural as an important contributive factor for peaceful conditions to enhance prosperity.

The names of the Gupta emperors Śrīgupta, Candragupta and Samudragupta indicate a flourishing trans-oceanic trade. In their names Śrī is affluence, Candra refers to the turbulence on the high seas due to the Moon or lunar phenomena, Samudra is Ocean, and gupta means that they provided protection and assistance of all kinds to the multinational merchants coming across the seas. King Śrīgupta had constructed the Cīna-vihāra for Chinese monks to study Buddhism. It was a precursor to the establishment of Nalanda which became a major attraction for Chinese *fa-shih* or dharmācāryas to study Buddhism. They came in mercantile flotillas, prayed when the waves tore the hearts of the passengers, and must have offered good offices in harmonising relations.

* * *

Nalanda was a dream-creation spun across the *prajñā* of Śāriputra who was an embodiment of the flame of the Buddha, and a continual renewal of the Buddhist vision of eternal reality in the life of man the *microtheos*. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana were the chief disciples of the Buddha, and throughout the centuries they have flanked him in images and paintings. While Maudgalyāyana was foremost in miracles (*ṛddhi*), Śāriputra was profound in wisdom (*prajñā*).

Śāriputra was born in the brahmin village of Nāla (also Nālaka, Nālika, Nāḷa in Pali texts) not far from Rājagṛha. He also died in Nālaka-gāma in the room where he was born. *Nāla*, *nālika* mean a 'lotus-flower' and *nālikinī* is a 'lake'. The village had an intellectual community (brahmins), was graced with the beauty of lotuses, was a favourite haunt of the Buddha where he delivered sutras.

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It was a prosperous town, thickly populated and influential during Buddha's time according to the Kevaṭṭa-sutta in the Saṁyutta-nikāya (2. 220)

Śāriputra had a quick intuition and the Buddha declared him foremost among those who possessed wisdom (*etad-aggaṁ mahā-paññānaṁ*[1]) in an assembly of monks and nuns. Buddha would suggest a topic, and Śāriputra would preach a whole sermon on it in detail[2]. The Buddha praises him: "Wise art thou, Sāriputta, comprehensive and manifold thy wisdom, joyous and swift, sharp and fastidious. Even as the elder son of a cakkavatti king turns the Wheel as his father hath turned it, so dost thou rightly turn the Wheel Supreme of the Dhamma, even as I have turned it."[3] He came to be called *Dhamma-senāpati*. The Buddha eulogises him in the Anupada-sutta as a supreme example of the perfect disciple, risen to perfection in noble virtue, noble concentration, noble perception and noble deliverance." The Buddha commends Sāriputta for the aloofness in his life and instructs him in the value of reflection[5]. Sāriputta was in charge of the saṅgha and protection of the integrity of its members by virtue of his position as the Chief Disciple of the Buddha. Once the Buddha asked Ānanda "Do you also approve of our Sāriputta?" Ānanda replied: "Wise is he, his wisdom comprehensive and joyous and swift, sharp and fastidious. Small is he in his desires and contented; loves seclusion and detachment, of rampant energy. A preacher is he, accepting advice, a critic, a scourge of evil".[6]

Sāriputta passed away some months before the Buddha. Realising that he would die in seven days, he took leave of the Buddha uttering the "lion's roar" or affirmation of faith in the Buddha: "there never was, nor is, nor shall be, anyone possessing higher wisdom than the Buddha"[7] in the Nālandā-sutta. There is another Nālandā-sutta, again in the Saṁyutta-nikāya, that records a conversation between the Buddha and householder Upāli in the mango-grove of Pāvārika as to why some beings attain full freedom in this world while others do not. Thus Nālandā the village was an order of values and insight, a millennial hymn to the wonders of wisdom.

Sāriputta was proficient in Abhidhamma as well. He learnt it from the Buddha himself when he preached it to the gods of Trayastriṁśa heaven. The seven books of the Abhidhamma coincide with the conclusion of Buddha's sermon in Trayastriṁśa. Sāriputta fixed the textual order and the numerical series of Abhidhamma.

The Avadāna-śataka 2.186 reiterates that Nālanda-grāmaka was the birthplace of Śāriputra. Likewise Mahāvastu 3.56 speaks of Nālandā-grāmaka, half a yojana from Rājagṛha, rich, prosperous and affluent where Śāriputra was born as the son of a rich brahmin father. Śāriputra became proficient in prajñāpāramitā just after a fortnight of his ordination.[8] Nālandā is not mentioned in the other extant Buddhist sutras in Sanskrit. But it did play a leading role, as the Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon of Mahāvyutpatti, which was commissioned by the Tibetan Emperor for the translation of Sutras and Tantras into Tibetan does not translate it into Tibetan but just transcribes it in Tibetan letters: *Dpal* (Śrī) *Nālandā*.

As the home town of Śāriputra, Nālandā was endowed with a destiny of the "sacred". Emperor Aśoka consecrated a stupa to him here as the ground from which wisdom and beauty will flower, so that this sacred soil may become a hymn to Bodhi.

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Nāla is the lotus stalk, *nālika* is the lotus flower. The lotus (*puṣkara*) is a symbol "which communicates the notion of a 'ground', as the means of our support in the boundless waters of the possibilities of existence" in the words of Coomaraswamy based on Sāyaṇa's commentary on Ṛgveda 6.16.3[9]. In the Maitrī-upaniṣad 6.2, "the petals of the lotus are the points of the compass: directions, that is, of indefinite extension" (ibid 172) "What is the lotus and of what sort? What this lotus is is Space, forsooth; the four quarters and four interquarters are its constituent petals" (ibid. 173 n.36). "The one lotus of the sky" is the Sun or Brahma in the Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad 2.3.6, 6.3.6 (ibid.361 n. 26). The "lotus of the heart, in dwelt by the Golden Person of the Sun" (Maitrī-upaniṣad 6.2, ibid. 424 n.16). The lotus is a metaphor of purity, as in the Saṁyutta-nikāya 3.140: "Just as, Brethren, a lotus, born in the water, full grown in the world, surpasses the world, and is unaffected by the world".[10] A similar hermeneutics of the lotus is reflected in the Tendai concept of *rengi-chi*, literally 'lotus-wisdom' (*renge* 'lotus' or *puṇḍarīka* + *chi* 'jñāna') in the interpretation of the Lotus Sutra.

The Lotus Sutra or Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra is unique in celebrating the lotus or *puṇḍarīka* in its very title. According to the word index to this Sutra edited by Yasunori Ejima (p.630) the word *puṇḍarīka* occurs several times in the text, *always* compounded: *ārya-saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (15 times, p.161), *utpala-padma-kumuda-p°* (once, p.190), *śrī-saddharma-p°* (12 times, p.996), *saddharma-p°* (several times, p.1030-32). The lotus and saddharma are closely connected. The Sutra was pronounced by the Buddha on Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa, which is near Nālandā. Buddha expounds his teachings to different śrāvakas in the Lotus Sutra. In the main chapter of the first half on "Expedient Means" He speaks to Śāriputra (Ikeda 2000:1.44), as well as in the other nine chapters of the initial half. Arising from his deep meditation the Buddha suddenly turns to Śāriputra and says: "The wisdom of the Buddhas is infinitely profound and immeasurable. The door to this wisdom is difficult to understand and difficult to enter" (ibid.112). In the same chapter Śāriputra begs Him to expound the true teachings of the Buddhas (ibid. 114). The Sutra describes Śāriputra as being filled with irrepressible joy and leaping to his feet to make a gesture of reverence to Śākyamuni. It was a re-vitalisation for the śrāvakas, as it made the esteemed Śāriputra "foremost in wisdom" to leap to his feet (ibid. 151).

The Lotus Sutra is associated closely with the lotus as symbolic of wisdom, with Śāriputra as the foremost in wisdom, with the synchronicity of dharma and wisdom, with Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa — all hailing Nalanda the village of Śāriputra as the locus of illumination in their implicit silence. The Lotus Sutra became one of the most important sacred texts and is one of Nine Scriptures of Buddhism or *nava-dharmāḥ* in Nepal.

There was a close nexus between Gṛdhrakūṭa and Nagarahāra (mod.Jelalabad in Afghanistan). A Chinese inscription found by E. Chavannes in his archaeological mission to Northern China says: "When we behold the precious characteristics, it is as though the whole and very person of the Buddha were present in majesty... The Gṛdhrakūṭa is before our eyes; Nagarahāra is present. There is a rain of precious flowers that robs the very clouds of colour; a celestial music is heard, enough to silence the sound of ten thousand flutes. When we consider the perfection of the Body of the Word, the eight perils are avoided; when we hear the teachings of the Mighty Intellect, the seventh heaven is reached ." Nagarahāra was in Uttarāpatha, beyond Gandhara. Chinese authors include Tashkand and Samarkand in Uttarāpatha (translated into Chinese as "Northern India"). I-tsing says that Nalanda was constructed by King Śrī-Śakrāditya for the bhikṣu Rājavaṁśa from the Northern Trans Gandhara. The perimeter of this monastery in the beginning was only a square of fifty feet. Later on, the kings who succeeded him made it larger and larger, so vast that today there is no monastery more magnificent than it in the whole of Jambudvīpa. One cannot trace all its proportions in detail" (Chavannes 1894: 84-85). Hsüan-tsang also attributes its foundation to King Śakrāditya, but does not mention the name of Rājavaṁśa. He says: "Śakrāditya... esteeming the One Vehicle and reverencing the Three Precious Ones, built a monastery". The "One Vehicle" here refers to *Ekayāna* of the Lotus Sutra. Thus the Lotus Sutra had hallowed the grounds for the construction of future Nalanda. "The king's son and successor Buddhagupta, continuing his father's good work, to the south of this monastery built another one. King Tathāgatagupta built a third and King Bālāditya added a fourth (Watters[12] 1905:2.164).

Nalanda had been preceded by Cīna-vihāra (the word Cīna is transliterated and not translated by I-tsing). Only its brick foundations were visible when Master Hui-lun of Silla (Korea) visited the region. A tradition transmitted from ancient times by the elders said that this monastery was constructed for Chinese monks by Mahārāja Śrīgupta who founded the Gupta dynasty towards the end of the third century (Chavannes[13] 1894:82, Lahiri [14] 1986:49). Under the reign of its third king Candragupta I it rose into prominence. His son and successor Samudragupta (r. 335-375) extended his dominions to cover the whole of northern India. The construction of a special monastery for Chinese monks seems to be due to the increasing sea trade with China. The merchants were accompanied by bhikṣus to ensure a safe passage. Śrīgupta must have realised the economic importance of Chinese trade and ensured a comfortable stay for the Buddhist monks to study Buddhism in India. Śrīgupta means the king who ensured (*gupta*) the affluence (*śrī*) of his fledgling state. Candra in Candragupta refers to the turbulence in the ocean caused by the moon, and by semantic extension 'marine trade'. Candragupta must have ruled (gupta) the waves. His son was named Samudragupta (ruled 335-375): a clear reference to the Gupta dominance over the seas.

Nalanda became a favourite monastery for the Chinese to study Buddhism in India. They must have enjoyed some special privileges due to the interest of the Gupta emperors to promote trade relations with China. In his memoirs of sixty monks who visited India during the T'ang dynasty, I-tsing says that thirteen of them were in Nalanda:

serial no.	name of the ācārya	Chavannes[13]
1	Hsüan-chao	p. 17, 25
2	Tao-shi	29, 30
4	Āryavarman of Korea	32
5	Hüi-yeh of Korea	34

10	Buddhadharma of Tukhāra	38
12	Tao-sheng	39
32	Ta-ch'ang-teng	72
41	Hui-lun	82, 84
42	Tao-lin	101, 104
46	Hsüan-k'uei vinayācārya	121, 123, 125
48	Ling-yün	126
51	Chih-hung	136, 138
52	Wu-hsing	145

The literary, philosophical, artistic, and tantric creativity of Nalanda reached heights never to be repeated in keeping with the spirit of the times. This writeup contextualises the opening of the Nalanda University in its philosophical, theoretical, economic and political backdrop of the golden period of Indian history under the rule of the Gupta emperors who were themselves connoisseurs of higher values, belle lettres, and fine arts.

[1] Aṅguttara-nikāya 1.23.

[2] Majjhima-nikāya 1.13.

[3] Saṁyutta-nikāya 1.191.

[4] Majjhima-nikāya 3.25f.

[5] Piṇḍapāta-pārisuddhi-sutta in Majjhima-nikāya 3.294f.

[6] Saṁyutta-nikāya 1.63.

[7] Saṁyutta-nikāya 5.159f.

[8] Mahāvastu 3.67.4

[9] Roger Lipsey, *Coomaraswamy 1. Selected Papers*, Bollingen Series LXXXIX, Princeton University Press, 1.97 n.91.

[10] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Cambridge MA (Harvard University Press), 1935:21.

[11] Daisaku Ikeda, *The Wisdom of the Lotus Sutra*, vol.1, Santa Monica CA, 2000.

[12] Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and S.W. Bushell, London (Royal Asiatic Society), 105.

[13] Edouard Chavannes, *Mémoire composé a l'époque de la Grande Dynastie T'ang sur les Religieux Éminents qui alèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident par I-tsing*, Paris (Ernest Leroux), 1894.

[14] Latika Lahiri, *Chinese Monks in India*, by I-ching, New Delhi (Motilal Banarasidass), 1986.

[15] *The Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, Tokyo, 2002.

8. VIKRAMAŚILĀ UNIVERSITY AND TIBET

Vikramaśilā was founded by King Dharmapāla (770-810) as a major centre of Tantric learning. Tāranātha terms the first twelve heads of the monastery as "Twelve Tantric Teachers". From the very foundation of their dynasty the Pāla kings started the establishment of Odantapuri, Somapura and Vikramaśilā (VS) monasteries for the continuity and prosperity of their state in the sanctification of the new cosmopolis of Vairocana. Vairocana means the 'Sun' and has been so rendered in Sino-Japanese *Dainichi* 'Great (Transcendent) Sun'. Vajradhātu Vairocana was a substitution for Mithraism or the worship of Mithra, whom the Achaemenian kings regarded as their special patron, the arch foe of powers of evil and hence the god of battles. Mithraism took firm root in the West in the first century AC and Rome itself became a great centre of his cult. He bore the title *Sol Invictus* 'Unconquerable Sun' and under Diocletian *Sol Invictus* became the 'Protector of the Empire'. *Sol Invictus* became the Buddhist Ajita Maitreya, sitting with his legs pendent in bhadrāsana or the royal posture of Bactrian (Bhadra) kings. This itself is an indication that the cult of Maitreya was from Bactria and secondly it had royal characteristics. With the evolution of the Avataṁsaka sutras in the Ramyaka region (modern Lamghan valley where once stood the Bamiyan colossi) Mithra the God of Light was named Rocana from the root *ruc* 'to shine', the Buddha of heavenly light. The main text of the Avataṁsaka corpus is named Ramyaka-sūtra in the Chinese translation by Āryasthira done in 388-407 (K102). By 699 AC Rocana became Vairocana in the Chinese translation of Śikṣānanda. The Shingon tradition of Japan traces the epiphany of Vairocana to Nāgārjuna II of South India who lived around 600 AC, followed by his disciple Nāgabodhi and his disciple Vajrabodhi (671-741). He was invoked as Mahāvairocana Cakravartin or a supreme ruler, accompanied by *sapta-ratna* or seven jewels of the state. Amoghavajra (705-774 var.770) wrote a manual for invoking him as Ekākṣara Uṣṇīsacakravartin (T.19.322) which means: an Exalted (uṣṇīṣa) Emperor (Cakravartin) whose word is Supreme (*eka*) command (*akṣara*). The Vajradhātu-maṇḍala was organised by Amoghavajra in nine sections to correspond to the nine wards of the Imperial capital of Ch'ang-an to correspond to the nine divisions of the celestial sphere. Borobudur in Indonesia is the great Sumeru for the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala envisaged as a palladium of the Śailendra state. From the seventh century onwards the maṇḍalas of Vairocana in his multiple forms became a state cult of legitimation, sanctification and stabilisation. The young state of Guge sought its safety, security, strength and solidity in the cult of Vairocana, and the king deputed Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po to India to bring scriptures as well as invite Atiśa from Vikramaśilā which was the prime seat of Tantric learning. The early monasteries are thus dedicated to Vairocana. Vikramaśilā was the rock (*śilā*), the source of the stability of the state, and thus played a crucial role in attracting powerful persons from as far as Guge and Kashmir. Vikramaśilā was a shining symbol of the grand unity of India where Kashmir and Magadha shared secular and sacred concerns. It was an imperial templum to stabilise the charisma of authority by routinisation in cults of state.

The name Vikramaśilā has two components: vikrama and śilā. The word *vikrama* is the enshrinement, the course, the way of values, the power and strength of its inner stability and is the name of Viṣṇu in the Mahābhārata. In Śaiva philosophy it is 'supernatural power' according to the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha a compendium of the different philosophical systems of Sanātana Dharma. The word *vikrama* also echoes the celebrated king of Ujjayinī who drove out the Śakas and was a great patron of literature and nine celebrated scholars (*nava-ratna*) flourished at his court. The second component of the name is *śilā* 'stone, rock' and signifies firm or hard as a stone. *Śilā* is reminiscent of Takṣaśilā which is a great centre of learning in the Jātakas. The commentary on the Dhammapada says that Prasenajit the king of Kosala, Mahāli chief of the Licchavīs, and Bandhula prince of the Mallas were classsmates at the Taxila University. Jīvaka the physician of Lord Buddha had also studied at Taxila. Students flocked to Taxila from all over India, even though its discipline was very strict. Taxila was the capital of Gandhara. It was included in the empire of Bindusāra and Aśoka was sent to quell a rebellion there. There were close contacts between Magadha and Taxila and it is no wonder that Vikramaśilā was named after it. Taxila was associated with mantrayāna (Noudou 1980:81) and Haribhadra the distinguished commentator of the Prajñāpāramitā was a resident of Taxila who died some years before 800 (ibid.83). His disciple Buddhajñāna was one of the chief initiators of mantranaya and he is the beginning of the lineage of Guhyasamāja. Buddhajñāna was the abbot of Nalanda and Vikramaśilā was vilified violently by the monks of Odantapuri according to Tāranātha and Sum.pa.mkhan.po, as they spoke of Tantra in insulting terms and destroyed the silver statue of Heruka at Vajrāsana (ibid.81). Thus Vikramaśilā was conceived of as a confirmed centre of Vajrayāna, as a tower of strength (*vikrama*), as a rock (*śilā*) anchor of the esoteric system (guhya-yāna). The name should be spelt as Vikramaśilā 'Mighty Rock', on the analogy of Takṣaśilā (compare Russian *silo* 'village'). The Tibetan name of VS is Rnam.gon.tshul or Rnam.gnon.ṅaṅ.tshul in which the second element is *śīla*.

King Gopāla founded the Odantapurī, and his son King Devapāla (810-850) was the founder of the Somapura monastery and commissioned Vīradeva to look after Nalanda and renovate its buildings. Tāranātha says that the head of *VS controlled Nalanda* (Schiefner 218, Dutt 353).

VS was founded by Dharmapāla (770-810) the second king of the Pala dynasty, as a centre of the esoteric teachings of the Tantras. There were more than a hundred buildings in its precincts. Its complete destruction by the Muslims in 1203, was "the ultimate decline of Buddhism in India" (*Soka Dict.* 2002 s.v.)

Tāranātha (ch. 38) gives a list of its successive ācāryas from Dharmapāla's reign to the Turuṣka invasion. The illustrations of the most eminent teachers decorated its walls.

1 Buddha-jñānapāda (during the rule of Dharmapāla)

2 Dīpaṅkarabhadra (during the rule of Dharmapāla)

Śānti was a teacher during the rule of Dharmapāla. He was invited by the King of Sri Lanka (TN 1970:295).

3 Laṅkā Jayabhadra (during the rule of Masurakṣita)
4 Śrīdhara
5 Bhavabhadra
6 Bhavyakīrti
7 Līlāvajra
8 Durjayacandra
9 Kṛṣṇasamayavajra
10 Tathāgatarakṣita
11 Bodhibhadra
12 Kamalarakṣita, teacher of Atiśa.

Each of the teachers 3-12 acted as chief of VS for twelve years. Tāranātha enumerates them as "Twelve Tantric Teachers" in the introductory chapter.

Tāranātha gives an account of the great Buddhist masters during the reign of the Pāla kings. Their chronology is as follows according to him:

ch.	page	king
29	265	Gopāla
	265	Devapāla, son of Gopāla (ruled for 48 years, p.271)
	271	Rāsapāla, son of Devapāla (12 years)
30	274	Dharmapāla, son of Rāsapāla (64 years)
31	284-	Masurakṣita, son-in-law of Dharmapāla (8 years)
	284	Vanapāla, son of Dharmapāla (10 years)
	284	Mahīpala, son of Vanapāla (52 years)
32	289	Mahāpāla, son of Mahīpāla (41 years) Mainly worshipped the saṅgha in Odantapurī.
	[289	Śāmupāla]
33	294	Śreṣṭhapāla, eldest son of Mahāpāla (3 years), died
	294	The second son of Mahāpāla had not attained adult age, so his maternal uncle *Canaka* ruled for 29 years. Turuṣkas of Bengal defeated.
33, 34	295, 304	Bheyapāla the son of Mahāpāla (32 years)
	303	Six Dvārapaṇḍitas After the six passed away, Atiśa invited to head VS.
	305	Neyapāla, son of Bheyapāla (35 years)
35	310	Āmrapāla, son of Neyapāla (13 years)
	310	Hastipāla, son of Āmrapāla (15 years)
	310	His brother Kṣāntipāla (14 years)

36	313	Rāmapāla, son of Hastipāla (46 years)
		Abhayākaragupta was the chief of VS.
	314	Yakṣapāla, son of Rāmapāla (1 year)
		Minister usurped the throne
	—	Rule of the Pāla family came to an end
	13-18	Six Dvāra-paṇḍitas (in 955-983)
	13	Ratnākaraśānti
	14	Vāgīśvarakīrti
	15	Naropa
	16	Prajñākaramati
	17	Ratnavajra
	18	Jñānaśrīmitra
	—	No succession of upādhyāyas for some years
	19	Śrīdīpaṅkarajñāna Atiśa
	—	No upādhyāya for seven years
	20	Mahāvajrāsana
	21	Kamalakuliśa
	22	Narendraśrījñāna
	23	Dānarakṣita
	24	Abhayākara for a long time
	25	Śubhākaragupta
	26	Nayakapaśrī
	27	Dharmākaraśānti
	28	Śākyaśrī of Kashmir
	—	End of Vikramaśilā

The lives and academic achievements of the upādhyāyas have been narrated by Tārānātha.

Atiśa received ordination at Nalanda, studied at Odantapuri and became heard of VS from where he went to Tibet. He is the most outstanding master who was invited to Tibet. Nag.tsho Lotsava and party came to convey the invitation. On the first night of their arrival they stayed at the Tibetan hostel within the gates of the VS (Dutt 362). Nag.tsho Lotsava wrote a stotra of eighty verses on Atiśa's life where he mentions that there were about a hundred monks at VS (Blue Annals 243 n.2). The famous Siddha Naropa (1016-1100) was the dvāra-paṇḍita of the northern gate of VS when Atiśa left for Tibet (Dutt 351). Atiśa travelled across Tibet and was welcomed with demonstrative enthusiasm and he received much wealth from devotees. He sent it to VS on three occasions (BA.259).

Sum.pa.mkhan.po (p.113) says that around its surrounding rampart were 103 temples and one was built outside it by Buddhajñāna. Inside the enclosure there were 58 residences in which 108 paṇḍitas lived.

Tāranātha names six eminent dvāra-paṇḍitas who manned the six gates of VS during the reign of King Caṇaka (ruled 955-983) in chapter 33 of his history.

Eastern gate: Ācārya Ratnākaraśānti
Western gate: Vāgīśvarakīrti
Northern gate: Naropa
Southern gate: Prajñākaramati
First Central gate: Ratnavajra
Second Central gate: Jñānaśrīmitra

Their works are found in the Tanjur. Learned paṇḍitas were known in Bengal as dvāra-paṇḍita who officiated as priests in the residences of the landed aristocracy (Dutt 361).

Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po had studied with Ratnavajra of Kashmir. Ratnavajra had studied at VS where he attained the degree of paṇḍita and returned home (Kashmir), travelled to Tholing and translated several texts into Tibetan. Later he went to Central Tibet to supervise the rebuilding of the Bsam.yas Monastery burnt in 986. The Blue Annals (p.378) say that he instructed Dam.pa.saṅs.rgyas of South India in the doctrine of mahāmudrā and the latter introduced *zhi.byed* system in Tibet (Na.170). Most of his writings revolve around Hevajra and Cakrasaṁvara.

Scholars from Vikramaśilā arrived in Tholing and helped in the revision of the Pramāṇavārtik-ālaṅkāra of Prajñākaragupta by Kumāraśrī and Śūnyaśrī, both from Kashmir, in collaboration with Ḥphags.pa.śes.rab (Na.231).

During the reign of Mahīpāla (988-1027) ācārya Ānandgarbha studied the five disciplines of grammar, logic, metaphysics, medicine and Śilpasthāna-vidyā at VS. He studied the yoga-tantras with Prakāśacandra in Bengal and became a great scholar in them. He had a vision of the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala. Prajñāpālita came from Madhyadeśa to listen to him on the Tattva-saṅgraha (TN 1970: 285-6). Ānandagarbha composed a commentary on the Guhyasamāja.

King Caṇaka ruled in the interregnum after Mahāpāla (1070-1075). The Turuṣkas from Bengal attacked Magadha. The bali-ācārya of VS prepared the mahābali of Acala which was put into the Gaṅgā, and boats carrying the Turuṣkas were drowned. The king won the war and restored peace in the kingdom (TN 1970: 294).

During the rule of Bheyapāla the younger son of King Mahāpāla, the western Door-keeper of VS was Vāgīśvarakīrti, a profound scholar in grammar, logic, Cakrasaṁvara and Vāgīśvara. He had frequent visions of Tārā. He built many institutions for Dharma: eight for Prajñāpāramitā, four for Guhyasamāja, one each for Hevajra, Cakrasaṁvara, Māyā, and Madhyamaka logic. He taught Sūtrālaṅkāra, Guhyasamāja, Hevajra, Yamāri, Laṅkāvatāra and several other sutras. He worked at VS for many years (TN 1970: 297-8). Tāranātha goes on to narrate the lives of the dvāra-paṇḍita of the north Naropa, followed by those of Bodhibhadra, the paṇḍita of the First Great Central Pillar Ratnavajra and the paṇḍita of the Second Great Central Pillar Jñānaśrīmitra.

During the period of Bheyapāla, Prajñārakṣita was a great scholar of Tantras and had received seventy empowerments of Cakrasaṁvara. When VS was attacked by Turuṣkas, he made offerings to Cakrasaṁvara whereby their commander and soldiers were struck by terrible thunder four times and they retreated.

The fame of Vikramaśilā spread over the whole of India as the Tantric University (Na 152). Tilopa (988-1069) defeated five hundred heretic scholars in a debate on the Kālacakra at VS.

King Rāmapāla appointed Abhayākaragupta (12th cent.) as the chief of VS. At this time there were 160 paṇḍitas and a thousand resident monks (Sumpa 130). Abhayākara was the last of the great ācāryas. Rga lotsava studied under him. It was flourishing at the time of Elder Dharmasvāmin (1153-1216) and Śākyaśrī of Kashmir (1145-1225, Dutt 359).

Śākyaśrī of Kashmir headed the VS during the raid of Muhammad bin-Bakhtyar in ca 1197. He had studied at VS under Śubhākara and was one of the two great intellectuals of the time alongwith Ratnarakṣita. He outshone in logic and Ratnarakṣita in mantrayāna. After the raid he lived at Jagaddala for three years, and journeyed to Tibet in 1204 at the age of 73 years. He worked with several Tibetan scholars, and headed the Sa.skya monastery, where Sa.skya Paṇ.chen (1182-1251) became his disciple. He is famous as Kha.che paṇ.chen 'the Great Paṇḍita from Kashmir'. He returned to Kashmir and passed away in 1225.

The guru of Chag lotsava Dharmasvāmin (1197-1264) had studied in VS under Tsa.mi Saṅs.rgyas.grags.pa a Tibetan Sanskrit scholar who attained the high distinction of being appointed dvāra-paṇḍita of VS (Roerich 1959. xl). When Dharmasvamin visited Nalanda in 1235 there were no traces of VS as the Turuṣka soldiery had razed it to the ground, and had thrown away its very foundation stones into the Gaṅgā.

The site of VS has been identified with Antichak in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar near Patharghata on the bank of the Gaṅgā.

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Funding by IKS-MoE

9. VOTIVE GODDESSES

(foreword to Dr. Seema Bawa, *Gods, Men and Women*)

Dr. Seema Bawa's *Gods, Men and Women* is a comprehensive overview and detailed analysis of gender relations and sacred sexuality. Erudite and meticulously researched, it analyses the gynocentric evolution as revealed by the rich artistic tradition of five creative centuries, two before the common era and three thereafter. It is a significant and scrupulous study that brings together art, sculptures, poetic classics and ritual to provide a vivid portrait of reality where denigration of women and their deification ran parallel. The book is a major attempt to encompass the paradoxes of the tradition that both glorifies the female and equates her with evil, and to rectify the imperialistic distortions of decadence versus the symbolic valorisation of Indian scholars of the period of national resurgence, and to revise the colonial strategy of projecting the status of women as lowly to castigate Indic culture as backward-looking. Dr. Bawa steers a middle course to present the spectrum from the sexualisation of the body to the transcendental goddess. She interprets the symbolism of the body stance, hairdo, jewellery, hand gestures, body postures and other attributes to define the role of women either in rites or in devotion.

Dr. Bawa speaks of the biological perpetuation of humans as giving rise to the reproductive women in the nude Lajjā-Gaurī with her *yoni* in outspread legs signifying safe delivery. Though not mentioned in texts, her votive images are spread extensively over space and time. Her votive statuettes were part of child-rearing rituals, as there were no Caesarean operations. Ritual practices arose to fulfill the need of a rising population to meet the development demands of urbanisation. The coined term Lajjā-Gaurī would better be changed to Prasūtikā.

Dr. Bawa details the breast-touching sculptures as a consumer image of women for male voyeuristic gratification. The breast-offering indicates sound lactation to feed the infant (in Indonesia ladies whose breasts are not fully developed have to feed cocoanut-milk to their babies). It is a votive ritualistic statuette offered at a shrine by mothers, who feared lactation deficiency so that the infant is well nourished. The offering of *sañcaka* (statuettes or small votive plaques) was an important ritual to ensure child welfare. She may be termed Dugdhikā. Gender dynamics has been measured in terms of social norms and practices in this work. Dr. Bawa's luminous writing is a masterly survey of the amatorial context of the feminine spirituality and its divine dynamics.

The depiction of feminine charms, of erotic couples playing in the heart's deep blue, the thundering nudity of the breasts (Sanskrit *stana* "breast" is cognate to *stanayitnu* "thunder"), and the conspicuous *yoni*: are the *kāmadhātu* and *rūpadhātu* of the classical epochs. Matrimony and patrimony in the rich statuary of five centuries open as divine beauty and transcendent purity in the carefully researched work of Dr. Bawa. She describes each and every available piece found in

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India. This renders it a rich source book for further studies in the principle of male-female complementarity.

Sanskrit is the only language that has a "regular dual" number, both in nouns and verbs. It is a reflection of life as a biunity of the male and female creativity. It is a natural perception of the patrimony and matrimony as the *élan vitale* of life, in spite of the negative socio-ethical ideas about feminity. In the Ṛgveda*, dyauḥ* (Sky) is the father, and *pṛithvī* (Earth) is the mother. It has a parallel in Greek Zeus Pater (Latin Ju-piter) and De-meter "Earth Mother". The underlying concepts of gender come alive in the clear prose of Dr. Bawa, amidst her candid statements of the hot spots of the negative.

The writer has a detailed description of Hārītī who arose from an ogress to a yakṣiṇī queen and became the Goddess of Children, when she sought refuge in Lord Buddha and gave up devouring children. She is invoked to this day by rural childless women in Japan to bless them with progeny. The statuary always depicts her with several children and is a positive image of the feminine.

Dr. Bawa is realistic in her interpretations, e.g. offering the breast can be a gesture of suckling a baby, instead of its being an amorous diversion. The topless females reflect the vogue of their times (as we can see in the pre-modern nineteenth century European paintings), while in Gandhāra art the goddesses are draped (see Hārīti on p.143). Sculptures or reliefs of sporting couples (*rati-līlā*) were outside the sanctum which was bare inside. It was a spiritual journey from the gross iconic to the subtle aniconic. There are *Kāmasūtra* scenes on the door jambs of Ajanta or at Khajuraho to symbolise the ascension from the erotic to the esoteric. Squandering when the blood runs hot is no sin in Indic thought. It is in fact the *kāma* aspect of three superordinates (*trivarga*) of life.

Dr. Seema Bawa's book is veristic in developing a blood connection of engendered art with the fountainheads of maternalistic culture. Indic art celebrates *eros kalos* (beauty of the erotic) as the desires and passions of *kāma* are inelectable. The book valorises women through the lens of art. It evaluates dominance psychology and complementarity of sexes. A modern wave on ancient shores: it is both scintillating art history and titillating visuality.

12 June 2013

Funding by IKS-MoE

10. HIMALAYAS: ASCENT OF THE MIND

Himalayas are our sacred silence in the midst of surging centuries, the perfume of that beyond the senses, the fine carefree rapture of Nature in the esoteric mindscape of India. They are our Puruṣa and Prakṛti: full of subtle nuances, our hidden eyes of wisdom in the tangled, the obscure, and the inexplicable. The sun, deserts and glaciers of the Himalayas vibrate to the hidden impulses that govern the breath of the universe. They fill the ascension of India with life and movement: **उद् यानं ते पुरुष** in the words of the Ṛgveda, up here in the solemn, crystalline dignity of the Great Truths. The Himalayas are our mind divine. In Ṛgveda 10.121.4 the Himavat is the glory of the Lord, the Prajāpati:

यस्येमे हिमवन्तो महित्वा यस्य समुद्रं रसया सहाहुः ।
यस्येमाः प्रदिशो यस्य बाहू कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥

In us are the Himalayas, the secret and untranslated Himalayas, lofty peaks sparkling in the sun, while the hymn of Man arises from the stony wastes of menacing beauty. Here are our ever-fresh plunges into the inner realms. Poet Bhāravi says in the Kirātārjunīya 5.17:

अलमेषां विलोकितः प्रजानां सहसा संहतिमंहसां विहन्तुम् ।
घनवर्त्म सहस्त्रधेव कुर्वन् हिमगौरैरचलाधिपः शिरोभिः ॥

In the Vedic tradition the wood Himavat includes the NW ranges, like the systems of the Suleiman hills. Sanskrit *hima*, *himā* 'winter' are also the heritage of the European family: Gk. *khiōn, dus-khimos*, Lat. *hiems*, and Church Slavonic *zima* 'winter'. The English word *snow* is from the root *snih* 'to love', in Ch Sl. *snĕgŭ*, Avesta *snaēg*. Soma is *maujavata* in RV. 10.34.1 from Mūjavat, a mountain in the Himalayas in the Mahābhārata. So also in AV. 4.9.9, 5.4.2, 8, 25.7, 6.95.3, 12.1.11, 19.39.1. In AV. 6.24.1 the rivers flow from the Himavat: **हिमवन्तः प्र स्त्रवन्ति।** Taittirīya-saṁhitā and Aitareya-brāhmaṇa refer to Himavat: **ये के च परेण हिमवन्तं जनपदा उत्तरकुरव उत्तरमद्रा इति।** Himalayas are the ancient-most fatherland from the very beginning of our history. They are the spiritual soil of our civilisation. In Rāmāyāṇa 1.35.15-16 Menā is the wife of the Himalaya whose daughters are Gaṅgā and Umā. Śiva's consort is the daughter of the Himalayas. In the BhagavadGītā the Himalaya is supreme among the stationary: **स्थावराणां हिमालयः।** The āśrama of Maharṣi Vyāsa was in Badarīnārāyaṇa and he performed *tapas* in the Himalayas (MBh. 1.114.24). In the Karṇaparva 34.22 Himavān and Vindhya are the axles of the chariot of Śiva.

Himalayas have been the eternal refuge in calamities. Bhārgava women hid in the Himalayas when kṣatriyas were hunting out the Bhṛgus (MBh. 1.177.20). Throughout history whenever our homesteads were drenched with tears and stained with blood, Himalayas were the refuge. King Lakṣmaṇa Sena was surprised in his capital of Nadia when he was taking his midday meal by Bakhtiyar Khalji in ca 1202 with only 18 troopers. The king took shelter in the Himalayas. Defeated in his expedition against Tibet, Khalji died of mortification in 1206.

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Pliny's *Natural History* 6.17 (77 AC) spells Himavat as Imaus, Emōdus.

In Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava the Himalaya is the vast empyrean of gods. It is the space silence continuum where eternity is intelligible but time is puzzling.

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः।
पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधी ऽवगाह्य स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः ॥

The Tibetan Tanjur preserves a national anthem of Kālidāsa in Sanskrit with its Tibetan translation on the cultural geography of India with the Himalaya.

In the Vāyupurāṇa 77.117 सर्वं पुण्यं हिमवतो ... Kailāsa-Manasarovara is a creation of the mind (*manas*) of Brahmā. It is the Anavatapta Lake of the Pali scriptures. Himalayas are a journey in time and spirit wherein *Une vie d'analyse pour une heure de synthèse*. The torment, the passion, the heart of India lives in the sublime inaccessible of the Himalayas. The wooden temples of Chamba, the Kanika chorten, Mulbek Maitreya, Kharosthi inscriptions, the lost 80 ft. high Maitreya at Darel, and all that survives is our journey into the transcendent.

The tremendous heritage of the Himalayas are the thousands of resplendent monasteries of Tibet, the hearth and heart of these sacred mountains. They are the sound and colour of the warmth of life in the deadly silence of the void. The Himalayas imply, and we ponder. They are the manifestation of energy in its subtle forms, giving birth to eternal striving that brings humans into the cosmic rhythms: "as a wind not to be captured by a net" (Asaṅga).

Funding by IKS-MoE

11. GUPTA-VĀKĀṬAKA AGE

We have before us the sixth volume of *A New History of the Indian People*, covering "The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age" (circa 200-550 AD) edited by Prof. Drs. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, published under the famous scheme of the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad (first edition 1946). The period which had hitherto borne only the name of the Guptas has been more comprehensively designated as the Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age, a compound that is sure to arrest the attention of a Sanskrit grammarian. One is at a loss to understand what made the learned editors to put the word Vākāṭaka as the first member of the compound, contrary to the well-known rule of Pāṇini 2.2.34 *alpāctaram* sc. *pūrvam*, according to which, when a copulative or dvandva compound consists of two words of an unequal number of syllables, the word of fewer syllables must precede. Prof. W. Caland in his article on this law under the captain "A Rhythmic Law in Language" (*Acta Orientalia* 1931:9.59-68) show its prevalence in Sanskrit and other languages of the world like Dutch, Basque, Arabic, Magyar, and Javanese, and thereby demonstrates the natural inherence of this law is the genius of languages. Moreover, according to the vārtika *abhyarhitañ ca* on Pāṇini 2.2.34 a word of more important significance should precede others, as *tāpasa-parvatau*. From this point of view too, the word Vākāṭaka should not have occupied the first place in the compound. The editors themselves admit that "it is not claimed that the political or cultural achievements of the Vākāṭakas were comparable to those of the Guptas". The Vākāṭakas too must have been conscious of the greatness of the Imperial Guptas, as evidenced by the Copper Plate Inscriptions of Prabhāvatī Guptā from Poona (regnal year 13) and Rithpur (regnal year 19)*, which proudly set forth their connection with the Gupta dynasty.

Considering it from all angles, we should read the compound as 'Gupta-Vākāṭaka', which form has incidentally crept in the Editorial Preface p.ix, though elsewhere the form 'Vākāṭaka-Gupta' is employed regularly.

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* D. C. Sirkar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 411f.

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12. SANSKRIT AS THE TRANSCREATIVE DIMENSION OF THE LANGUAGES AND THOUGHT SYSTEMS OF EUROPE AND ASIA

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Sanskrit has been and continues to be an expression of creativity, a movement of lexical energy, and it has played a historic role in the development of human society both in the West and in the East. It has been a primal force and unquestionable inspiration in the physical, artistic and concrete expression of the mind striving to scale the heights, such as the wonders that science and technology have wrought. It is the light upon the depth of the unspoken, where words float in the larger meaning beyond the voice to create the solid strength of structures of expression. It has been a beckoning call through the corridors of time over the vast spaces of several continents in the quest of gigantic visions. This 150th birth anniversary of Poet Rabindranath Tagore reminds me of his visit to Java in 1927. He was crossing a river in the company of the Sultan of Yogyakarta, when the Sultan recited a stanza from the Javanese lexicon Daśanāma giving synonyms of 'river'. The highest social grace of the Indonesian royalty was the *kromo* vocabulary of their Classical expression. The Sultan was a connoisseur of his Classical culture of *kajaweng*. The synonyms of the river in the Daśanāma were all Sanskrit words. The thrilled poet wrote in his poem "To Java":

In a dim distant unrecorded age
We had met, thou and I
When my speech became entangled in thine and my life in thy life.

Joseph Ripley wrote in 1900: "In our school days most of us were brought up to regard Asia as the mother of the European peoples".

Sanskrit words in the European languages are millenial roots that reach down into the endless soil of time. They penetrate deep into eight millenia of dynamised dreams, losing themselves in the forgotten corridors of obscure etymologies, finding reciprocities that can be embedded in words alone. These are the moods and rhythms of a lost age, and the fire and passion that drove those who spoke Sanskrit in their stunning march across immense spaces. It was the *Drang nach Westen*. It was the greatest cultural event that changed the face and the heart of Europe for ever. Sanskrit sank its roots deep in the European ethos.

I. Sanskrit: the substantive roots of European languages

I.1 The dynamics of Sanskrit in Greek and Latin. Sanskrit kindled a keen interest in grammar in the Hellenic world, especially in Pergamum which was a home of learning for 150 years of the Attalid dynasty, that is from 283 to 133 BC. The permanent part of the grammarian's vocabulary, words such as 'genitive', 'accusative' and 'aorist', were elaborated by the grammarians of Pergamum which is the earliest home of Greek grammar. Pergamum was the eagle's nest to guard Alexander's treasure, which gave it unprecedented glory and prosperity. The last king Attalus III (170-133 BC) bequeathed the kingdom to the Roman Senate. Along with its treasures and territories, this literary rival of Alexandria, gave to the Roman world its rich tradition of grammar. The Pergamene school was an adherent of the principle of 'anomaly' in grammar, while the Alexandrian school was the champion of 'analogy'. Alexander left the land of India but carried her intellectual richesse to find a new soil in the Hellenic kingdoms, like Pergamum. The Sanskrit principles of generative grammar became the linguistic plenum of Latin in subsequent centuries. An immense spectrum of words was evolved to express the subtlety of thought. As Rome dominated European lands, Latin became the linguistic affluence of European languages. Let us take the Ṛgvedic root *spaś* 'to see', *spaśa* 'spy', *spaṣṭa* 'clear', *pa-spaś-āhnika* of the Mahābhāṣya. Its Latin form was *specere* 'to see', *spec-ies* 'sight, appearance, ornament, beauty, species.' Latin created a few hundred words from this root with suffixes or with prefixes : a-spect, circum-spect, con-spectus, in-spect, intro-spect, per-spect-ive, pro-spect, re-spect, retro-spect, su-spect, and so on. The *t* in *spect* is the passive participle, like *ṭa* in *spaṣ-ṭa*.

The question arises: why did the final sibilant *ś* of the root *spaś* become *c* in Latin (spe*c*ere). The Roman alphabet was derived from Phoenician and both Greek and Roman scripts have no symbol for *ś* or *ṣ*. They have only one sibilant *s* (sigma). When a Sanskrit word had to be written in a Semitic alphabet with less sounds, 'substitution' resulted in wrong phonetics. The *Cambridge Ancient History* (vol. 4 p. 395) points out the "always disappointing quest of symbols to spell the sounds of their own speech". The confusion in the Lycian alphabet could have been responsible for the substitution of *e* (in sp*e*cere) for *a* in sp*a*ś : the Lycian symbol 𐊁 "denotes some kind of *e*-sound beside 𐊆 (=i) and 𐊀 (=a)" (CAH.4.396 n.2).

The *Cambridge Ancient History* (first edition 4.403) notes "the paucity of vowel symbols and the redundancy of *c*, *k* and *q*". The lack of *c*, *j*, *y*, *v*, and *ś*, *ṣ* in the Greek and Roman scripts plagued the spelling of these languages and the written forms effected their pronunciation. To cite an instance, the correct pronunciation of Greek *Ion* has been preserved in the Sanskrit *yavana* (I = ya, O = va, N = na) with its semi-vowels intact. Another dialectical Greek pronunciation *yona* is found in the Aśokan inscriptions (Io = yo). The lacunae in these scripts have not been taken into account while studying historical linguistics. An interesting personal experience comes to mind. One day I went to see an exhibition of Buddhist manuscripts at the National Museum, New Delhi. Was stunned to read a caption with the word *gataka* which was written in Nagari as गटाका. Had never come across such a word in Buddhist texts. Thought that I shall look up Edgerton's Dictionary of Buddhist Sanskrit (no Hybrid please). Exiting the gate of the Museum it struck me : oh! it is *g*ataka for *j*ātaka, the monstrous transcription devised by Max Müller, for whom the palatal group of *ca, ja* was secondary, as these phonemes did not exist in the written form of Greek. The Semitocentric dogmatic approach towards history of phonology of IE was the genesis of its artificial reconstruction.

Sanskrit verbal roots, prefixes and suffixes, as well as the generative system, became the building blocks of European languages. These linguistic roots found their full flowering in Latin which influenced every European language through the Roman empire. The olympian heights of human expression in the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences and applied technology could not have been achieved without the analytic structure and consequent creativity of Sanskrit. If the Phoenician-based Semitic alphabet of Greek could have been supplemented by more symbols for sounds that were essential for expressing the rich consonantal diversity, then the IE languages could have remained closer to Sanskrit morphology. To cite an instance, the ancient Turkic language of the Uigurs was also written in the Brāhmī script with diacritical marks to express special Uigur sounds. Thus today the most ancient phonetics of Turkic languages can be studied only on the basis of Uigur texts written in the Brāhmī script.

I.2. Sanskrit, pre-Sanskrit and post-Sanskrit strata in Greek vocabulary. The analysis of Greek vocabulary reveals its multiple layers: a non-Sanskrit base for words which should normally have come from Sanskrit (like *adelphos* for brother), internalisation of Sanskrit vocabulary as well as grammar, and topocentric words like Gk. *elaia* for olive. Thus words for father, mother, daughter are Sanskritic, while those for son, brother, sister are of other origin. They are cited in the following table :

father	*patēr*	*pitṛ*	Buck 2.35
mother	*mētēr*	*mātṛ*	2.36
daughter	*thugatēr*	*duhitṛ*	2.42
son	*uios, uius*	—	2.41
brother	*adelphos*	—	2.44 (Homer *kasignētos*)
sister	*adelphē*	—	2.45 (Homer *kasignētē*)

The Greek words for chariot are (Buck 10.75, Ma 276) :

a'maza	'four-wheeled wagon'
arma	'two-wheeled chariot'
a'pēnē	'wagon with a tent-like top', covered wagon,

The Sanskrit *ratha* is found in Avesta *raθa*, Lithuanian *ratai*, Lettish *rati*, Old High German *reita*. It shows that Greek words for chariot are not Sanskritic while in other languages they are. The transmission of Sanskrit took place over millenia at different times which accounts for differences in lexemes in the various groups.

Three elements of lexical development in Classical Greek are:

(i) Substratum or pre-Sanskrit vocabulary

(ii) Sanskritisation of the complete grammatical structure and of the basic vocabulary

(iii) Proto-European or post-Sanskrit

(i) The analysis of the earliest written documents from Greece shows a linguistic bipolarity: (a) Minoan Linear A texts are Semitic, and (b) Mycenaean Linear B texts are Greek. Minoan is the language of a conquering elite that ruled Greece, which had its own speech that survives somewhat in the substratum lexicon. The substratum vocabulary includes items of material culture (e.g. metal, tin, sword, bath, tub, brick), political and social concepts (e.g. king, slave, concubine), heroes of the Greek epic (Odysseus, Achilles, Theseus), Greek divinities (Athena, Hera, Aphrodite), place names (Corinth, Knossos, Samos, Olympus, Mycenae).

(ii) Sanskritisation is the overall adoption of the basic vocabulary like *matēr* 'mother', besides a more or less complete adoption of the declension and conjugation systems of Sanskrit, like Gk. *didōmi*=Skt. *dadāmi*. It was around the Early Bronze Age (3000-2000 BC) that the Greeks absorbed Sanskrit speaking newcomers in a massive linguistic acculturation. The diffusion of the new language, with its expressive grammatical inflections and rich lexicon, was a mighty psycho-social phenomenon.

(iii) Proto-European includes vocabulary specific to the environment, like words connoting flora and fauna common to a number of European linguistic groups but not attested in Indo-Iranian. It includes plants as the vine, fig, olive, hyacinth and animals like the ass, wild ox, beetle.

The three elements of the surviving substratum, Sanskritisation, and the osmosis of Proto-European terminology, have to be clearly defined for a precise comprehension of the development of any language.

Anna Morpurgo Davies examined the Greek vocabulary, and she came to the following conclusions:

Less than 40% has transparent IE etymology
8% is of non-Greek origin
52% has no clear etymology.

(Davies, The linguistic evidence, in G. Cadogan [ed.], *The End of the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean*, Leiden, 1986; Ma. 274).

I.3. Indo-European: a construct of imperialism. Indo-European is a construct of 19th century imperialism with unexpressed but implicit assumptions of (i) the monogenous origin of IE languages, (ii) an Indo-European ethno-linguistic unity, (iii) quest of a homeland of these assumed people, and (iv) the principle of *Drang nach Osten* "push to the East" arising out of the 19th century European superiority in science and polity. IE became the dream-space and dream-time (*Traum-zeit*) of the European mind. In the Classicity of Sanskrit they had discovered their very "Roots", but created IE roots and words to affirm the dictum of Aristotle the teacher of Alexander the Great who "represents Europe as a sovereign princess and Asia as her handmaid" (Sir William Jones, *Asiatick Researches* 1801).

Prof. J.P. Mallory had come to deliver the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Lecture and Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi requested me to host the lunch in his honor, as she was busy in the Lok Sabha. This gave an opportunity of detailed discussions with him. I asked "Can IE be pronounced ?" He replied in a subdued tone : "We never touched this aspect. All the reconstructions cannot be pronounced." I asked : "If IE cannot be pronounced, how could it ever have been a language which is primarily meant to be spoken and not just written". To change the topic, we discussed the concept of "depth of time" spanning 4000 to 2500 BC in which folk movements took place; as "archaeology can offer nothing new to the study of Proto-Indo-European civilization" (Bruce Lincoln 1981 in Ma 186). The constructs of IE or PIE are theoretical and any archaeological or material proof is a wild chase.

I.4. Indo-European as the marginalisation of Sanskrit. The chronology of comparative linguistics as well as its nomenclature was derived from the Biblical date of creation around 4000 BC, and the date of 2350 BC when Noah and his family disembarked from the Ark to populate the world. In 1767 Joseph Scaliger classified the languages of Europe into four groups after their word for 'god':

deus group	Romance
gott group	Germanic
theos	Greek
bog group	Slavic

He denied any relationship between them. He called his book "The remains of Japhet, the third son of Noah".

The second stage commenced with William Jones who spoke of the "same origin with the Sanskrit and the Old Persian might be added to it" He spoke of "the common source", and went back to the Ark of Noah whose sons "proceeded from Iran where they migrated at first in great colonies". The centrality of Iranian was due to this Biblical theory of population of the world. Jones had *another* bind of Hellenic imperialism of Alexander the Great which he expressed in clear but polite terms in 1801 in the very first volume of the *Asiatic Researches* : "Though we cannot agree with the sage preceptor of that ambitious Prince (Alexander) that the Asiaticks are born to be slaves, yet the Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right when he represents Europe as a sovereign princess and Asia as her handmaid." He had the *third* inhibition of imperialism whose splendour and superiority had to be maintained in keeping with the spirit of the times when "contemporary as well as ancient India, whether in science, religion, government, law, or political economy, was barbarous" (Philips 1962: 219-220). In the *fourth* place, India was a pagan country. So Sanskrit was denied its due role as the substantive base of the IE languages, and a *hypothetical* language was reconstructed which could not even be pronounced. While the so-called "rationalist" scholars proclaimed reason based on factual evidence to be the basis of historical formulations, historical linguistics has persisted to remain oblivious to the realities of Sanskrit till our days . Cultural imperialism is clearly enunciated in the *Logos* of 1986 published by the Santa Clara University in *Philosophic Issues in Christian Perspective*: ". . . should be told openly that the price of this future happiness will be the extinction of their culture. The victors alone will survive."

In 1814 Thomas Young used the term *Indo-European* for this extensive 'class' of languages. Bopp confirmed his term "indo-europaisch" in his epoch-making work.

In 1823 Klaproth named it *Indo-Germanisch* from two extreme members of the "ethnological chain". When Celtic was shown to be a still more extreme member of the same series, Indo-germanisch lost its appropriateness and some scholars tried to substitute Indo-keltisch or Indo-Celtic, but without success.

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In 1847 *Aryan* was applied to this great family of languages. "History in the highest and truest sense is the history of the Aryan natives in Europe" (1872 Freeman, Gen. Sketch)

This family was called *Japhetic* prior to the discovery of Sanskrit.

The distinct groups of Hellenic, Romance, Slavic, Germanic languages had specific vocabularies besides a common basic vocabulary. The two distinct and historically separate types of vocabulary were never discussed in detail, as that would disturb the monocentric theory of IE, which was in conformity with the absolutist position of Semitic mono-theism.

II. Drang nach Westen : the Westward spread of Sanskrit lexis

II.1. Depth of time : pre-IE names of rivers. The evolution from Sanskrit to the European languages has to be seen in the concept of "depth of time". While the 19th century limited its time scale to the Biblical date of creation in the 5th millenium BC, modern perceptions of time have become more realistic. The nomadic hunters of Denmark are dated before 10,000 BC in a Stone Age culture, which culminated in the Megalithic culture c. 2000 BC, and the refined culture of the ruling class in the Bronze Age c. 1500-400 BC. (EBr. 1965:7.239). Like the sounds of the wind or the sounds of the "pine waves", hydronymy provides a frame of time. It seems to represent the earliest phase of Sanskritisation. Sometimes in the sixth or fifth millenium BC, we moved along the banks of unknown rivers towards the West. It was *Drang nach Westen*. The names of European rivers bear testimony to this route. The names of major rivers in Eastern Europe are from the Ṛgvedic *dānu* 'river' : Don, Dnieper (from dānu aparā 'river to the rear'), Dniester, Danube. The Danube is Latin Danu-vius in which the element *dānu* is transparently clear. Jan Rozwadowski gave IE etymologies for the major rivers in Northern and Eastern Europe in 1913. Hans Krahe wrote on the Old European river names in 1957 that spanned Europe from the Atlantic to the Baltic and were formed prior to the emergence of Celtic, Germanic, Italic, etc. In 1987 Skomal and Polome pointed out that these names were established much earlier, prior to the differentiation of the IE languages. W.P. Schmid explains Baltic river names *Indus*, *Indura*, *Indra* from Sanskrit *indu* 'drops' (Ma 78, 276). Sanskrit speakers must have travelled along the coasts of these rivers in the densely wooded terrains of Europe, and they called them by the Ṛgvedic *dānu*. They must have encountered fierce resistance from the local inhabitants, whom they termed *dānava* 'a class of demons as the impeccable enemies of the devas'. Renfrew envisages an IE speaking population in France, Britain, Ireland, and Iberia before 4000 BC (Ma. 274).

The appearance of words of non-IE origin in IE languages indicates the substratum level of different groups of languages. The variation in Sanskrit originals for the same semanteme is frequent: like English *day* > Skt. *dāgha* (*nidāgha* 'summer'), Russian *den'*> Skt. *dina*; or Greek *polis* > Skt. *pura*, Old English *burg* > Skt. *bṛhat*. This variation points to several 'waves of migration' so that Sanskritisation of the different groups of European languages took place in different centuries or millenia. The 'theory of differentiation' of a single IE language originates in the monocentric approach of the 19th century, which has been assiduously rationalised by dialectal separation, extreme restructuring, divergences due to peripheral languages, and other concepts. As explained earlier, Sanskritisation of various language groups was a long-drawn process of four to five millenia, and it can be accounted by the 'time depth' of 4000 BC posited by Western scholarship.

II.2. Vedic deities and personal names in West Asia. There was a constant exodus of Sanskrit speakers to the West. The **Hittites** were in Anatolia (modern Turkey) from 1900-1200 BC for seven hundred years. They concluded a treaty with a Mitanni king by invoking the Vedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Nāsatya in 1380 BC. The power of the Hittites was based on the horse as a powerful strategic advantage over the donkey used in West Asia. The Sanskrit word *aśva* is significantly from the root *aś* 'to master, to become master of' in the Ṛgveda (MW). Cavalry gave superiority over the enemy, and granted mastery over their lands. The Hittites replaced the donkey by the horse and introduced the war chariot in West Asia. The *aśvasani* of Kikkuli found at Boghazkoi in Anatolia (mod. Turkey) has Sanskrit terms for training horses and for chariotry like *ekavartana*, etc. The Aegean Greeks destroyed the Cretan capital of Knossos in 1500 BC. Young Greek princes were sent to the Hittite capital for training in military chariotry around 1400 BC. The martial traditions of Sanskrit are evocatively preserved in the word *tviṣratha* 'lightning chariot', like *Blitzkrieg* of contemporary times.

Another Indic people the **Mitannis** were exporting horse-drawn chariots to Egypt around 1500 BC. In 1410 the Mitanni king Tviṣratha wrote letters to the king of Egypt which have come down to us. The Egyptian king married the daughter of the Mitanni king Sutarna. Military nobles were called *mariannu* recalling the Ṛgvedic *marya*. P.E. Dumont notes twelve Vedic names of Mitannis in the inscriptions: Mativāja, Saukṣatra, Tviṣratha 'having the chariot of terror' in the *History of Upper Mesopotamia*, published by the Vatican in 1948. He notes 27 Nuzu names, like Aitara (Aitareya), Bedarta (Vedārtha), Bedaśūra (Vedaśūra), Kalmaśūra (Karmaśūra), Sausśatti (Sausapti 'having excellent horses'). He clarifies 41 Syrian and Palestinian names, like Birasena (Vīrasena), Subandhu, Zurata (Suratha), Vampadura (Vāma-pāṇḍura 'fair and charming').

The **Kassites** ruled Mesopotamia (mod. Iraq) for six centuries (1746-1180 BC). They worshipped Surya, Marutaḥ, Indrabughas. Their names indicate the role of horses, chariots and Vedic values in the victorious march of Sanskrit speakers whose rule over West Asia is documented for seven hundred years (1900-1180 BC). It was the push to the West, which gave to the modern world the sophistication of the Sanskrit linguistic culture in its prolific creativity.

Rulers of the 15th dynasty, called the Great **Hyksos**, ruled all Egypt, Nubia and South Palestine from c. 1720-1567 BC for 153 years. Hyksos is the Egyptian term *heqa-khase* 'ruler of a foreign country'. The Hyksos invasion determined the history of Egypt for many centuries. N.D. Mironov (1933.163) has detailed their "unmistakable Indian character" on the basis of their Sanskrit names : *Apachnan* Skt. *apaghnan* "destroying", *Bnōn* Skt. *vanana* "conqueror, victor", *Kertos* Skt. *kartā* "doer".

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The psycho-geography of ***Iran*** is from NW India to the West. The spiritualisation of the two great rivers of the Iranian tradition Varana and Raṅhā are "straight away in Indian territory" (Gnoli 1980:14, 47). Between them is Hapta-həndu/Sapta-sindhu in the Vendidād 1.17-19, which include Haraxˇaiti / Sarasvatī and Harōyu / Sarayu. The close relation of Avesta and Vedic Sanskrit points to the transposition of Sanskrit to the Iranian lands in very ancient times as can be evidenced by the Gāthās in Avesta in contrast to the Old Persian of the inscriptions of Darius which are wide apart in phonological and grammatical development.

III. Sanskrit: the transcreative dimension of European languages

III.1. Sanskrit as the meta-classical roots of European languages in their rise in the 19th century. As monarchical rule was overthrown in the United States and France, the citizenry discovered an emotional identification with the forms and images of the ancient republics. To them Greece and Rome were not dead civilisations, but the living birthplaces of freedom and democracy. This affinity with the ancient world not only gave them a sense of heroism and glory, but it also furnished convenient precedents for the new governments in America and France, and to a certain extent the British constitutional monarchy. The ancient Athenian commonwealth and Roman republic became the symbols of liberty and the new order. The senior legislative houses in the United States, France and later in the Latin American republics, were named Senates after the ancient Roman prototype.

The passion for Hellenism brought Europe to the threshold of Eternal India. After all, the Greeks had admired India as the source of all philosophy. Dusebios (4th cent. BC) reports that an Indian had discussed philosophy with Socrates at Athens. The philosopher Pythagoras, who swayed Greek intellectual life from the 6th century BC onwards, transmitted Indian ideas. It was commonly held among the Greeks that India was the land of wisdom : for instance by the noted author Alexander Polyhistor (ca.70 BC), Apuleius (ca. 150 AC) and Philostratos (early 3rd century). The popular satirist Lucian (2nd cent. AC), in his "Runaways", lets the Goddess of Philosophy tell Jupiter that she first descended upon "the Indians, the mightiest nation upon earth". To cite Sedlar: "India served as an object upon which educated Greeks projected their own demoralisation, namely their loss of confidence in contemporary Greek culture and institutions. Thus India became an idealised country, abundantly fruitful, while Indian philosophers came to possess a wisdom superior to that of the Greeks." From this Eternal India of the Greeks to Sanskrit was the leap of the 19th century.

Sanskrit opened up new universes of how man has expressed ideas. Sanskrit had preserved a rich system of inflexions, both declension of nouns and conjugation of verbs. It had transparent roots which showed the dynamics of vocabulary creativity. Sanskrit revealed the unique linguistic phenomenon of Indo-European languages wherein prefixes enriched human horizons of communication, for example, inspect, suspect, aspect, respect, conspectus—all from spect-, specere 'to see, look at'. Language is formed. Man has created words, through them ideas, thoughts, categories, and they in turn have brought into existence solid objects, machines and so on. Language is a living organism. It gives man an ever-renewing life. Language was the epic of creativity of science.

Sanskrit led to two new principles in the methodology of research: (i) comparative study and (ii) historic development. The newly evolved comparative-historical method was applied to the study of language and it resulted in the publication of the biggest Sanskrit-German Dictionary in seven large volumes by Böhtlingk and Roth in 1852. It created a new intellectual climate in which evolution of languages was fully established as a part of human march onwards. This milieu influenced the natural sciences. Seven years after the appearance of the Dictionary, came out Darwin's monumental work *Origin of Species* in 1859, who soundly established the theory of organic evolution, that was to determine the development of natural sciences.

As Sanskrit broke upon the scene, European languages found a new *raison d'être* for their efflorescence. European languages were trying to assert themselves for at least five centuries vis-a-vis Latin. For instance, Martin Luther (1483-1546) translated the Bible into German. His remarkable handling of the German language influenced and shaped the development of modern German. English prose owes in abundant measure to King James' Authorised Version of 1611.

With the study of Sanskrit, dictionaries of European languages were taken up on historical principles. These lexicographical monuments revealed their deep roots, their evolution over centuries, and their rich semantic spectrum. The European languages gained a new self-confidence. Moreover, Greek and Latin were no longer the original or prime languages. Sanskrit was more ancient than both of them, more transparent, more logical, and could explain the formation of these Classical languages themselves. Now modern European languages could stand by the side of Greek and Latin, which like them, stood in the same relation to primordial Sanskrit. Continuous development arising out of historical comparative studies afforded a new esteem to modern European languages.

The ***Bulgarians*** had struggled hard in the 9th century against the Three-Language Doctrine. According to this dogma church services could be held only in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Brothers Cyril and Methodius created the Cyrillic alphabet to replace them by Old Bulgarian, so that in every Bulgarian church the people would hear their own tongue. Cyril defended the right of the Slavs to have their own language: "How is it that you are not ashamed of recognising only three languages, and of decreeing that all other nations and tribes should be deaf and blind? A people are naked without books." Once again in the 19th century, during the struggle for National Revival, language became important. Leaders were proud that their language Bulgarian was closer to Sanskrit and hence older than any current non-Slavic European language. Old Bulgarian has *synu* for Sanskrit *sūnu* "son", and *dini* for Sanskrit *dina* "day". This fired the Bulgarians with a new enthusiasm for their language.

Czech. The National Revival (about 1775-1850) of the Czechs was a great social movement characterised above all by a national consciousness on the part of the people, and a drive for

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economic and cultural independence. Thanks to one of the reforms of Joseph II German became the only official language of the country. At the same time he abolished feudalism in 1781. As a result former serfs could now move to the towns and their children could study. The Czech language started to gain momentum. Dobrovsky (1753-1829) wrote a definitive grammar of Czech. The existence of linguistic connection between Czech and the ancient and perfect Sanskrit was a great encouragement to the oppressed nation in its efforts to improve its language. Many others shared Dobrovsky's interest in India. The advocates of Czech pointed out that their language was closer to Sanskrit than German, hence was more classical, and deserved a place of honour. They cited the example: *stara matra dati medu* = Sanskrit *sthavirā mātā dadāti madhu* स्थविरा माता ददाति मधु 'the old mother offers honey' (to a guest).

Lithuanian. The Germanisation of Lithuania started from the 12th century as a result of the proclamation of a crusade against them by the Pope. The Lithuanians lost on the battlefield, lost their ancient faith and as a result their language declined. Czarist regime in the 19th century forbade the use of Lithuanian. Grandmas in remote villages narrated folk-tales to eager grand-children in their Lithuanian language which was despised by the Slavised nobility and punished by the Czarist regime. The traditional folk-hymns called *daina* (from Sanskrit *dhenā*) were abandoned by the courts, but they lived on in the villages, faithfully preserved by the poorest people of the country, guarded by the mother of the family, during the darkest period of Lithuanian history the occupation by Tsarist Russia between 1795 and 1918. The grand-mothers and mothers would tell their children and grand-children: *Dievas dave dantis, duos ir duonos* 'God has given teeth. He will give food'. The sentence meant : when God has given life, he will grant us freedom. Language and freedom are inseparable.

To this day Sanskrit is associated with Lithuanian as a symbol of national identity. We can go to a classroom at the Vilnius University of the Lithuanian Republic. The professor writes sentences on the black board in Lithuanian and Sanskrit:

Lithuanian	Sanskrit	Meaning
kas to esi	*kas tvam asi*	Who are you?
kas tavo sunus	*kas tava sūnuḥ*	Who is your son?

Kas to esi is an eternal question before man in his quest for Knowledge. The answer is as brief in Lithuanian as it is in Sankrit : *Tas tu esi* = *Tat tvam asi.*

German. Dictionaries of European languages on historical principles were undertaken on the model of the Sanskrit German Wörterbuch. In 1854 was published the first volume of Grimm's German dictionary, whose completion took a century. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm were the most distinguished brother-scholars of the German Romantic period, renowned as the collectors and editors of "Grimm's Fairy Tales" (1812-15). They worked assiduously at the great dictionary of the German language, a task so large that it was impossible for the brothers to finish it themselves. Its last volume appeared in 1960.

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English. "Ever since the Normans conquered England in 1066, the every-day tongue of the British Isles had suffered a long eclipse. Even in its native land, English was a second-class citizen, owing neither the status of Latin and Greek nor the aristocratic patina of French. Those who studied the origins of the language of Chaucer and Shakespeare were essentially amateurs, as there was little prestige to be gained by such work". In 1857 James Murray commenced "A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles" to show the extensive heritage of the English language. Its first section was printed in January 1884 by the Oxford University. It gave the historical development of every English word. It opened up a new wonder. Its editor, James Murray, was knighted. It embodies and interprets to this day the culture of the English language from its earliest documentation to the present times. English now had a rich heritage and was as respectable as any of the Classical languages, or elegant French or intellectual German. The Oxford Dictionary took the etymologies of English words far back to Sanskrit, e.g. the word thousand has the base *teu*: Sanskrit *tavas* 'strong, energetic' and *hundred*. It can be seen in Old Norse *thus-hund*, Old Frankish *thūs-chunde*, as the 'great hundred'. Thousand was power, strength. Time, Latin *tempus* was Sanskrit *tapas* (with a nasal *m* inserted) which means 'heat'. Day is the hot part of the cycle of 24 hours.

The languages spoken in Europe were saturated with Sanskrit from the most common words like mother, father, son and daughter (from *mātṛ*, *pitṛ*, *sūnu*, and *duhitṛ*) upto the abstractions of *poiema* for a poem, 'a structured expression', from *poie* 'to arrange, order' and the suffix *ma* like the suffix *ma* in dhar-*ma*, kar-*ma*. The role of Sanskrit as a medium of the abstraction of thought has been fundamental for the last six millennia. The speech of daily physical needs developed into the sophisticated language of academics by the formation of new words from roots and affixes.

The use of prefixes in the development of vocabulary is unique to Sanskrit, and its transplantation into the languages of Europe made them instruments of the highest abstraction. It was to flower several centuries later, from the Renaissance on to our times. Language had become an effective medium, with inner dynamics of the formative potential of Sanskrit.

III.2. Sanskrit and creativity. A language is the ascent of the human intellect to express daily needs, as well as go beyond them. Four ascending strata can be seen in developed languages, evolving from tribal roots to Classical idioms, and finally to the contemporary sophistication of natural sciences and abstract conceptualisations of philosophy and of sciences like physics. The four strata of conceptual evolution are:

(i) Biological stratum or जीवन-भूमि to communicate needs of daily life, e.g. eat, walk, bathe, sleep, etc. It is restricted to around 3000 words.

(ii) Educational stratum or ज्ञान-भूमि introduces words like lesson, book, alphabet, poem. While education is conducive to higher intellectual perceptions, writing enables us to communicate far and wide, to store the knowledge gained and to transmit it to future generations. This stratum adds another 5000 words. When Chinggis Khan had created his vast empire, he needed a script to write his language Mongolian and to maintain communication across continents with his nobles. The Buddhist bhikṣus of the Uigurs became his secretaries, their Uigur script lives today as the national script of the Mongols, and they introduced a number of Sanskrit words in Mongolian, a tradition that continues down to our day when Mongolians have termed 'space' as 'sansar'.

(iii) Specialisation stratum or विज्ञान-भूमि is the human striving for advancement in a continuing progression by break-throughs for the betterment of life. Beginning with the elegance of language of the epics to philosophical speculation, to analysis of grammar and sciences based on empirical experience, its journey to the modern experimental sciences and humanities, language has reached a trail-blazing subtle and intricate complexity. This stratum has a vast vocabulary specific to different disciplines.

(iv) Abstraction stratum or ब्राह्मी भूमि when the natural sciences are becoming ineffably transmundane, as in contemporary physics which is coming close to Upaniṣadic thought.

(i) The first stratum of biological needs was fulfilled by Sanskrit in large measure : words of family relationship (father and mother), physical world (earth, mountain), fauna, food and drink, etc. The Sanskrit concept of *kṛṇvanto viśvam āryam* became the Greek *oikoumenikos* 'the whole inhabited world' from Skt. *okas* and the passive suffix *–māna*. It is ecumenical in English. *Zeus* from Skt. *Dyaus* became the supreme god of the ancient Greeks. He superseded any other divinity and relegated all the earlier Cretan deities to a second place. Armed with lightning he subjugated pre-Sanskrit deities, sat on the summit of Mount Olympus, surrounded by them, most of whom became his children. He carried away the young Pre-IE Phoenician princess Europa and created the image of a Greek-speaking IE world which found expression in Homer's Europe and later on became a designation for the 'West' in the modern sense. Thus Sanskrit was not only the linguistic base, but gave rise to a new world of belonging. These memories survived for centuries in the palimpsest of the store consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*) as late as the fourth century BC when the Greeks regarded India as the source of philosophy.

(ii) The second stratum of education was influenced by regional contexts. The Greeks had *biblos* for book from *bublos* 'papyrus plant' from the name of the Phoenician city *Bublos* which was an early centre for the export of papyrus to Greece. Latin *alpha-betum* was compounded of the first two letters of the Greek alphabet.

(iii) The third stratum of specialisation was imbued with the creativity of Sanskrit. Sanskrit gave to European languages (a) a rich system of inflexion (declension and conjugation) some of which has survived till our times, like he, his (*s* of the Skt. genitive *sya*), him (*m* of the Skt. accusative) the base of Skt. *saḥ*. In Sanskrit the base of *saḥ* has been replaced by *tad*. Lithuanian has all the seven cases intact. (b) Sanskrit contributed the unique linguistic element of prefixes which became highly creative in Latin and led to the unprecedented development of European languages. The Skt. root *spaś* 'to see' (Ṛgvedic *spaśaḥ* 'spies', Mahābhāṣya *paspaśāhnika*) survives only in *spaṣṭa* 'clear'), has enriched Latin-based vocabulary in a major manner with prefixes. (c) Sanskrit roots became formative elements, as the Latins realised that words are created. Language is a weave

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of forms, which generate new categories of expression, in a continuous development. The word for ten in viṁ-*śati* '20', triṁ-*śat* '30', catvāriṁ-*śat* '40', and pañcā-*śat* '50' is *śat*, becomes *śata* 'hundred' (Latin *centum*), but there was no IE word for thousand. Latin *mille* is probably from the Sanskrit root *mil* 'to meet', when a thousand people assembled they were *militus* 'soldier', a thousand paces were 'mile', a thousand years 'millennium' : The English word 'thousand' is *thus* 'many' from Skt. *tavas* 'strength' + *hund* 'hundred' : Sanskrit elements were used to create a new numerical concept.

The Latin imperium, which comprised the whole of Europe, has been the major contributor to the vocabulary of European languages. The Latins realised the creativity of the prefixes and roots inherited from their Sanskrit base and gave to the contemporary world its immense ongoing talent and massive erudition, discovery and constant objectification in technological inventions. Sanskrit roots and prefixes are the dynamics and creative paradigm of vocabulary.

Sanskrit opened up new universes of thought in the dynamics of vocabulary creativity in the Classical Greco-Roman world. The Classical heritage has shed minds and horizons into the miracles of modern science. Modern sciences are the aroma of Sanskrit's legacy of abstraction through language, the concept of development and progress from the riverine flow of the Vedic sages, primacy and nobility of thought paradigms in perennial evolution as contrasted to faith in revelation frozen in historic time, the theory of causation, the beyond flowering in the mathematical zero, and atomism leading humans into the very heart of energy beyond the atom.

(iv) The abstraction stratum can be seen in the epochal scientific discoveries of Einstein, Schrödinger, Heisenberg who come close to Upaniṣadic or Buddhist thought. Capra points out that the relativity theory and the quantum theory exhibit all the main features of the Eastern world-view.

The discovery of Sanskrit as the roots of European languages in the 19th century liberated Western science from Christian cosmology and laid the foundations of a new world-view. Hebraic history-centricity was substituted by historic development, nature-centred approach, and an open mind opening ever more.

III.3. Sanskrit influences the world-view of the natural sciences. ***From historical development to 'Evolution' in biology.*** Sanskrit led to two new principles in the methodology of research: (i) comparative study, and (ii) historic development.

Sanskrit culture and civilisation evolved on the banks of rivers, in contradistinction to the Judaic paradigms which arose in desert environs. Water of the river flows, while the sand of the desert is static. Standing water stagnates. Flowing water gave rise to the centrality of flow, movement and progress in thought. Without the banks, the water will cease to flow. Banks of rivers with water ever flowing became the inspiration for the spontaneity of regulation from within, the basis of value-systems of *saṁskāra*. The mind of man enshrined in Sanskrit was a perennial flow, an eternity imbued with movement, constant change, and progress. No idea was constrained. Horizons replaced frozen frontiers.

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From Biblical history to vast time scales. Geological time scales, the evolution of life from unicellular organisms to the complex humans, or the formation of mountains over millions of years were an echo of the Sṛṣṭi Saṁvat or Era of Creation running into billions of years in the Sanskrit tradition.

Atomism. As is well-known, zero as a concept and as a symbol, is India's contribution to the world. Likewise, the formation of atomism goes back to the Vaiśeṣika system. When Rutherford smashed the atom at the Cavendish Laboratory of the Cambridge University, Prof. A.B. Keith wrote the book *Indian Atomism* which was published by the University of Oxford. He pointed out that the earliest conceptualisation of atomism is in the Vaiśeṣika-sūtras of around 1000 BC. The founders of Modern Physics, like Schrödinger, Niels Bohr, and Heisenberg were influenced by Indian thought. Oppenheimer paid tribute to India's theory of atomism by reciting a stanza from the Gītā as he conducted the very first nuclear explosion.

The theory of causation. Cause-and-effect was intrinsic to the understanding of the relation of life to nature in the Sanskrit tradition. *Ṛta* (cosmic order) gave rise to *Satya* (existence of life). Their interdependence was inevitable, and it was reflected in the theory of karma. The concept of causation became the foundation of philosophic thought as well as of natural sciences which were the classical *Ṛta* in practical application. To Pythagoras, Plato and other thinkers of Greece, India was an "idealised country".

III. 4. Sanskrit and the renaissance of the values of the *classicus*. The Roman author Servius Tullius divided the people into *classici* 'the higher class,' and *proletarii* 'the rest'. The semantic extension of this metaphor made the classics a synonym for the choicest products of ancient Greece and Rome. The study of Greek classics begun by Latin authors in the first century BC became the "liberal arts" in the *trivium* and *quadrivium* of the Middle Ages. This study has been the undying distinction of Western learning, and without them knowledge is imperfect. They were the Revival of Learning in England when two great schools of Winchester and Eton were founded in 1382 and 1440 respectively. In the end of the 18th century German apostles of New Humanism were convinced that they had found the ideal of close accord with nature completely realised in the Classical lands. The New Humanism was the recognition of the Classical world as a perfect pattern of culture. The tide of this movement reached its height in the early 19th century when Sanskrit was discovered as the racination of European languages. Sanskrit, along with Greek and Latin, became a value superadded to life by the mind that does not inhere in objects *per se*. The Classical languages lie at the root of what "ought to be", in contradistinction to "pure thought" and "absolute truth". They bring into being what is worthy of being, that is, to realise the ideals and to idealise the actual, to own human values and the primacy of nature, the connection of value and validity, and transvaluation which is reconsideration of given values, continually leading to change. Sanskrit with its open multiformity of thought systems in the ambit of 'ought' values of *saṁskāra* has fascinated the sensitive minds of Europe.

The St. James Independent School for Boys, London was founded in 1937 to offer education that "provides for the physical, mental and emotional development of young people". The prospectus says:

"The study of language starts with *Sanskrit*, which is introduced at the age of five. This most ancient of languages has been chosen as the basis of all language study at St. James. It has remained substantially unchanged over thousands of years and has preserved a complete grammatical system. The sound of the language is pure and beautiful and the literature magnificent. The first steps in Sanskrit in the Junior School involve singing it, speaking it and learning the alphabet. This is followed by systematic learning of the grammar and introduction to Sanskrit conversation. At the age of eight, Greek is introduced as a second language and is taught in a similar way. This thorough, early training in classical languages gives the children an excellent basis for all their future learning."

The Classics were associated with paganism, but they gave rise to an unprecedented scientific miracle that brought higher standards of life, and gave vast empires to the West. All these triumphs had to be christened innocuously as Humanism and New Humanism in contradistinction to theocentrism. The study of Classics has been resumed in the Chinese Peoples Republic from the early school level. India awaits her turn to appreciate the value of her Classical tongue Sanskrit as the lusty sinews of the heart and mind to be studied from our youngest years in school.

The oldest public school of America was founded in April 1635, that is 379 years ago. It insists on high grades, discipline, excellence in education, and stress on Latin. Americans look up to it for inspiration. It insists on following an ancient curriculum, with trigonometry, ancient history, and spending a major part of their youth learning Latin. The school believes :

(i) "The complexity of Latin syntax and the suppleness of Latin sentence structure made it ideal for organising observation and thought" .

(ii) "You are required to study Latin, to parse and scan and conjugate and decline, to read and memorise, all the way up through four books of Virgil . . ." "There is so much that stays with you forever". "Back to the gerundive and the ablative absolute".

(iii) "Latin School teaching has always depended heavily on rote, on memorising rules and lines ... upon all those things that distress progressive educationists."

(iv) "Discipline and Latin have come back in fashion . . .These days 'pilgrims' arrive from all over the country . . .to visit the head of the classics department, to see how he does it."

(v) "There has been success in plenty. School graduates have been leaders of national and international fame, great names of the American revolution, diplomats, bankers, senators, governors, mayors, merchants, professors, generals, and so on in an endless roll call of honor. Samuel Francis Smith who wrote the hymn *America* in 1825, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and children living in poverty who could march down the highways of American culture, politics, business, and keep the wheels of society turning, studied in this school. The insistence of the School on the Classical tradition with its ancient curriculum, the eternal irregular verbs of a language spoken no more, have fostered the very skills in logic, analysis and persuasion that are prerequisites for scientists."

The foregoing statement of the most distinguished and oldest public school of America points out the importance and high utility of (i) grammar in all the complexity of language with its irregular verbs, gerundives and ablative absolutes, (ii) learning by rote, (iii) discipline and hard work in time-honored disciplines that are beyond utility in daily life. The opinion that Sanskrit is complex, difficult, and does not have an immediate functionality is counteracted by its subtle and deep subconscious power as structuring a social order away from the grotesque inequalities of the progressive structuralists who barter away values to market economy, a euphemism for inordinate greed. The Classical School of Boston highlights the need to reinvigorate the essential spirit of Sanskrit and reverse our over-materialistic gaze to value-inspired development where the lowly and the lost are the *daridra-nārāyaṇa* of Sanskrit.

IV. Sanskrit: inspiration of the life and thought of Asia

For Asian lands, as for us, Sanskrit has symbolised profound necessities of the spirit, a vision of the infinite in an unbroken sky, the plenitude of the void, the embrace of the one and the zero, the union of abstraction and sensuality in art and life, intellection and meditation, an aesthesis beyond the eyes and reason. Sanskrit has been the blending of wisdom and life in the symbolism of three planes: *saṁskāra, saṁskṛta* and *saṁskṛti. Saṁskāra* is the inner consciousness where the collective psyche and individual experience are the inexhaustible soul of the highest. *Saṁskṛta* is its verbal (*vācika*) expression so that the interior light, the *antarjyoti* of the Upaniṣads, flows uninterrupted over spans of time to be inherited and enriched by the future. Its expression in concrete visual terms is *saṁskṛti*, the embodiment (*kāyika*) of the Eternal in the visual, verbal and performing arts: as sculptures in the round, as paintings in the flat, as prose and poetry, as music, dance and theatre. This trinity or *triveṇī* of *saṁskāra*, *saṁskṛta* and *saṁskṛti* is the confluence of luminous nature.

SriLanka. Emperor Aśoka sent his son Mahendra and daughter Saṅghamitrā to King Devanampiya Tissa of SriLanka in the third century BC. In the list of gifts recorded in the Dīpavaṁsa, is *nandyāvarta* whose meaning has been debated. It has been interpreted as a type of jasmine, or a gold vessel in the shape of crow-claws, or a gold flower. Nandyāvarta is an architectural term: it is a six-storeyed palace in the Mānasāra 24.24 or a pavilion with 36 columns in the Suprabhedāgama 31.103. Aśoka sent eighteen guilds of artists, craftsmen and painters along with Mahendra, well aware of the power of art to attract people to Dharma. By the time Mahendra died, there was an art gallery (*cittasālā*) in the capital of Anurādhapura. Promoting piety through painting has lingered throughout the centuries. Mahāvaṁsa mentions painted vases in the reign of Devānāmpiya Tissa in 307 BC.

The world famous paintings in the rock citadel of Sigiriya (Skt. Siṁhagiri) were done during the reign of King Kassapa I (479-497), who had come to the throne by murdering his father. He ruled the kingdom for 18 years, surrounding himself with lissome women, trying to forget his aching conscience. The twentyone figures of sensuous ladies at Sigiriya bear a close resemblance to the art of Ajanta. Bejamin Rowland compares these maidens to the sculptures of Amaravati, whence SriLanka derived its sculptural style.

King Kassapa, who transformed it into the most impregnable fortress, identified himself with Kubera, the God of Riches, who was then held in high veneration. The abode of Kubera is on Mount Kailasa. On Sigiriya and its environs King Kassapa tried to create the verisimilitude of this Mount, especially after the lyrical Meghadūta of Kālidāsa. The gallery is a 500 feet long concavity which has been constructed to accord with the passage of the cloud in the Meghadūta, where the cloud is told to proceed northwards on its flight to Kailāśa through an aperture in the Krauñca mountain. The high polish of the Mirror Hall of Sigiriya mirrors the heavenly damsels of the poet Kālidāsa. The artistic treatment of the world-famed damsels, depicting them waist above clouds, together with their location in the Rock, portrays the lightning and clouds in the region of cloud-land, above which rises the peak of Kailāśa where Lord Kubera resides. Actually, this part of the rock is girdled by clouds in December and early January. The Princesses of Lightning or *vijju-kumārī* are fair and the Cloud Damsels or *megha-latā* are dark. These marvelous paintings precede their immortal counterparts at Ajanta. These damsels could be goddesses bringing blessings of heaven to assuage the gnawing remorse of parricide in the heart of King Kassapa.

When Sigiriya passed out of eventful history, Anurādhapura came into its own. Its was here that Duṭṭhagāmanī, the national hero reigned. It was here again that the Buddhist works were committed to writing in Aluvihara or the Caves of Illumination.

In March 1917, Sir John Marshall wrote to the Acting Director of the Colombo Museum, to make copies of two paintings in the Gal Vihara, Polonnaruva, which are of the 12th century, because "we have scarcely any paintings in India of this period".

The Simhala language is in line with Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and others. It has preserved interesting words which are lost or have become obsolete in modern Indian languages. While Sanskrit *aśva* is nearly forgotten in modern Indian tadbhavas, Simhala has *as* in the literary language and in several compounds like *as-govva* 'horse-keeper', *as-hala* 'stable'. The Simhala language is important for understanding the evolution of modern Indian languages in their time-context: for in it we are able to follow the development through more than two thousand years, first in inscriptions and then in literary works. It affords time-points to locate the history of words.

Central Asia. All the four accounts of the foundation of Khotan (two in Chinese and two in Tibetan) associate it with the son and ministers of Emperor Aśoka in the third century BC. A collection of coins of the first centuries AC from Yotqan the ancient capital of Khotan bears Chinese legends and Prakrit legends in Kharoṣṭhī.

Khotan was also famous as a centre of Sanskrit texts. The Chinese expression 'to obtain the Dharma' meant to procure Sanskrit sutras, e.g. Chinese monk Chu Shih-hsing undertook the arduous journey from Loyang to Khotan to get a copy of the Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. In the fifth century, eight Chinese monks traveled in search of sacred texts. They reached Khotan at the time of the *pañcavārṣika* ceremonies held every five years. Here the most distinguished bhikṣus

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from all over Central Asia embroidered their sermons with parables. The Chinese monks put them together at Turfan on their way back to China in 445, under the title "Book of the Wise and the Foolish". Thousands of pages of Sanskrit texts have been discovered in different parts of Central Asia. Some of the manuscripts go back to the first century BC like the Dhammapada in Gandhari Sanskrit. A drama of Aśvaghoṣa and fragments of two other Sanskrit dramas in Kushan Brāhmī are the earliest known manuscripts of the nāṭaka genre.

The most ancient Turkish literature known to us is in its Uigur idiom. The Uigurs were devout Buddhists and they hummed their daily prayers in Sanskrit. They adopted Sanskrit words into their language. Uigur Turkish has preserved a text called *Tishastvustik*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *Diśā-sauvastika* on auspicious directions. It is a dialogue between Sarasvatī and Samantabhadra. The didactic *Udānavarga* has been preserved in ancient Turkish in the Brāhmī script, so also the medical work *Siddhasāra* of Ravigupta.

China. The advent of Sanskrit into China is as early as the third century BC, when Indians were at the Imperial court during the Ch'in dynasty and named the country from this dynasty as Cīna चीन and propagated this name throughout Central Asia, India and SE Asia. Sanskrit has been known in China as *Fan-yü* 'the language of Brahman', the language of Cosmic dimensions, the language that gave the Chinese access to the immensity (*brahman*) of the 'Barbarian' world and opened up their vision to the several universes of culture and civilisation. The Sinocentric frontiers became ever-expanding horizons.

Chang Ch'ien the envoy of the Chinese Emperor Wu-ti, took back Mahātukhāra melodies of Sanskrit to China in 138 BC. The son-in-law of the Emperor wrote 28 tunes based on this melody which were played as military music. Thus began the might of the Han empire. Sanskrit sutras, cotton cultivation, wooden drums for martial music, horses for war were part of Chinese strategy. To them Sanskrit was 'Power and Virtue.' The first monastery in China was the 'White Horse Monastery': a white horse is the mount of a cakravartin monarch.

The Buddhist kingdoms of Central Asia brought Sanskrit books, sculptures and paintings, as well as ideas that ushered new perceptions in the Chinese mind. Sanskrit entered China on Serindian horses sought after by Chinese emperors. The Parthian prince An Shih-kao turned monk, initiated a school of transcreations of Sanskrit works into Chinese, which became the most impressive achievement of Chinese culture. Sanskrit was accompanied by *moho sabo* (Chinese transcription of *mahā-sārthavāha*) or trans-national merchants who brought prosperity to China. An Shih-kao who had translated 176 Sanskrit works into Chinese was also a Commandant of the Cavalry. Among his translations, that of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha gained great popularity. The glories of the Sukhāvatī Paradise became vivid as Iranian beauties of Parthia danced in the joyous tenderness of their vibrant movements. Sanskrit came to be associated with fiery steeds of conquest, with caravans laden with affluence, with the passionate beauty of life, and with enlightenment of the mind.

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In 490 AC Hsieh Ho established the "Six Principles of Painting." They have remained the criteria for Chinese art criticism. They echo the six elements of paintings in the Kāmasūtra (*rūpabheda, pramāṇa, bhāva, lāvaṇya-yojana, sādṛśya, varṇikā-bhaṅga*). They impart a vital tone and atmosphere that is moving and alive, in a rendering of 'bones' (essential structure) and essence, rather than mere outward aspect. The divine and human become one, dissolving into ripples of the mind.

The official history of the Sui dynasty, completed in 610 AC, contains a catalogue of Sanskrit works on astronomy, mathematics, calendrical methods, mathematics and pharmaceutics under the generic caption of P'o-lo-men or Brahmin Books. In the seventh and eighth centuries, the Chinese were fascinated by these new sciences. Indians were appointed Presidents of the Imperial Board of Astronomy, for instance Kāśyapa headed it around 650 AC. It is a paradox that we owe to Gautama Siddha the greatest collection of ancient Chinese astronomical fragments. He introduced from India the zero symbol, an early form of trigonometry and other innovations. To the Chinese, Sanskrit was the language of Exact Sciences, of statecraft, of military tactics, and of surveying the sidereal locations of cities from Tashkent to Vietnam. An emperor of the T'ang dynasty sent a military mission against the King of Champa (on the coastal region of modern Vietnam) to bring his library of 1350 Sanskrit manuscripts as war booty to China.

Sugar is termed *shi-mi* 石蜜 'stone honey' in the Sui Annals, which renders the Sanskrit *śarkarā*, from *śarkara* 'granules, stonelets'. In 647 AC Emperor Tai-tsung sent a mission to Magadha to study the secrets of boiling sugar.

During my visit to the Marble Buddha Monastery in Shanghai, which escaped desecration during the cultural revolution, the monks recited their prayers in a loud and sonorous voice. At times, a word or two would sound Sanskrit. They handed over their book of recitations and lo! it was a Sanskrit hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha which had been transcribed into Chinese ideograms by Bhagavad-dharma of India in the seventh century. During researches in Beijing, I came across coins from Sinkiang which were in Sanskrit on one side and in Chinese on the other, and could be dated to the second century BC by their Chinese inscriptions. At the Shanghai monastery I came across a glossary of a thousand words by the famous pilgrim I-tsing which had interesting words like *prasāra* in Sanskrit for bazaar, and *kurtā* for a shirt. It is a valuable source for the spoken Sanskrit of the seventh century.

The origins of printing in China go back to Sanskrit. The first printed sheet has the goddess Pratisarā in the centre with mantras in Sanskrit letters written concentrically around her. It is dated 757 AC and was excavated in 1944 from a grave near Beijing. The technology of printing developed in rapid strides for the immense project of the publication of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. As large quantities of paper were required for the extensive Tripiṭaka, paper industry flourished to such an extent that the use of paper became universal.

The world's oldest printed book dated 11 May 868 is a work on transcendental wisdom entitled Vajracchedikā, now in the British Museum. Printing began as an integral part of ritual requirements of large number of mantras for *lakṣa-pūjā*. Over 3000 Sanskrit works are found in Chinese translations, most of which are lost in their Sanskrit originals.

In 1057 Pao-chang the great Chinese master of Dhyāna (Zen) was commissioned by the Emperor to go to India and acquire texts for Imperial victories. On return he conducted Imperial rites centered on the deity Trailokyākṣepa 'Conqueror of the Three Worlds'. The original Sanskrit manuscript was preserved in the P'u-an monastery till the 1920s. Its end folios gave the life and initial stanzas of the three mahākāvyas of Kālidāsa. This the earliest known manuscript with quotations from the great Indian poet.

Sanskrit inscriptions and votive sheets with mantras were widely used in Yunnan. The family deity of the royal house was Ajeya 'The Invincible'. The Victory Pillar of Kunming with Sanskrit inscriptions is a splendid example of a tower with about three hundred divine images of all sizes, and recalls the monument at Chittor.

Ever since the Han dynasty in the first century BC the gate at the Chü-yung-kuan Pass has been one of the nine important gateways to China. This gate was constructed as a protection against barbarians from the north. In Imperial times, more than ten thousand troops were stationed here. An Imperial Arch was constructed in 1333 and a 30 feet long inscription was inscribed in Sanskrit for the protection of the capital Beijing. The use of Sanskrit Sutras for National Defence in China goes back to ancient times. When Hsüan-tsang returned to China, the Emperor invited him to stay in the palace. The Emperor was delighted to know that the six hundred scrolls the pilgrim had translated contributed to the protection of the State. Imperial admiration wanted to ascertain "everything must be exactly as in the Sanskrit original". The pilgrim-scholar assured the Emperor that he had brought three copies of the texts from India for clearing doubts: "when clouds open the sun appears".

Christie's sold a blue and white Chinese bowl of the 14th century for £ 209,000. Its lid has since been located at the Palace Museum, Beijing. It was used by Emperor Xuande. It has eight auspicious emblems (*aṣṭa-maṅgala*) including the śrīvatsa of Viṣṇu, interspersed with sacred hierograms. It has a Sanskrit inscription running around its body which is a benediction to grant well-being and luck for all times of the day.

rātrau svasti, divā svasti, svasti maddhyandine sthite /
svasti sarvam ahorātraṁ triratnāni bhavantu vaḥ //

During this period, a twelve-member Indian mission had gone to China for the stability of the Emperor and the Empire. The Museum at Taipeh has around a hundred cups and saucers sanctified by Sanskrit mantras around their rims.

Like the Litany of the Thousand Names of Viṣṇu (*Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma*), China has the Thousand Names of the Buddha, which go back to the third century. Emperor Ch'ien-lung of the 17th century, who had the longest reign as well as the most extensive territories China ever had, used to recite the Sanskrit Names of the Thousand Buddhas. My father Prof. Raghu Vira brought the original xylograph from Beijing. Emperor Ch'ien-lung had studied Sanskrit as a young prince

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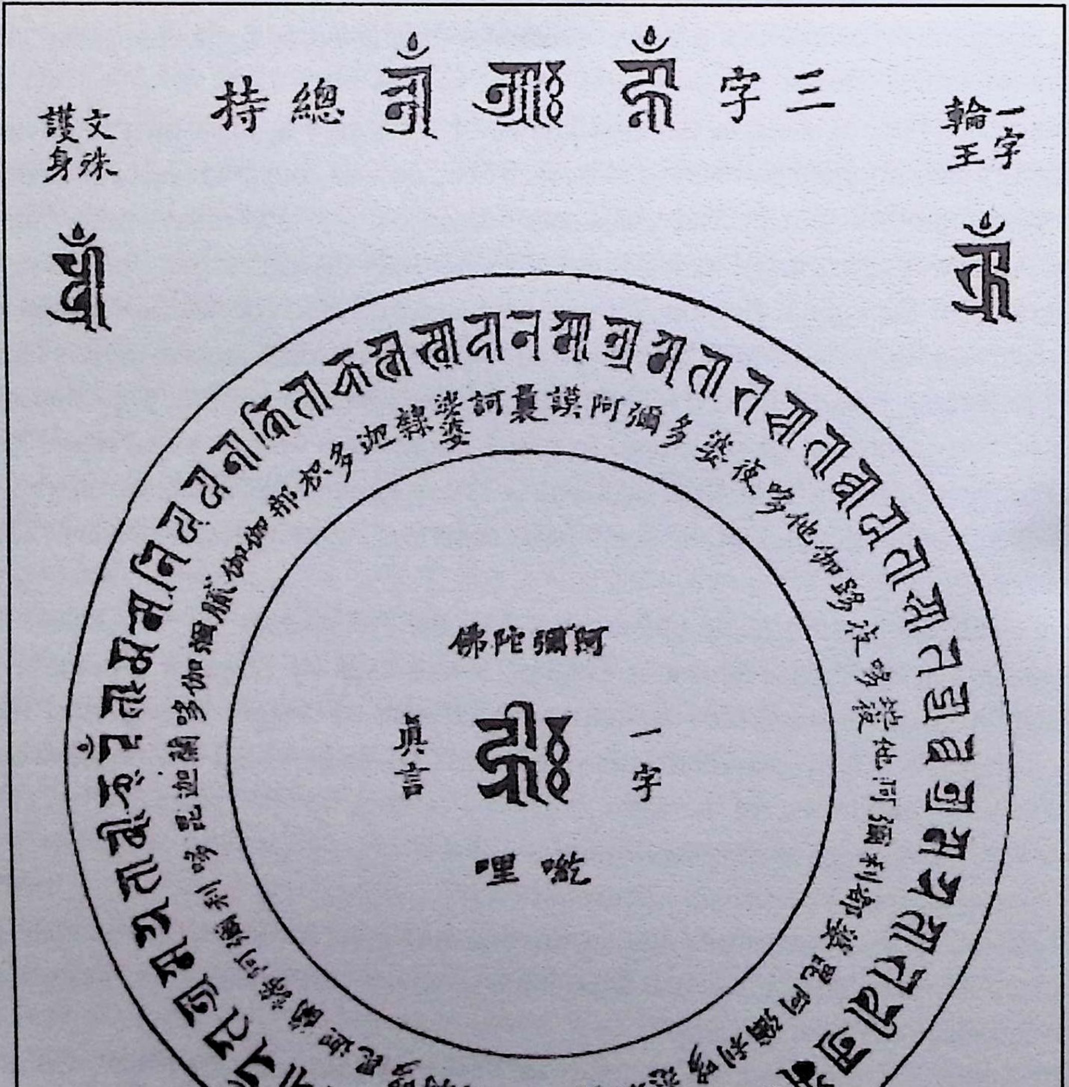
and was devoted to its promotion. He got Sanskrit mantras collected from all the Sutras and had them published in a hundred fascicles.

On his final journey a Chinese Buddhist was enshrouded in silk that had Sanskrit mantras woven with golden threads, specific for each part of the body. This silken shroud with Sanskrit prayers ensured him the Heavenly Fields of Sukhāvatī.

Seventy years ago, my father Prof. RaghuVira received six huge cases of sutras and scrolls from the Buddhist Book Store on the Ashoka Road in Shanghai. No Indian road in those days had the honour of being named after Emperor Aśoka. Among them were large-size woodcuts of deities that bore Sanskrit inscriptions. Herebelow is a specimen with a Sanskrit stotra in a seventh century script:



Korea. A Princess of Ayodhyā arrived from India to Korea in 48 AC at Kimhae aboard a ship, with the Three Treasures of statues, sūtras and śramaṇas (monks). She became the Queen of the founder of the first Korean state of Karak. She established the first national capital and named it Gaya. From a tribal order Korea emerged as a state. In gratitude to the Sea that allowed safe passage to the Queen to his shores, the King built Haeunsa 'Temple of Sea Grace' that stands to this day atop Punsong Mountain.

Sanskrit Buddhism was officially introduced into Korea during the period of the Three Kingdoms: Koguryo received it in 372, Paekche in 384 and Silla in 527. The Indian Master Mallānanda came to Paekche in 384. It gave the Three Kingdoms a new meaning: they become civilisation. In its new energy and freshness it filled the country with benefits, nourished art, diffused education, made roads, established resting places, promoted beneficence and multiplied comforts in thousand forms. It made vivid and tangible the presence of a profound social and cultural order.

In 1251, 80000 wood blocks of the Dharma Treasure were carved to avoid national disaster. These blocks are still preserved at the Haein-sa monastery and are a national treasure of Korea. The famed celadon wares of Koryo were intimately connected with Dhyāna Buddhism. In the beautiful deep of blue porcelain were reflected the ideal planes of Dhyāna.

The last Indian Ācārya to visit Korea was Chikong (Dhyānabhadra). He arrived in Korea in the 1340s and established the Juniper Rock Monastery on the pattern of the Nalanda University. Its foundations can be seen near Seoul. He wrote Sanskrit dhāraṇī-mantras on the gigantic Yonboksa Bell for the liberation and peace of the Korean people from Mongol domination. An inscription at the Juniper Rock Monastery dated 1378 records the life and work of Dhyānabhadra and informs us that the King of Kanchi was his nephew. It gives a glimpse of Buddhism in India in the 14th century, from Kanchi in the South to Jalandhar in the North. The mill for making *sattu* installed by Dhyānabhadra still lies at the site of this Monastery.

In 1446 the sage-like Emperor Seijong invented a new Korean alphabet and moveable printing types. This alphabet continues to this day as the Hangul or "Proper Writing". Dr. Kei Won Chung in his dissertation to the Princeton University says that the Korean alphabet was composed on the principles of the Sanskrit alphabet. With the new alphabet, learning became accessible to a large mass of people.

Japan. In the sixth century, Japan received her Dharma as recorded in the *Nihon-shoki* Annals in the years 463, 544, 588. Japan emerged from the limbo of her prehistory under Prince Shotoku (574-621) who drew up her first Constitution of Seventeen Articles wherein *bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya* was a fundamental factor. The new order was consecrated by the Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī in Sanskrit. This original manuscript is preserved at the Horyuji Monastery.

In 799 AC an Indian was washed ashore somewhere in the Mikawa province. A young man of twenty years, with nothing to cover his body except a straw coat and short drawers, he stranded in a country where none understood him. Years later when he became conversant with Japanese he said that he had come from India. He had seeds of cotton with him. He lived at the Kawadera temple at

Nara. Two ancient chronicles Nihon-koki and Ruiju kokushi mention that he introduced the cultivation of cotton which became the most important clothing material. The Japanese words *wata* or *hata* for cotton are derived from Sanskrit *paṭa* (पट).

In 806 Kobo Daishi returned from China to Japan with the new way of Mantrayāna, wherein Sanskrit mantras were the most sacrosanct. This led to the universalisation of education. The personal contacts of Kobo Daishi with the great Kashmirian Prājña during his sojourn in China, produced a profound effect on the cultural evolution of Japan. The blossoming of the great continental culture in insular surroundings reached its culmination in the personality of Kobo Daishi (774-835 AC), who visited China to drink at the purest springs of Dharma. Kobo Daishi's new denomination of Shingon or Mantrayāna was a new moral conscience of the country. He proclaimed Buddhahood to be the potential privilege of all as against the predestined few. He became an outstanding genius in Japan's cultural evolution. For the first time he founded a school for the children of common people. Till then the academies were open only to children of families above the fifth rank. To achieve this historic democratisation, he created the Japanese *kana* syllabary of fifty sounds: *a i u e o*, *ka ki ku ke ko*, etc. based on the Sanskrit alphabet. It was to spread education to the common man. The new syllabary was a revolutionary step in Japan's civilisation: what was hitherto the prerogative of the pre-destined few became the potential privilege of all. The entire alphabet was woven into a poem wherein every syllable occurs once. This poem is called *Iroha*. It is based on the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra.

The Japanese have longed to be pilgrims to India. In 818 Kongo-sammai (Vajrasamādhi) came to India via China. He makes a realistic observation that millions of flies swarmed the dining rooms of Nalanda but disappeared when the monks settled down to eat. In the 850s Hōdo undertook a hundred day long meditation. On the 70th day a beautiful lady entered the room and he fell in love. In remorse, he traveled to China and thence to the Vulture Peak in India to expiate his sin. The monk Myoe Shoin (1163-1122) was unable to visit India. He consoled himself by giving the Sanskrit name Prāgbodhi to the hill in front of his monastery and calling the stream flowing by as Nairañjanā. In the Tokugawa period, a great scholar of Avataṁsaka Hotan washed his feet in sea water at a beach in the thought that the water extended to the shores of the motherland of Buddhism.

Japan and India share a common culture to an extent that during elections in the 1980s to the Japanese Parliament a candidate had Gaṇeśa as his election symbol. There were as many as twenty members of the Japanese Parliament who belonged to the 'Mahāmāyā' group, which is the name of Lord Buddha's mother.

Tibet. Sanskrit Buddhism has conditioned to the minutest detail the life and thought of Tibet inspite of its forbiddingly high mountains, untamed rivers, deep gorges, immense waterless deserts and icy howling winds. The Tibetan script, grammar, vocabulary, literary style, paintings, medicine, astronomy, folk-songs — all bear the deep impress of Sanskrit culture. Tibetan literature is translated

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from Sanskrit, and the flame of intellectual life kindled by it became the inspiration for an indigenous literature. All knowledge is centred in the *naṅ-rig* or exploration of the Inner Deeps. The warm reality of Tibetan life pulsates in the vibrant levels of her Sanskrit culture.

Mongolia. Sanskrit reached Mongolia in the sixth century, when two Buddhist teachers Śākyavaṁśa and Narendrayaśas went and worked there. Ever since, Buddhism has been their heart and soul. It replaced nomadic life by a sedentary civilisation. It brought peace to the Mongols and a high degree of civilisation which was the envy of Russian deportees in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Mongolian Professor Rinchen used to relate with pride: "If you happen to stop in any yurt, the first one falling on your way in the vast steppes, where the night may overtake you, before the fire of a hearth you will hear from the mouth of an old shepherd the philosophical poem *Bodhicaryāvatāra* composed by the famous Indian poet and thinker, Śāntideva, translated into the Mongolian language already in the thirteenth century. You will not be surprised if the old shepherd sitting thoughtfully on the hillock near the grazing herds, having come to know you to be a philologist will enter into animated conversation with you regarding the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini which was translated into the Mongolian language already in the seventeenth century the level of which was achieved by European linguists only during the last century".

Gaṅgā-jala is as auspicious and sacred in Mongolia and Buryatia as in India. During my visits to these lands, I took holy Ganga water with me as a gift for their monasteries. The Ganga water was received by them at a grand ceremony with due recitation of Sanskrit mantras in a special vessel of silver. *Gaṅgā-jala* was taken from India to Mongolia about 400 years ago and has been an integral part of their daily rites.

Genoese merchants secured Mongol slaves from traders wholesaling in the Black Sea ports. Thousands of these "Tartar" slaves worked in every major Italian city, which reached its climax in the middle of the 15th century. These Buddhist slaves used hot-air turbines for turning their prayer-cylinders. This gave rise to screw propeller of ships, and steam-jet blowers in the shape of birds dateable to 1579.

The national flag of Mongolia is Soyombo or Svayambhū topped by the *candra*, *bindu* and *nāda* of *praṇava*. Let us not forget that Goraksh was the first Mongolian cosmonaut to go into *sansar*. Space is *sansar* in modern Mongolian. Sanskrit Buddhism is the invariable presence in the long time and lonely sublime of Mongolia.

Champa (in Vietnam). The first Sanskrit inscription of South-East Asia comes from Champa. It is the Vo-Chanh Rock Inscription dated to the second or third century on palaeographic grounds. The Sanskrit epigraphic records are confirmed by Chinese sources. The history of Champa has been reconstructed from 192 AC on the basis of inscriptions and Chinese annals. Champa was a major catalyst of Sanskrit culture. It was a renowned centre of Sanskrit learning. A Chinese military mission was sent against King Śambhuvarman to bring 1350 Sanskrit works as war booty to China. In 752

Buddhasthira came from Champa for the sumptuous consecration ceremony of the Daibutsu Roshana (Rocana Buddha) at the Todaiji Monastery. He introduced Sanskrit music and dance in Japan and it is part of Imperial repertoire to this day. The Chams had no resources of population and they succumbed to the unequal collision of population in the 19th century. Fragments of their enchanted glory can be seen in folklore, which is still full of stories of Indra, called *Yan In* or 'God Indra'. He is associated with the construction of a dyke above the valley of Song Luy, which magically dams up the celestial waters. In years of severe drought, the Chams pray to him to release the waters.

Cambodia. The interface of the culture of India and SouthEast Asia was, in the words of Paul Mus: "India seen from the East". The famous Chinese writer, Lady Han Suyin, speaks of the Indian initiative in South East Asia, as narrated in the Chinese dynastic annals. She writes: 'One night two thousand years ago, a god visited a youth in India and said to the young man, named Kauṇḍinya: Find a bow, board your boat, sail toward the rising sun.' Kauṇḍinya went to the temple next morning and there found, on the floor, a bow with a quiver full of arrows; he embarked and the god-driven wind blew him across the elephant-backed sea to a shore where Willowleaf, the beautiful queen and leader of the Khmer amazons, reigned. The queen launched her war canoe to repel Kauṇḍinya, but the youth shot it through with his arrows, and she submitted to him. They were married, and thus was born the dynasty of the first Khmer kingdom".

Thus the kingdom of Funan was founded by sage Kauṇḍinya, who married the Nāgī queen Somā. This kingdom is referred to in Chinese texts from the third to the seventh century. Sanskrit was the official language of Funan. The use of the Pallava script speaks of the cultural majesty of the Pallava kings.

Cambodia is the only country named after a *ṛṣi* or sage : Kambuja kings were descendants of Kambu Svāyambhuva and Merā.

Jayavarman II came to the throne in the ninth century. He liberated Cambodia from Javanese vassalage. There is an unbroken line of rulers from him to modern times. He founded Angkor around the fertile area of the Great Lake of Tonle Sap that is inundated by the Mekong. The word Angkor is the Cambodian pronunciation of Sanskrit *nagara*. The Cambodians believe that Angkor was built by Indra who moulded the city in clay, poured over it a sort of icing whereby it solidified. Great Indra looked upon his favourite land of the Khmers, noted that its King and Queen were childless. He gave a son to the Queen and showed the child glories of his Trayastriṁśa paradise. The son ruled over the Khmers and copied the heavenly realm at Angkor. Great Indra visited the earth for the coronation of his son, to give to his child's realm its name of Kambuja, and to hand over the Sacred Sword which is the Lightning of Indra. It is kept to this day in the royal palace and used in coronation rites. The coronation ceremonies are events of great pomp. The King is robed in the colour of the day (purple if it is a Tuesday). He is received in the palace by the Grand Master of the

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Order of the Baku, carrying an image of god Viṣṇu. The royal feet are washed in coconut juice and perfumed essences by the Prea Reamea Reachea Thippedi (*rāma-rājya-adhipati*). The Grand Master hands the statues of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the right and left hands of the King. When he hands over the Sacred Sword, he proclaims the formula: "Take, for thou art the Lightning of Indra".

Angkor flourished for six hundred years. The city was captured in 1431 by the Thais, and a curtain of darkness descended upon Angkor and the entire Cambodian civilisation.

In the light and languid clime of Cambodia, into the spacious majesty of Angkor monument follows on monument, ruins edge upon ruins, the walls of vegetation screen and hide and curtain, masonry masses mingle into the fantastic flowering of the jungle. By moonlight these buildings take on an appearance of solid majesty which is awe-inspiring. In the twilight gloom of these jungles a nāga slithers over the sensuous limbs of an apsarā petrified in a seductive pose of her dance in honor of a cakavartin crowned with the rājasūya rites of the Ṛgveda by a hotṛ.

The Cambodian kings transferred their capital to Phnom Penh, then called Chadomukh. With the advent of the new dynasty in the 15th century, the construction of temples and writing of Sanskrit inscriptions ceased, as the elite had been wiped out. When King Ponhea Yat founded the capital at Phnom Penh he gave it the imposing title:

Krong chadomukh mongkol sokkala kampucheathipdei
चतुर्मुख मंगल सकल कम्बुजाधिपति
sereisothor parava intaputta borei rattharachasema mohanokor
श्रेष्ठ परम इन्द्रप्रस्थ पुरी राष्ट्रराजसीमा महानगर

Over a thousand Sanskrit inscriptions in ornate kāvya style unfold the religious, social and political life of Cambodia. The Sanskrit inscription of Jayavarman VII reveals the magnitude of the Rājavihāra of Ta Prohm where the king set up an image of his mother as Prajñāpāramitā. It had 439 professors and 970 scholars, and 66,625 people were employed to serve the deites of the temples. The inscription further relates that there were 798 temples and 102 hospitals in his kingdom.

Indonesia. The rise of culture in the South East Asian isles is attested by seven inscriptions of King Mūlavarman, dated to ca 400 AC on palaeographic grounds. By this century, the tradition of yajñas must have been fully established as the King donated excellent cows to brahmins, established hospitals, and created an extensive irrigation system. These seven inscriptions were discovered on the Maha*kam* River, a name that can reflect the *kāma*dhenu that secured the march of civilising influences and material affluence. He erected a light-house (*ākāśadīpa*) that indicates a developed infrastructure for transnational commerce. It was the dynasty of Kuṇḍuṅga which has left the imprint of its glory in the Chinese name K'un-lun for the SE Asian region. The inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman, King of Tārumanagara, from West Java, are of the fifth century. They use the Pallava script of South India: Tāruma is the Tamil spelling of Dharma. The concept of the king as an incarnation of Viṣṇu

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and *nagara* tokens the idea of a state with a social system leading to concentration of political power that enabled large irrigation works to bring about economic prosperity. The interaction of Hinduism and Buddhism in Java and Kalimantan led to a higher state of civilisation with an alphabetic culture, effective administrative machinery, a powerful system of vast public works for economic prosperity, development of metallurgy and sculptural techniques and implements for sculpting divine images, and sophisticated architectural complexes of temples. Temples led to contemplation : beyond mere physical seeing it was the visualisation of the Divine. Paintings, sculptures and architectural structures enhanced meditation. The sculptures and architecture of the chandis represent the glory of Classical Indonesia. The chandis from Borobudur, Prambanan, Kalasan down to the 15th century Sukuh and Ceṭo are pearls of the heritage of the emerald string of the Indonesian archipelago. The world of the narrator, bard and poet is represented by Old Javanese literature, like the Chandaḥkaraṇa which includes metrics, grammar, alaṅkāra, and the Mahā-Amaramālā lexicon, the great parwas of the Mahābhārata, kakawins like the Rāmāyaṇa, philosophical texts like the Bhuvanakośa and Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. For instance, King Śrī Dharmavaṁśa Tĕguh Ananta-vikram-ottuṅga-deva initiated the auspicious undertaking of putting the Mahābhārata into Javanese (*maṅjāvākna*) so that the tradition lives in the future. While this King carried out conquests, his Queen presided over the creation of literature that became immortal fame. Local genius created a new cultural idiom of Sanskrit culture and civilisation in all its manifestations.

On the pattern of Sanskrit universities like Nalanda and Takṣaśilā, there were major centres of Sanskrit learning in Indonesia. We have narrations of Chinese scholar pilgrims who stayed at Palembang to study Sanskrit before coming to India. Palembang was the capital of Sumatra under the great maritime empire of Śrīvijaya. It was known as *Śrī Bhoja*. The famous Chinese pilgrim I-tsing of the early 8th century studied Sanskrit at Palembang as a preparation for his visit to India. On his way back home he again stayed at Palembang to translate Sanskrit texts he had collected.

In March 1990 Asian Women Parliamentarians' Conference was held in Delhi. Indonesia was represented by the Secretary General of Indonesian Women's Congress, Mrs. Susilastuti Sutopo. The name is a reflection of their Classical culture deeply allied to Sanskrit traditions. 'Sushila' is a common family name. 'Stuti' is reminiscent of ancient Sanskrit litanies or *stutis*. Out of these hymns emerged beings who were supreme in 'Tapa' whence we have the name of Hon'ble Lady Member 'Sutopo'. The classical Kawi language of Indonesia is full of poetic Sanskrit expressions. They have survived upto the present in proper nouns. An Indonesian professor with the name 'Hari-murti Krida-lakshana', had regular correspondence with me.

The most magnificent cultural presence of Indonesia is the historic cosmogram of Borobudur, the grey silence of endless stone reliefs, enshrining the vision of a king in an ecstasy of form. Conceived and concretised by a poet, thinker and architect, named Guṇadharma, it holds the heart in rapture in transcreating adoration along the path of endless time. The Indonesian word for independence is *merdeka*, derived from the Sanskrit *maharddhika*. The Constitution of Indonesia is called *Pancasila*, The national motto *bhinneka tunggal ika* 'unity in diversity' is derived from the Sutasoma kāvya in the Classical Kawi language.

The greatest of Sanskrit poets Kālidāsa exhorts the beloved of Hemāṅgada, the king Kaliṅga "sport with him on the shores of the sea... where your drops of perspiration will be cooled by breezes of clove-flowers wafted from the Indonesian isles:"

अनेन सार्धं विहराम्बुराशेस्तीरेषु तालीवनमर्मरेषु ।
द्वीपान्तरानीत-लवङ्ग-पुष्पैरपाकृत-स्वेद-लवा मरुद्भिः ॥ ५७॥

Freshening, tingling pleasures across the tinkle of jade waters. Incredible indeed that Kālidāsa seeks greening of human life from Isles that lay quiet in his heart. Sounds of the seas became sounds of the heart: India and Indonesia have shared their Way in the boundless excitement of minds, garnered deep within.

Poet Tagore speaks of Tepantar (= Dvīpāntara or Indonesia) as a fairy land "where the pair of wise old birds have their nest" (*The Crescent Moon*). Indonesia lived on in the amnesia of our legends, going her own way among green mountains and blue waters. During his visit to Indonesia in 1927, struck by the elegance of the theatrical genres, Tagore wrote: "When Nataraja Shiva, the King of Dances, came here and was gratified with the worship of the people, the boon he gave to them was his dance itself. Can it be, I wonder, that all that was left for us of India were the ashes of the cremation gorund, with which Shiva decks himself as Lord of Ascetics?"

My father, Prof. RaghuVira told Poet Tagore that his fairyland of Tepantar is Dvīpāntara of Kālidāsa, which is mentioned by Li-yen the Kuchean scholar of the eighth century in his Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary as a synonym of the Indonesian isles. Poet Tagore heard him in spell-bound wonder.

Having enriched the cultural heritage of mankind, the golden epochs of Indonesia slowly sink into silence, as the wordless Borobudur enshrines the vision of a Śailendra king in an ecstasy of form. Its architect Guṇadharma, who had transcreated in Borobudur his rapture of adoration and meditation in Mount Menoreh, is integrated into this very mountain range where you can see the silhouette of his chin, mouth and nose. Chandis or temples are asleep in the bosom of the land in the unconcern of time as they seek a renaissance, in confluence with the texture of ages.

Arabic. Sanskrit acted as a source of inspiration to Arabic in literature and mathematics. An Indian introduced a treatise on astronomy in 773 which was translated into Arabic by the order of the Caliph. Al-Khwarizmi syncretised the Sanskrit and Greek systems of astronomy. The decimal system was brought by Indians to Baghdad, whence it entered Europe. Ibn al-Muqaffa translated the Pañcatantra from Pahlavi into Arabic in the eighth century, under the title *Kalila wa Dimna*, from the names of the two jackals Karaṭaka and Damanaka. Thanks to this work, Muqaffa is called the creator of Arabic prose.

Conclusion

Sanskrit has been the fountain-head of thought and belle-lettres, of visual and performing arts, of life and ritual, of power and virtue in Central Asia, in East Asian lands and in SE Asia. The first Sanskrit texts were introduced to China by the Yüeh-chih, Sanskrit sutras were translated into Chinese by East Iranians of Parthia like An Shih-kao. Amoghavajra of Samarkand transmitted the *homa* rites to China which travelled thence to Japan and are performed there to this day. Sanskrit became the Classical language of Cambodia and Thailand while their Sutras are in Pali. The great Pali grammar Saddanīti was written by a Burmese bhikkhu on the basis of the Mahābhāṣya. The dynasty of the Śailendras of Indonesia patterned Kawi language, metres and ideas on Sanskrit. To our own day, the highest number of students of Sanskrit, after India, are in Japan. Sanskrit has been a dynamized centre, treasured in the distant corridors of etymology of IndoEuropean languages, and alive in the cathedrals of the hearts of China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam; Bhutan, Tibet, Mongolia and Buryatia; Srilanka, Burma, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand, and in the rich linguistic textures of Indonesia, Malaysia and neighbouring isles. In the last three decades, ten thousand folios and fragments of Sanskrit texts written on palm leaf, birch bark and vellum, from the first to the ninth century, have been dug from the earth in Afghanistan, and are now in Norway, U.K. and Japan.

When modern life is threatened by un-natural developments, humankind will have to find its rhymes in the deeper universes of Being. Sanskrit enshrines *saṁskāras* or values that can illumine the tonality of the future, beyond cloning, computers and other manifestations of the technosphere.

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Funding by IKS-MoE

13. रोमा और उनकी कालजयिनी भाषा

रोमा जातियां भारत के अटल संस्कार और सनातन की प्रतीक हैं। अपने सांवरे रंग, भाषा के दुलार, प्रथाओं की अमिट छवि लिए ये जातियां योरोप, रूस और अमरीका में घूमती फिरती रहीं। पिछले १५०० वर्षों के अत्याचारों से अविचलित संगीत, नाच, मोहने वाले परदेसीपन से योरोप के हृदय में बसी हैं। कभी घृणा, कभी आश्चर्य, और सतत संहार से योरोप ने इनका स्वागत किया है। रोमा जातियों का इतिहास जनसंहार की लम्बी कहानी है। केवल रोमा होने के कारण इन्हें दास और दासी बनाया गया, नृशंस अनाचार किया गया और मारा गया। अपराध-केवल अलग रंग और अलग भाषा थी। १९वीं शताब्दी में राइनलैण्ड की खदानों में मानुषी का शिकार किया जाता था — बच्चे को दूध पिलाती रोमषी नारी की निर्मम हत्या, मानों हरिणी हो। जर्मनी और आस्ट्रिया में, १९०१ से १९५० तक, रोमा लोगों को नष्ट करने के लिए ६९ अध्यादेश निकाले गए। आज भी हमारी भाषा और हम भारत माता की खोई संतान हैं।

आज से १५०० अथवा १००० वर्ष पूर्व भारत से बाहर रोमा निकले। चलते फिरते ईरान, तुर्की, मिश्र, ग्रीस, योरोप, रूस, अमरीका में फैल गए। रोमा शब्द 'डोम' का रूपान्तर है। इन्हें 'कालो' (कृष्णवर्ण) भी कहते थे। ये यायावर हैं और कभी एक स्थान पर लम्बे समय तक नहीं ठहरते। ग्रामों और नगरों के बाहर सड़कों पर घोड़ा-गाड़ियों में सजधज के साथ जहां कहीं भी रोमा परिवार डेरा जमाते हैं, वहीं खेल-कूद, आमोद-प्रमोद का संसार उमड़ पड़ता है। इन्हें अपनी भाषा का बड़ा अभिमान है। इसे छिपा कर रखते हैं। इसके मूल भूत शब्द, वाक्यचना और व्याकरण भारतीय हैं। 'कालो चिब्' चिब् = जिह्वा = भाषा) रोमा भाषा के लिए है। एक शब्द हिम लीजिए - दिखस् बारो इव् (देखी बड़ी हिम)। त्रशीअस् (त्रास गया)। था अरे ग्यस् पावे (और अन्दर गया परे)। था फन्दोअस् ओर उदार् (और बन्द किया वह द्वार)। इवेस्को दिवेस् (हिम का दिवस)। इवेस्की रात (हिम की रात)। हिम शब्द भारतीय भाषाओं से तद्भव के रूप में लुप्त हो गया।

रोमा लोगों में भारत के संस्कारों की गहरी छाप है। पिताजी आचार्य रघुवीर) चैकोस्लोवाकिया में एक रोमणी माता से मिले। उसने कहा — "मेरे पुत्र का रंग सांवला है। पाठशाला में बच्चे उसे काला कह कर चिढ़ाते हैं। मैं उसे दूध से गोरा बनाना चाहती हूं।" दूध में नहला कर गोरा बनाने की कल्पना पिता जी ने अपने बाल्यकाल में ग्राम में सुनी थी। घोड़ा रोमर लोगों का निरन्तर साथी है। अंग्रेज रोम Cliff Lec ने बताया — रोमा 'साचो रात्' (सच्चा रक्त तुरन्त बना सकते हैं। मैं सच्चा रोमा हूं क्योंकि मैं और मुझसे पहिले मेरे पिता तम्बू में खुले आकाश के तले जन्मे थे। मैने घोड़े के गले में कपड़े के पालने में शैशव बिताया। घोड़ी का स्तनपान किया। मैं "साचो रात हूं।" हंगरी के "लोवारी" रोमा घोड़े बेचते हैं। लोवारी शब्द लोहार का रूपान्तर है। प्राचीन समय में रोमा गाडिया लोहार थे और योरोपीय देशों में छुरी बनाना, लोहे की वस्तुओं का निर्माण और हथियार बनाने का व्यवसाय करते थे। महिलाएं ज्योतिष, जादू टोना, और नाचना आदि के लिए योरोप में आकर्षण थीं। विचित्र नया सांवरा रंग योरोप के सामन्त वर्ग को इनके साथ विलास के लिए आकृष्ट करता था। नृत्य में इनका समस्त शरीर तरंगित हो उठता और सामन्तों को रोमांचित करता था। योरोप के कई राजपरिवारों में रोमा लहू था। रोमणी का धिरकता नाच, उसका भरा शरीर, और चञ्चल नयन, एवं जलती हुई आग — योरोप के मनों में बसी थी। पिछली शताब्दी के मध्य में ए.जी.पास्पाती नामक ग्रीक चिकित्सक ने संस्कृत पढ़ी। इनकी रोमा-भाषा में रुचि जागृत हुई। रोमाओं से मिलने, पैसे देकर इनकी भाषा सीखते और रोमा-भाषा का प्रथम शब्द कोश बनाया। इन्होंने देखा कि रोमा स्वर्ग के लिए ग्रीक शब्द "रा॰नोस्" प्रयोग करते हैं, परन्तु ईसाई क्रॉस के लिए 'त्रुशुल' अर्थात् त्रिशूल। पहली बार सुनिश्चित रूप से प्रमाणित हो गया कि रोमा भारत-मूलक हैं। "जा देव्लेसा, पूरी दाइ" जा देव के साथ, बूढ़ी धाई) मां को नमस्कार है। यह खोज चलती रही और रोमणी भाषा भारतीय भाषा के रूप में प्रतिदिन हो गई। रोमा चिकित्सालय की श्वेत चादर पर लेटना नहीं चाहता - श्वेत मरण शोक का रंग है। मैं मर जाऊंगा। आज प्रत्येक रोमा जानता है कि मेरी अनुभूतियां भारतीय हैं। शताब्दियों तक देश से दूर रहकर भी वे धुली नहीं, भुलाई नहीं। कहता है — मान्दी सि दादेस्को थेम् (मेरा है दादाऔ का धाम)। मेरा मूलदेश है। ऋग्वेद के काल से हमारी भूमि-निष्ठा गहरी रही है — सा नो भूमिर्वर्धद् वर्धमाना।

रोमानी भाषा का निकटतम संबन्ध हिन्दी से है — तेल, मोल (= मूल्य), रखेल (= रखता है), मानुष्। रोमानी में खान्रो "तलवार" — संस्कृत "खण्डक" का अपभ्रंश है। हिन्दी में तलवार शब्द विदेशी है। रोमानी बोलियों में अन्तर है — दूध के लिए योरोपीय रोमानी में 'लूत्' ॥

संस्कृत की कुछ विभक्तियां सुरिक्षत हैं — सं चोरस्य = रो. चोरेस् । सं चोराणां = रो. चोरेन् । इससे हंगरी के रोमानी के मूर्धन्य विद्वान डॉ. वेकेर्दी का मत है कि रोमा जातियां भारत से ५वीं शती के लगभग निकली हैं।

रोमानी में १-६, १०, २० और १०० के लिए भारतीय शब्द हैं परन्तु ७, ८, ९ के लिए फारसी अथवा ग्रीक भाषाओं से हैं। आश्चर्य है कि यूथ के क्या कारण हैं। रोमानी के कुछ शब्द बोलचाल की इंग्लिश के भाग बने है — मित्र के लिए pal। यह रोमानी फ्राल् (संस्कृत भ्राता) से है।

१९५७ में चैकोस्लोवाकिया में रोमा पाठशाला देखने गए । रोमा बच्चों ने भारतीयों को पहली बार देखा और भाव-विभोर हो गए। पूछने लगे हमारा मूल देश कैसा है। क्या वहां के लोग हमारी भाषा समझ सकते हैं। उन्होंने रोमा गीत और कविताएं सुनाई। एक कविता थी —

छायोरि रोमानि
केर् मांगे यागोरि।
ना त्सिक्नि ना बारि
चाराव् त्रो वोद्झोरि ॥

छायोरि = छोकरी। केद् = करो । मांगे = मेरे लिए।
यागोरि = छोटी सी आग (याग) । ना त्सिक्नि = ना छोटी ।
ना बारि = ना बड़ी। अन्तिम चरण का अर्थ है — मैं तुमसे विनति करता हूं।

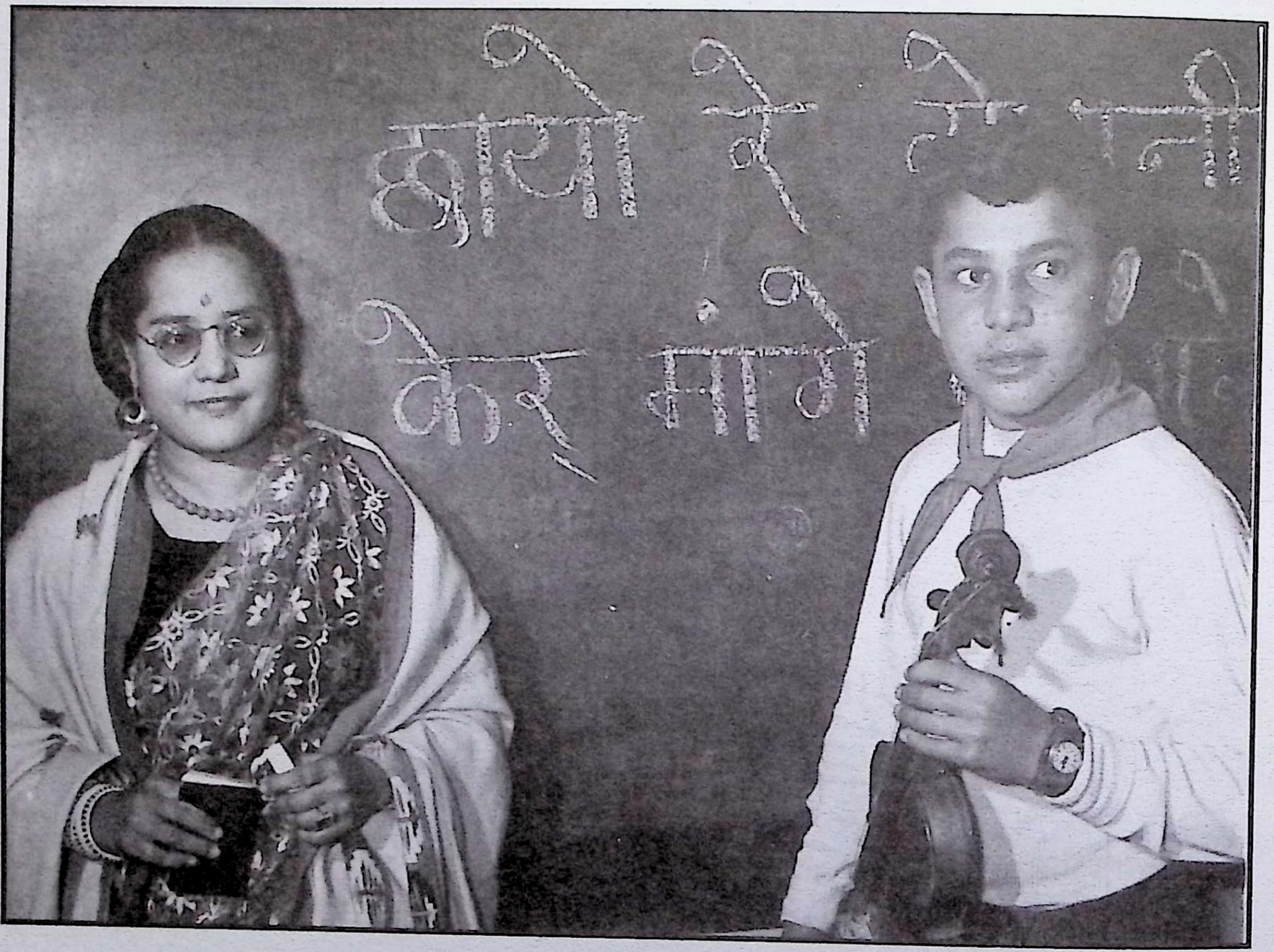
बच्चों की इच्छा हुई कि यह कविता हम उन्हें उनकी भारतीय लिपि में लिख कर दिखाए। मेरी पत्नी स्वर्गीया डॉ. शारदारानी ने देवनागरी में लिखी। भारतीय संगीत सुनाया। जो कथा रोमा बच्चों ने रोमानी भाषा में सुनाई थी वह हिन्दी में कही। लड़कियों के माथे पर बिन्दी लगाई। रोमा बच्चों के हृदयों में बिजली कौंध गई। सहस्रों वर्षों के संस्कार जाग उठे। यह ममत्व का, अपनेपन का चमत्कार था। इसका चित्र नीचे है। जहां मन है, मेरा है, वहां चमत्कार का प्रारम्भ और सृजन का पहला चरण है। रोमा भारत को आह्वान करते हैं — उत्तिष्ठरत, जाग्रत, प्राप्य वरान् निबोधत ॥

vzne
bio
pra
slu
hla
klu
zdra
zvo
dla
zde
vla
běží
snědl
děravá
věšák
těsto
město

Lokesh Chandra, sister Dr. Sudarshana Singhal and Dr. Milena Hübschmannova in a class of Roma children. Milena wrote a grammar of Czech Romany dialect and had collected their folk songs.

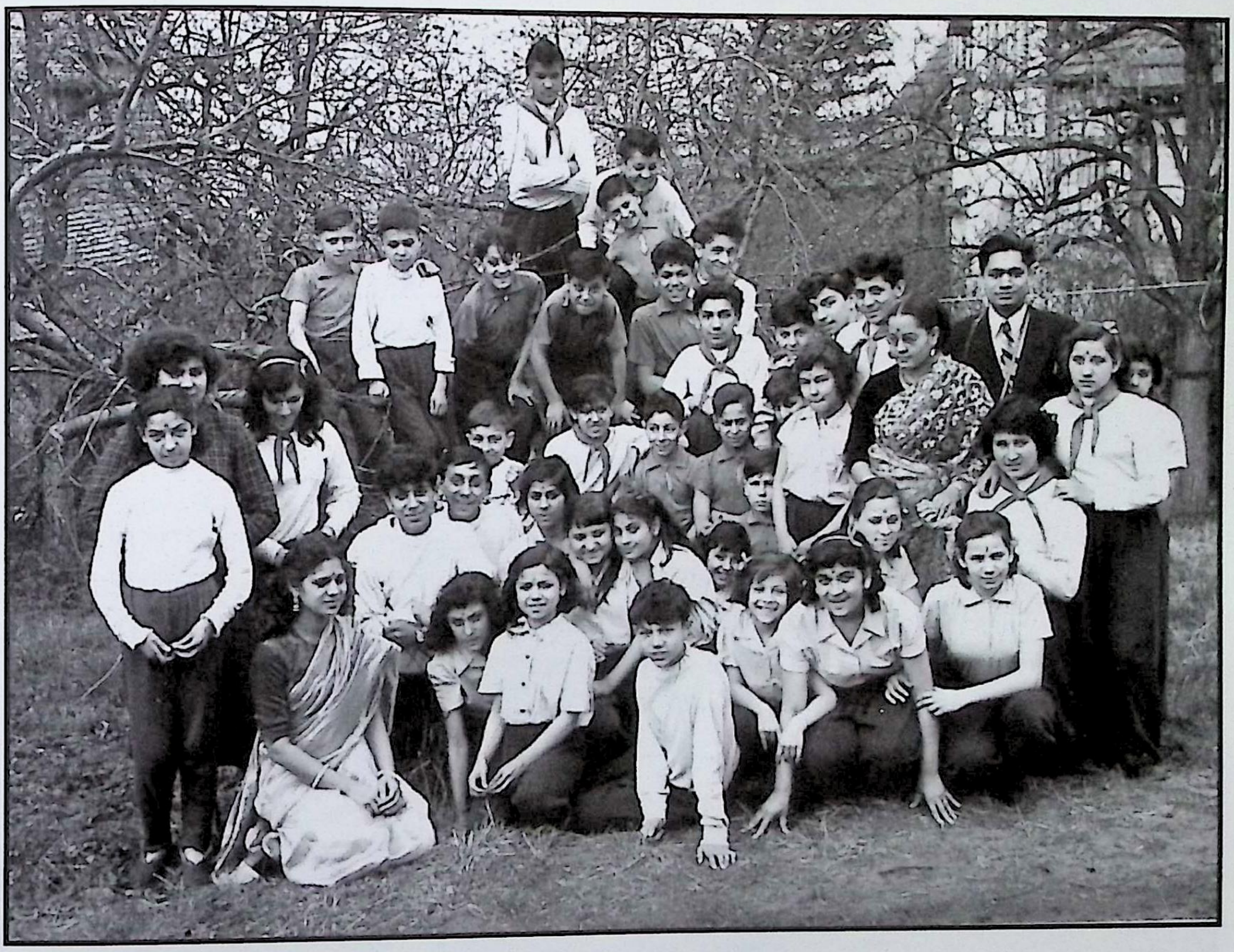
Funding by IKS-MoE

Dr. Sharada Rani put a red *bindi* on the forehead of all the Roma girls who were thrilled to look so Indian.



Roma children wanted to see their poem in the Indian script. They clapped in joy as she wrote it in Nagari letters, and wanted her to sing it and an Indian song. A Roma boy readies to play music as Dr. Sharada Rani prepares to sing the Romani poem, followed by a Hindi song.

Funding by IKS-MoE



Three of us with Roma children in the garden. After the photographs they shouted in exuberance; we have an ancestral homa (*dadesko them*). Mother India lives in their hearts

14. MAṆḌALA OF DURGĀ

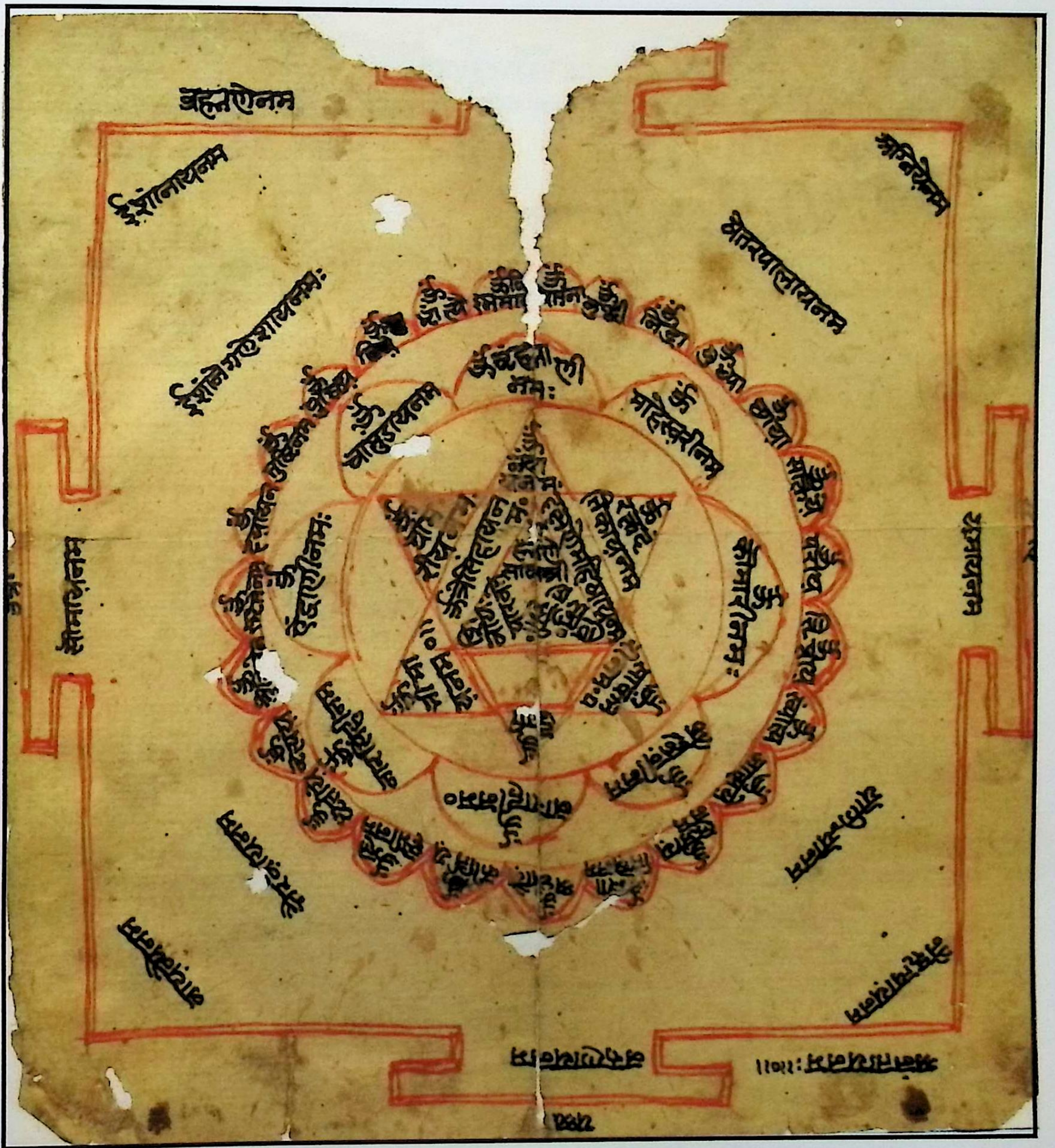
The central triangle in the inner circle has Savītrī, Śiva with Pārvatī, and Viṣṇu with Lakṣmī. To their north is a lion (Siṃha) and to the South a buffalo (mahiṣa). Outside the triangle are six sub-triangles with Nandā Raktadantikā, Śākambharī, Durgā, Bhīmā and Bhrāmarī. The six goddesses are integrel to the Great Goddess (Durgāsaptaśatī, Gorakhpur, p.209).

The outer circle has eight mātṛkās: Bramāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṁhī, Aindiāṇī, and Cāmuṇḍā.

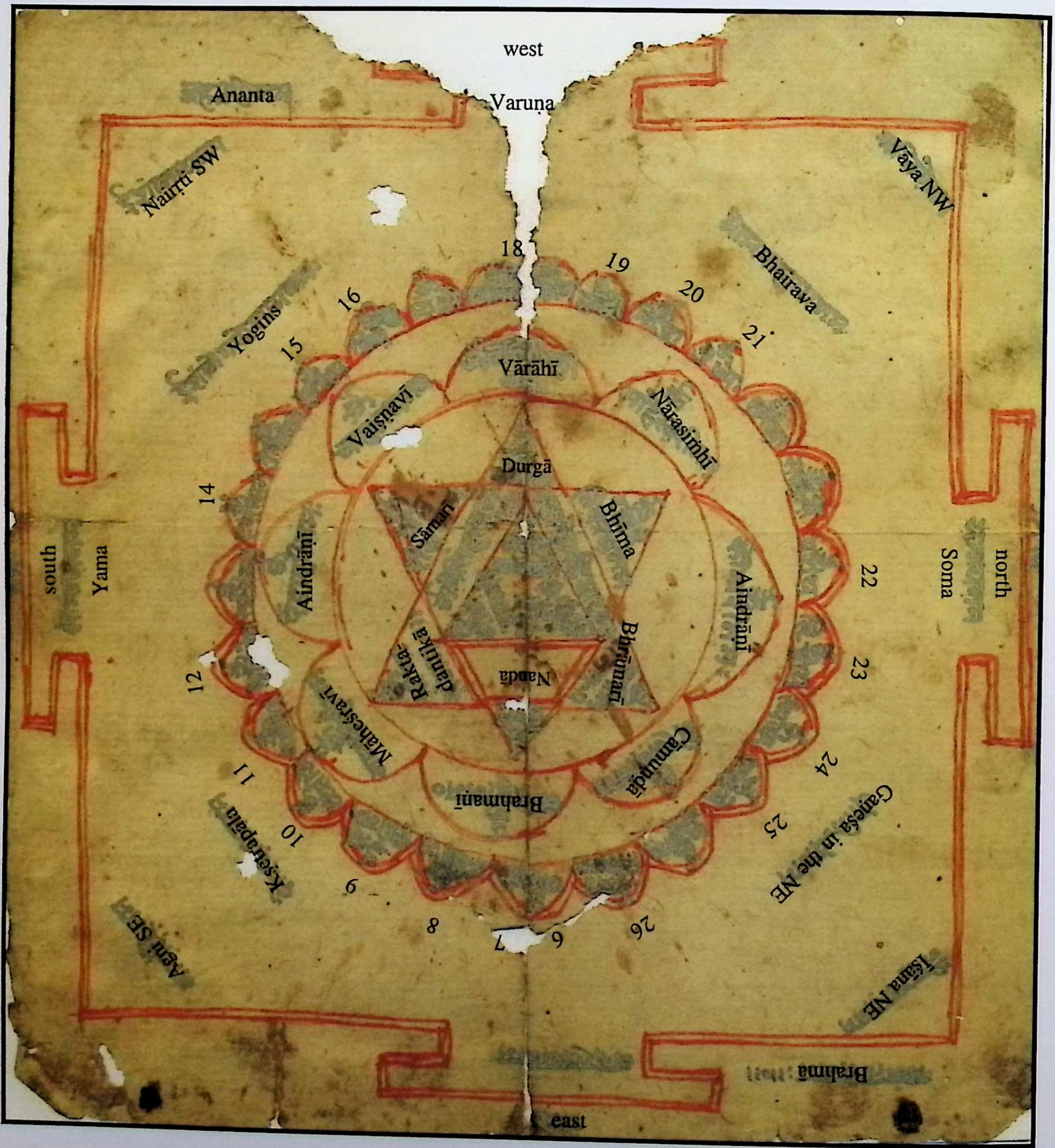
Outside are twentyfive goddesses of: Viṣṇu māyā (6), Cetanā (7), Buddhi (8), Nidrā (9), Kṣudhā (10), Chāyā (11), 12 (Śakti), ? (13, text Tṛṣṇā), Tṛpti (14), Khyāti, Jāti (15), Lajjā (16), ?, Śraddhā (18), Kirti (19), Lakṣmi (20), Dhṛti (21), Nṛtya, Śruti, Smṛti (22), Durgā (23), Tuṣṭi (24), Puṣṭi (25), —, Bhrānti (26). The figures refer to the stanza numbers of the Durgā-Saptaśatī.

In the open space are: Kṣetrapāla (SE), yogins (SW), Bhairava (NW) and Gaṇeśa (NW).

The ten dikpālas or guardians of the directions are — (east), Yama (south), Varuṇa (west), Soma (north), Iśāna (NE), Agni (SE), Nairṛti (SW) and Vāyu (NW), Brahmā (zenith), Ananta (nadir).


ब्रह्मणेनमः
ईशानायनमः
क्षेत्रपालायनमः

Funding by IKS-MoE


west
Varuṇa
Ananta
Nairṛti SW
Vāya NW
Bhairava
Yogins
18
19
20
21
16
15
Vārāhī
Vaiṣṇavī
Nārasiṃhī
Durgā
Sāmarī
Bhīma
14
south
Yama
Aindrāṇī
Aindrāṇī
22
Soma
north
Rakta-
dantikā
Nanda
Bhrāmarī
12
23
Māheśvarī
Cāmuṇḍā
Brahmāṇī
11
24
Kṣetrapāla
10
25
Gaṇeśa in the NE
9
8
7
6
26
Agni SE
Īśāna NE
Brahmā
east

Funding by IKS-MoE

15. BAMIYAN: THE JEWEL OF AFGHANISTAN'S GLORY

Bamiyan has been the millenia of the illumined mind (*bhāma*) of Afghanistan, the gorgeous picturesqueness of her nature and the magnificent grandeur of her colossi. The colossi of Bamiyan have inhabited deeper zones of immense stretches of Asia, endowed as they were with divine power. They have been the integrity of East Asian polities, a chronology of a new integrative mindscape, and a deepening reality of the spiritual. As the golden expression of the Avataṁsaka system, Bamiyan became the cornerstone of the thought of East Asia. It was the Net of Indra or *Indrajāla* each jewel of which reflects all other jewels, and the reflection of all the jewels of the mind encompassed the infinity of the infinites.

The word Bamiyan goes back to the Rigvedic *bhāma* which means 'brightness, splendour' of the mind. It occurs four times in the Rigveda 3.26.6, 5.2.10, 6.6.3, 10.3.4. It is the way to brahmaloka in the Chāndogya-upaniṣad 4.15.4[1]: "He is also *bhāmanī* for he shines in all worlds. He who knows this shines in all worlds" (*bhāma* 'shine' + *nī* 'leads to'). The Brahman is shining (4.5.3), luminous (4.7.4). One who meditates on Brahman as Luminous wins luminous worlds. This world of visualisation can be seen in Yasna 57.31 of the Avesta: *bāmya* 'bright, sublime' from *bāma*[2]. The Buddhist text Mahāvastu[3], names Seven Historical Buddhas: Vipaśyin, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, *Bhāma*-Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni the historic Buddha. Bhāma-Kanakamuni means Kanakamuni of Bamiyan. There are several variants of this name, as both its elements were not understood. The Aśokan form is Konākamana[4], and it may be the Tocharian word *koṁ-ñkät* 'Sun-God'. As a predecessor in the transmission lineage (*guru-paramparā*) of Lord Buddha, he leads us to the fact that the traditions of Bamiyan lay at the very roots of Buddhism.

The word has lived on in Balkh which was known as Balkh-i-bāmī 'Resplendent Balkh' or the Bactra of brilliant visualisations. Pahlavi *bām* 'brilliance, glory, splendour', *bāmīk* 'brilliant, glorious', New Persian *bāmī*. Bāmīkān was the older Middle Iranian form of the name: *bāmīk* and the toponymic suffix *-an*. The modern name is with the glide *y* :Bami-y-an. The Chinese transcriptions[5] indicate the name Bamyan (without the glide *i*).

Fan-yen (帆延)
Fan-yang in the Annals of the Northern Wei Dynasty (386-556) in the 5th century AC
Wang (i.e. *Bang*)-*yen* (疑衍)[6]
Hsüan-tsang who was in Bamiyan in 632, presents an entirely different transcription:

Fan-yen-na (梵衍那). It is a transliteration of a folk etymology that is reminiscent of the Chāndogya-upaniṣad: *Fan* is the Chinese for Brahma, *yen-na* is *yāna*, and the whole compound is Brahma-yāna ie. the place of meditation in the Brahmayāna system. Brahmayāna occurs in the

Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra along with Devayāna. Hsüan-tsang added *na* to emphasise that the final component is *yāna*, as well as he transliterated the first component clearly as Brahma in contradistinction to the earlier Chinese transcriptions. Thomas Watters[7] remarks that the King of Bamiyan "was probably regarded by Yuan-chuang as a descendant of the Śākya exile from Kapilavastu who went to Bamiyan and became its king". The ruling dynasty of Bamiyan was Buddhist till 724 AC. It was converted to Islam at the time of the Abbasids. The new capital of Baghdad was completed by 766. The King of Bamiyan was appointed governor of Yaman in 844. Bamiyan was destroyed by the Saffarid Yakub and portable images were carried to Baghdad in 871.

Bamiyan, *Tokharians* and *colossi*. Hsüan-tsang writes about Bamiyan: "their written language, their popular institutions, and their currency were like those of Tokhara, and they resembled the people of that country in appearance" (Watters 1904: 1.115). As late as the 12th century Bamiyan was the capital of Tukharistan (EIs. 1.1010). The Tokharians were spread over a vast area though the word Tukharistan connotes primarily the region along the southern banks of the middle and upper Oxus river. Hsüan-tsang mentions lands of Tukhara in both the desert area of Khotan and on the Oxus. Tokharian is an Italo-Celtic language found in documents from Central Asia. A Tokharian mummy from Loulam has been dated to 2000 BC. The Tokharians played a major role in the translation of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Chinese, for instance, Kumārajīva created a new style of Chinese Buddhist diction. His Chinese translations are superb for their Chinese literary style. A 3rd century mural depicting two episodes from the Viśvantara-jātaka from Miran has a Kharosthi inscription that it is the work of *Tita* (Lat. Titus). Miran was under the rule of Tokharians who were ethnically of European stock, had connections with Greco-Roman lands of Asia Minor. Classical designs in Shrine M.V at Miran show winged angels, large open eyes, and classical designs like those on the painted panels of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

Hsüan-tsang saw the colossi glittering with gold and other precious ornaments. They continued to be worshipped and decorated. Iranians looked at them with wonderment till the 11th century. The 10th century poet Ibn an Nadīm writes:

yekī khāna dīd az khoshī chōn bahār
"He saw a temple so fine that it was like the spring"

In the early 11th century, Lāme'i Gorganī sings of the evocative power of the adorned Buddhas, dazzling in their pure beauty. These details of ornamentation are confirmed by fresco paintings of East Iranian Buddhist lands: dark blue veil over the red drapery of the robe, the circular golden earring with pearl pendants, the crowned heads, and the silken robes. The panegyric of Gorganī runs:

> The rose-bushes are like the adorned Buddhas of the vihāra
>   With blue upper breasts and red veils
> A hundred golden earrings in the ears of each one
>   Having scattered gems over these earrings:
>
> Buddhas wrapped in silks and robes they are
>   All these sweet basils and fruit-bearing trees.

> Having laid their crowns on their heads and taken their cups
> And filled their arms with agates and emeralds.

The Telephone Directory of Delhi has 47 Bamis or families whose forefathers migrated from Bami-yan to India a thousand years ago.

The Muslim author of the Persian dictionary *Farhang-e Rashidi* written in India as late as the 17th century speaks of *Kheng But* 'Moon-white Buddha' as "one of the wonders of our time". In the 11th century, Sam'ani from Marv (now in southern Turkmenistan) noted that there is nothing like the *Surkh But* 'Red Buddha' and *Kheng But* 'Moon-white Buddha' anywhere in the world. They are the two colossi of Bamiyan.

On 1 March 2001 the Taliban blasted their patrimony that had been their glory across the whole of Central Asia, China, Korea and Japan.

Today, the grandeur of Bamiyan lingers in memory, the desolation of their icons is still alive in unforgettable astonishment, as the profound moments of reverence are lost in the corridors of time. The solemnity of sagely silence haunts their *śūnyatā* (*mauna*, 'silence' in Sanskrit from *muni* 'sage').

Bamiyan has been the fantasy of light and time, the imageless vision of appearances, where we may drink the plenitude of the Void. Honeycombed with over two thousand caves, the Bamiyan River flowing by, ruins of the metropolitan Red City rising to the skies, the dynamited Colossal Buddhas: all this reminds of the incessant combat and instantaneous embrace of Light and Darkness, where once minds sought to discover the infinities and transfinites.

Chronological footholds

1. Rigveda: bhāma
2. Chāndogya-upaniṣad: Bhāmanī
3. Avesta: bāma, bāmya
4. Buddhist texts: Bhāma-Kanakamuni in Pali texts, Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara.
5. 386-556 AC: Northern Wei Annals (697.10r) speak of Bamiyan
6. 487 AC: Gigantic Maitreya (16.25 metres) in Yün-kang Cave 17.
7. 632 AC: Hsüan-tsang
8. Till 725 AC ruled by a Buddhist dynasty of Hephthalites
9. Islamised during the Abbasids
10. 754-775 AC: Islam adopted in the reign of al-Mansūr (754-775)
11. 766 AC: Completion of the new capital at Baghdad.
12. 750-800 AC: Avukana colossus in SriLanka.
13. 844 AC: King of Bamiyan appointed governor of Yaman
14. 871 AC: Bamiyan destroyed by Yakub and the portable images were carried to Baghdad.
15. 10th cent: poem of Ibn an Nadīm: colossi wearing gold brocades
16. 11th cent: poem by Lāme'i Gorgānī
17. 12th cent: Bamiyan was the capital of Tukharistan (EIs. 1.1010).

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18. 1221: Destroyed by the Mongols

19. 47 Bami's in the Telephone Directory of Delhi

20. 1 March 2001: Talibans blasted the two colossi

21. 16 March 2001: Talibans slaughter 100 cows to atone for the delay in destroying the towering images.

Notes

[1] Radhakrishnan, *Upaniṣads*. p. 415.

[2] Paul Horn, *Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie*

[3] Mahāvastu 1.294.20. The variants in other passages of the Mahāvastu are Bhāna-Kanakamuni, °Konākamuni. The name is found in other Buddhist texts in different spellings:
Kanaka in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra
Kanakāhvaya in the Lalitavistara
Kabakagrani in Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa
Konāgamuni in Karmavācanā
Konāgamana in Therīgāthā
Koṇāgamana (v.l. Konā°) in Pali texts
Konākamana in Aśokan inscriptions (Hültszch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p.165)

[4] Shoshin Kuwayama, Chinese records on Bamiyan, *East and West* 2005: 55.139-162.

[5] P. Pelliot *in* Goddard, *Les antiquités bouddhique de Bamiyan*, 1928:76.

[6] Alexander C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, p. 270

[7] Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629-645* AC, London, 1904: 1.116.

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16. SILK ROUTE or SUTRA ROUTE

The Silk Route was so designated by a German geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen in the 19th century in view of the Byzantine preoccupation with silk. This Route connecting the West and the East, as well as the several cultures of Asia itself, has been resonant in the whole history of the last five thousand years as a road of transmigrations, of martial honour, of commerce, of sacred scriptures, under the void of heavens and the desolation of land. It awakened powerful forces of both material civilization and profound culture. The studies of the mummies at the Urumchi Museum indicates that they pertain to the Tocharians, a Celtic people who spoke a language related to the European languages. The parallelism of their language and textile links forms a tie between these Central Asian mummies and the West. The earliest mummy dates to 2000 BC. The coloured hanks of combed wool around the legs and feet of the Cherchen mummy from about 1000 BC are what East European peasants still do to insulate themselves against frost. This mummy shows a heavy beard, round eye sockets and high-bridged nose characteristic of Europeans.

The 'Bamboo Books' found in the tomb of an ancient Chinese king, speak of the travels of Emperor Mu who ruled from 1001-945 BC. He crossed the Flowing Sand Desert, ascended the K'un-lun mountain on the west, and visited the Queen Mother of the West. This refers to Emperor Mu marking the sands of Central Asia with the "wheels of his chariot and the hoofs of his horses" Queen Mother of the West may refer to a Goddess of the West i.e. India. The 'Imperial Eyes' of China were to become the thread linking India with the kingdoms of Central Asia and China.

Sericulture had evolved in China around 3000 BC when Empress Lei Zu introduced the rearing of the silkworm and invented the loom. A silkworm cocoon was unearthed in Shanxi Province which can be dated between 2600 and 2300 BC. From the 4th century BC the Greeks began talking of Seres 'the Kingdom of Silk'. Silk drained the Roman empire of gold. The Roman philosopher Seneca lamented: "I see silken clothes... and clad in them no woman can honestly swear she is not naked". Silk became a great theme in opening up the Silk Route as a way of glory and destiny, of greed and splendor, of economy and defence.

In the third century BC a son and ministers of Aśoka laid the foundation of Khotan, as per the accounts in Chinese and two Tibetan sources. Indians and Chinese coexisted in Khotan. A collection of coins of the first century AD bears Chinese legends on the obverse and Prakrit ones on the reverse. Jade was mined at Khotan and imported by China since the first millennium BC. The Emperor consulted Heaven through the medium of the jade disc. Thus jade symbolized the state and even today the Chinese ideogram for country has jade in it. Khotan became a major centre of the transmission of Buddhism to China.

In 123 BC the Han Emperor sent Chang Ch'ien to Central Asia who opened up purposeful communications with the kingdoms of Ferghana (Ta-yuan), Sogdiana (K'ang-chun), Bactria

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(Ta-hsia), and Syria. The Chinese learnt for the first time that Yunnan was supplying Chinese goods to Bactria. From Bactria, Chang Ch'ien took the Indian musical note Tukhara-raga. He brought the grapevine and alfalfa to China. The mission of Chang Ch'ien became the high point of cultural interflow on the Silk Route. In 102 BC the Han Emperor despatched a force of sixty thousand to bring back 3000 horses across five thousand kilometers along the silk route to Xian. From Kucha came 'dragon horses', and from the Kushans came 'heavenly horses'. The first Indian teachers Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmaratna came to China on white horses and the first Chinese Buddhist monastery is named the 'White Horse Monastery'. The Chinese aptly speak of the horse as 'Power and Virtue'. The Silk Route has a rich legacy of mummies, manuscripts and murals, sculptures and scrolls that unfold the history of human adventure, the magnitude of ideas flowing across forbidding deserts; fruits, vegetables, herbs, vines and metals being carried to long distances. Hundreds of monk pilgrims dared death to study and bring home sacred books and adore the holy sites, braving weapon-wielding desperadoes. As Hsuan-tsang and companions left Śākala (modern Sialkot) they had a grim encounter with dacoits who stripped them of clothes and drove them into a dried up pond at sword's point. In equanimity this Prince of Pilgrims, utterly unaffected, explained that "the greatest gift living creatures possess is life".

The Silk Route continues to yield new archaeological treasures. The Library Cave 17 of Dunhuang has provided around fifty thousand paintings, manuscripts, and archival materials: the largest treasure trove of archaeology. The recent advances in the interpretation of these discoveries have thrown new light on the history of the Silk Route, which had led to the rich efflorescence of art and thought in China, Korea and Japan. The role of Indic culture has been crucial. The discoveries in Central Asia bring together the multiple strands of the evolution of cultural cross-fertilization. To this day, traces of our links with Central Asia can be seen, for example, in the Indian family name Mirani which reminds of the Buddhist wall paintings from Miran preserved at the National Museum, New Delhi.

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17. SANSKRIT ON THE SILK ROUTE

Sanskrit was the mind of the Silk Route, at one with the sky-void and the spring mist, the live hues of sensibility dyed in eternity, a bridge of dreams floating across cloudless skies of the sands, a symbol system that made heart pure, the spring blossoms of the devout. It was the realisation of Truth, and the very being of Values. Sanskrit was to enter the profound, the inner depths. Today torn Sanskrit fragments from the Silk Route reflect the savagery of fundamentalism, the furious wrath of apostasy. They remind me of ten million Buddhist Sutras being ruthlessly committed to fire in Buryatia, Mongolia, Kalmykia, and Tuva. As Lama Sandaa related to me with tears flowing across his withered face of eighty years: "I was forced to destroy what I revered, admired and had faith in. There's no torture more terrible than that". Likewise, these Sanskrit fragments are tears of time. Scholars sit in their silence, forgetting the hours that follow each other, to identify tiny and large fragments as if perfecting a diamond. They are *ratnakūṭa* or heaps of jewels in the words of Prof. Karashima. We are pilgrims to amazing centuries that have flourished and vanished.

1. The global vision of Aśoka and Central Asia. Sanskrit in Central Asia was due to the global vision of Aśoka (r.c.268-232 BC). Emperor Aśoka gave up war at Kaliṅga or *bherīghoṣa*, which was substituted by *dhammaghoṣa*, the drums of war were silenced into drums of peace. His Rock Edict XIII mentions the Hellenic kingdoms of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia, and Epirus to which he sent missionaries to preach Dhamma. These missions embrace the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe. In 251 BC he sent his son and Saṅghamitrā to Srilanka. He sent gifts to King Devanāṁpiya Tissa including a *nandyāvarta* which has been interpreted as a gold vessel or a gold flower. It must have been a six-storeyed palace (as described in the architectural text Mānasāra 24.24), in keeping with the Imperial style of Aśoka (273-232 BC). The Kandahar Inscription in Greek and Aramaic (dated to 258 BC) says that as a result of Aśoka's activity "everything prospers over the whole earth". All the four Chinese and Tibetan accounts of the foundation of Khotan associate it with the son and ministers of Emperor Aśoka. Aśoka thus initiated the presence of Sanskrit and Indian influence on what was to become the Silk Route. A collection of coins bearing Prakrit legends on the reverse and Chinese legends on the observe from Yotkan the ancient capital of Khotan belong to the first centuries AC. Khotan was a major centre of Mahāyāna and has yielded the earliest Gandhari Dharmapada. The Nidana of the Eye-destruction of Dharmavardhana? (Chin. A-yu-wang-hsi-huai-mu-yin-yuan-ching) mentions Kucha as "one of the parts of his great empire which Aśoka proposed to give over to his son Kuṇāla" (Watters 1904:1.59). The grand international far-sightedness of Aśoka enriched the Silk Route states with script, scriptures and Sanskrit. The idealised figure of Aśoka in Buddhist literature made a great impression in China. The search for "relics of Aśoka" is a regular phenomenon from the fourth century AC. By his devotion and compassion for all mankind (*hita-sukha* of his inscriptions) he was able to extend his sway over the whole continent of Jambudvīpa. The Chinese concluded that China being a part of Jambudvīpa had belonged to the empire of Aśoka and if investigated some traces would be found, even some holy relics themselves (Zürcher 1972:1.277-280). So the ancient sites of Aśoka-temples and Aśoka-stupas were being identified. On 25 March 394, a statue appeared near the city wall of Chiang-ling with a Sanskrit inscription. Dhyāna master Saṅghānanda from Kashmir told the monks that it had been made by Aśoka (ibid 279). Aśoka became a legend and the king of the Sogdians in the Tonyukuk epitaph near the capital of Mongolia is named Ašoqa. The Turks have the name *Ašuq*. The Russian chronicles mention the Prince of the Voguls in Northern Siberia under the name *Asyka*. The epic folk songs of the Voguls sing of *Ōšx* even today. The Beloved of the Gods is immortal among the farthest people (*Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 1958:60.59f.)

2. Central Asian peoples in Sanskrit literature. From the Ṛgveda to the Śatapatha°, Aitareya° and Pañcaviṁśa-brāhmaṇas, to the Kāṇva recension of the Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad, to Pāṇini, to the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, to the Bṛhat-saṁhitā, Kathā-sarit-sāgara, lexicons and Rājataraṅgiṇī there are continuing references to the peoples of Central Asia.

Turk. Tura, Turan, Turakvāḥ, Turk. The Turks are reflected in Firdawsi as Turan (-an being a toponymic suffix as in Bamiy-an). Tūra is the name of a people in Yasht 17.55 who are *āsu-aspa* 'having swift horses'.

Ṛgveda 10.61.1 speaks of a prince of the Pakthas named Tūrvāyaṇa. *Tura Kāvaṣeya* is mentiond in a list of teachers in the ***Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*** 10.6.5.9. He is the family priest of Janamejaya Pārikṣita in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 4.27, 7.34, 8.21. He is a sage in the Kāṇva Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad 6.5.4. Tura is a sage of the ***gods (deva-muni)*** in the Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa 25.14.5. Turva and Turvaśa people are mentioned in the Ṛgveda along with the Yadu.

The Sanskrit term ***Turuṣka*** for the Turks is found in the lexicons Medinī, Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa, Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra, Rāja-taraṅgiṇī, and Kathā-sarit-sāgara. The variant forms are Turakāḥ, Turakvāḥ (compare Greek Tourkoi). Turakvāḥ is *tura* 'fast' + *akva* 'horse' (compare Tocharian *yakwe*, Lat. *equus* 'horse'), keeping in view their epithet *asu-aspa* in Avesta. The form with *-ṣk-* has a parallel in the Kushan names Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, Huṣka (Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* 1956:1.515). The Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa speaks of *turuṣka taila* for petroleum. The Turks were one of the North Asian or Altaic nomads who were constantly attacking the settled agricultural peoples. They were present in Central Asia and the frontiers of India from very ancient times.

Sogdians. *Śūlikāḥ* in the plural is the name of a people in the Bṛhat-saṁhitā and Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 57.41. They are Sogdians, known in Chinese as Su-lê or Sha-lei (in the Chinese text of the

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Candragarbha-sūtra). The Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, Bṛhat-saṁhitā, besides Buddhist sūtras, also contain extensive and early references to other Central Asian peoples.

The main cities of Sogdiana were Varaksha, Samarkand, Bukhara, and Panjikant. The Sogdian cities were centres of cultural excellence and artistic skills. The Sogdians translated several Buddhist sūtras. Their ethnonym K'ang in Chinese is the initial syllable of Kām-boja. Five Sogdian translators are K'ang Chu (AD 187), K'ang Meng-hsiang (AD 194-99), K'ang Sang-k'ai (AD 252), K'ang Sêng-hui (AD 251), K'ang Tao-ho (AD 396), and Saṅghavarman (AD 656). The Śaṭ-pāramitā-sūtra of K'ang Sêng-hui has a resumé of the Rāmāyaṇa. Their endeavours in translating the sūtras into Chinese show their deep knowledge of Sanskrit and their devotion to Buddhism. The Mātaṅgi-sūtra was composed in Samarkand and is extant in its Chinese translation done in the third century. Amoghavajra was born in AD 705 as the son of a brahmin of Sogdiana. He travelled to Java and thence to China with Vajrabodhi. He is one of the Eight Patriarchs of Mantrayāna in Japan. He translated several sūtras into Chinese, of which one hundred and eight are extant in the Chinese Tripiṭaka.

Tashkend. Pāṇini 3.2.20 says that kantha is *suffixed* to names of cities. It is neuter in general, but is feminine in the Uśīnara region. The Kāśikā commentary thereon gives the following names: Sauśamikantha, Āhvarakantha, Vīraṇakanthā, Dākṣikanthā. The Kāśikā on sūtra 4.2.142 adds Mahikīkanthīyam to them. Kāśikā has more names on Pāṇini 6.2.124, 125: Capyakanthă, Cihaṇakanthă, Maḍarakanthă, Maḍurakanthă. Dākṣikanthā is Tashkent, and Āhvarakantha can be Yarkand. The works on Cental Asia do not refer to this valuable evidence. Kanthaka was the white horse on which Gautama Buddha left his father's palace. lt refers to a Ferghana horse from *Kantha* or Samarkand. It was not understood and the spelling was altered to Kaṇṭhaka. The Pali texts show the variant *Kanthaka*, but in Sanskrit only the Mahāvyutpatti has the spelling *Kanthaka*.

Kaṅka is the name of a people in the Mahābhārata, Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṁhitā 14.4, and Bhāgavata-purāṇa 2.4.18, 9.20.30. In Tocharian *kāṅk* means 'stone'. It can refer to Tashkand, which is from *tāš* 'stone'. In the Mahābhārata they occur with Śakas and Tukhāras (*śakās tukhārāḥ kaṅkāś ca*). The ethnonym *aśmakāḥ* occurs in the Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata-purāṇa. The Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā mentions that a painter from Puṣkalāvatī visited Aśmaka to decorate a monastery (Sylvain Lévi, JA 1908:88). Foucher (*L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara* 2.644) identified this place with Tashkent. In the Bṛhat-saṁhitā 14.22 Aśmaka is a north-western country.

3. Sanskrit was the cultural identity of the Central Asian peoples. Sanskrit was the language of refinement and thought, of religion and philosophy, of poetry and prose of the different peoples of various ethnicities who spoke several tongues. While the media of conversation and administration were vernaculars, written in Indic scripts, Sanskrit was *the* idiom of higher domains of intellection. More than twenty ācāryas from Central Asia were busy translating Sanskrit originals into Chinese, from the mid-second century to the seventh century. Fa-hsien is the first pilgrim who wrote an account of his visit to India from 400 to 414 AC. He makes an interesting observation that is Shan-shan, just on the border of China, the Indian script was used for all languages of the Silk Route, and the Buddhist monks studied Sanskrit and Indian books. The Lop Nor desert separates the Tun-huang area from Shanshan (Haiyan Au-van Hinüber, *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* for the academic year 2010, no.22: 224, 240).

4. Yüeh-chihs: from horses to sutras. The Yüeh-chihs gained prominence in trans-national contacts by selling horses to the Ch'in and Han dynasties of China which had embarked on a major programme of expansion, and created four military commanderies in Central Asia. They considered the Yüeh-chis barbarians, but the Yüeh-chihs were wise to point out their higher culture of philosophic texts and linguistic sophistication of Sanskrit. They taught Sanskrit to a Chinese prince, the first Buddhist monks went to China from their court, and they were the first translators of Sanskrit texts into Chinese. The first Buddhist monastery in China was the White Horse Monastery, redolent of the horse trade of the Yüeh-chis. Monks came on white horses of Ferghana which became the might of China. Sanskrit was the very being of the so-called 'Silk Route' which should really be called the 'Sutra Route'. The Yüeh-chihs later became the Kushans. Sanskrit mss in the Kushan script in its grand lapidary style of imperial monumental inscriptions with a head-line (*śirorekhā*) over the letters, are wearing a crown so to say. The Chinese Emperor sent Chang Ch'ien to Bactria (Da-hsia) in 128 BC to find out the Yüeh-chis who by then were no longer horse-dealers. The Chinese envoy took the Mahātukhāra rāga of Sanskrit, on which martial tunes were created for the Chinese armies treading long un-inhabited terrains. Sanskrit was the proud heredity of the Yüeh-chih. The seventh century Chinese poet Li Po wrote:

The horses of heaven come out of the dens of the Kushans

The divine horses and Sanskrit sūtras were the *śastra* and *śāstra* of the Yüeh-chis.

The Sanskritisation of the dynastic name Ch'in as **cīna** चीन for China originated with the Yüeh-chihs. From them it came to India, thence to South East Asia, and in recent times from Malaysia to European languages as China. The very name of China is thus a tribute to the Yüeh-chihs. Sanskrit was the glory of the Yüeh-chihs. One of their monks Shih-li-fang brought a number of Sanskrit mss to China during the reign of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti (221-208 BC) who built the Great Wall of China. Unwilling to accept the new doctrine he imprisoned the monks. These mss were buried to save them from burning. Later on sixty scrolls were discovered by Liu Hsiang.

The King of the Yüeh-chihs ordered the Crown Prince to teach Sanskrit to Ching Lu of the Imperial Academy of China who had gone to them on a mission.

Mātaṅga Kāśyapa and Dharmaratna came to China in 67 AC on Imperial invitation from the court of the Yüeh-chih. They wrote the first Buddhist work in Chinese. Thus the very first steps of Chinese Buddhism are rooted in a kingdom of the Silk Route which had rich traditions of Sanskrit learning.

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The second translator of Sanskrit texts into Chinese was the Yüeh-chih Laugākṣin who worked at Loyang from 167 to 186 and introduced Mahāyāna. He translated 23 works of which 12 are preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. The texts translated by him are an indication of the Sanskrit literature studied in the monastic universities of the Silk Route. Some of the works translated by him are: Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (T 224, Nj 5), *Tathāgata-viśeṣana-sūtra (T 280, Nj 102), Akṣobhya-vyūha (T 313, Nj 28), Kāśyapa-parivarta (T 350, Nj 57), Sukhāvatī-vyūha (T 361, Nj 25), Bhadrapāla-sūtra (T 417, Nj X, T 418, Nj 67), *Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā (T 458, Nj 112), Druma-Kinnararāja-paripṛcchā (T 624, Nj 161), Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodana (T626, Nj 179), and Lokānuvartana-sūtra (T 807, Nj 386). These texts pertain to five different genres: Prajñāpāramitā, Avataṁsaka, Ratnakūṭa, Mahāsannipāta and Sutras. The Central Asian monasteries were centres of advanced learning, and held rich collections of Sanskrit works. He translated the Avataṁsaka 'Sutra on the Tuṣita Heaven' (T'u-sha ching, T 280, K 90, Cleary 1983:181).

The Laukākṣāḥ (plural) is the name of a school of the Chandogas in the Divyāvadāna 632.23, 25. It is a gotra of the brāhmaṇas (Divy.635.16). The Sanskrit Laugākṣi-gṛhya-sūtra for family rites is extant.

The greatest of Yüeh-chih masters was Dharmarakṣa who came to Loyang in 266 and ninety translations of Sanskrit sutras by him survive in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. He integrated Buddhism in the spiritual life of China. A Khotanese, a Yüeh-chih, two Kucheans, a Sogdian and Indians were his collaborators. He translated the Mātaṅgī-sūtra during the years 307-313. It had been written in Sanskrit in Samarkand. It had been translated (K 759) earlier by An Shih-kao (148-170), by Chu Lü-yen and Chih-ch'ien in 230 AC (K 766), and a fourth time by an unknown translator in 317-420 AC (K 762). Mātaṅgī is the presiding deity of music, the pure innate spirit of woman. There is a large modern temple to her in the suburbs of Delhi at Chhatarpur.

In 284 Dharmarakṣa got a mss of the Avaivartika-cakra-sūtra from the Kuchean envoy, and in 286 he obtained the Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā from the Khotanese monk Gītamitra.

5. Parthians. The first translator of Sanskrit texts An Shih-kao was a Parthian prince who ceded the throne to his uncle to enter the Saṅgha. He came to Loyang in 148 (variants 147, 149) and worked till his nirvāṇa in 170. He translated 176 Sanskrit works into Chinese. Out of them 54 exist in the Taishō Tripiṭaka. They represent Āgamas, Avadāna, Ratnakūṭa, Sutras, Vinaya, Abhidharma, and historic traditions. I shall enermerate his extant works to show the extensive Sanskrit holdings of the monastic libraries of the Silk Route.

T 13, Nj 548 Dīrghāgama Law of Ten Rewards
T 14, Nj 553 Mahānidānasūtra
T 16, Nj 555 Śṛgāla-vāda-sūtra
T 31, Nj 559 Sutra on the cause of sins
T 32, Nj 598 Catuḥ-satya-sūtra?
T 36, Nj 601 Sutra on fundamental relationship

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T 48, Nj 565 Sutra on the true and false law
T 57, Nj 567 Sutra explaining Āśrava?
T 91, Nj 582 Sutra addressed to a Brāhmaṇa
T 92, Nj 583 Sutra addressed to a Gṛhapati
T 98, Nj 586 Artha-vistara
T 105, Nj 743
T 109, Nj 741 Dharmacakra-pravartana-sutra
T 112, Nj 659 *Aṣṭāṅga-samyaṅ-mārga-sutra
T 131, Nj 617 Sutra on a Brāhmaṇa who wished to avoid death
T 140, Nj 649 Sutra on the conversion of Anāthapiṇḍada's seven sons
T 149, Nj 633 Sutra on Ānanda's fellow-student
T 150a, b Nj 648 *Saptāyatana-tridhyāna-sūtra
T 151, Nj 687 *Āgama-samyak-caryā-sūtra
T 167, Nj 220 Mūka-jātaka? (Avadāna)
T 348, Nj 54 Maitreya-paripṛcchā-dharmāṣṭaka (Ratnakūṭa)
T 356, Nj 251 Ratnakūṭa-sūtra
T 492, Nj 635 Ānanda's question (Sutras)
T 506, Nj 695 *Gandhāra-deśa-rāja-sūtra
T 525, Nj 694 Sutra on a śreṣṭhiputra's causing three places to be harassed
T 526, Nj 227 *Śreṣṭhiputra-Jeta-sūtra
T 551, Nj 643 Mātaṅgī-sūtra
T 553, Nj 667 *Āmrapālī-jīva-nidāna
T 554, Nj 668 Āmrapālī-jīva-nidāna
T 602, Nj 681 *Ānāpāna-dhyāna-sūtra
T 603, Nj 780 *Skandha-dhātv-āyatana-sūtra
T 604, Nj 724 *Dhyāna-caryā-saptatriṁśad-varga
T 605, Nj 683 *Dhyāna-caryā-dharma-sañjñāna-sūtra
T 607, Nj 1326 Yogācāra-bhūmi
T 621, Nj 451 *Buddha-mudrā-samādhi-sūtra
T 622, Nj 282 Sutra on the samādhi called Vow.
T 684, Nj 762 Sutra on the kindness of parents which is difficult to be returned
T 701, Nj 387 Sutra on inviting monks to a bath-house
T 724, Nj 706 Sūtra on the teaching of hells as the recompense of sinful actions
T 729, Nj 685 Sutra on the origin of goodness and evil
T 730, Nj 684 Sutra on several objects
T 731, Nj 688 *Aṣṭādaśa-naraka-sūtra
T 732, Nj 682 Sutra on the mind of reproaching
T 733, Nj 731 *Sthiramati-sūtra

T 734, Nj 675 Question addressed by pretas to Maudgalyāyana
T 779, Nj 512 Sutra on the eight understandings of great men
T 791, Nj 686 *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-nidāna
T 792, Nj 689 *Dharma-sañjñāna-rajas-sūtra
T 1467, Nj 1112 Sutra on the lightness and heaviness of the sin of transgressing precepts (śīla) (Vinaya)
T 1470, Nj 1126 *Mahābhikṣu-tri-sahasra-karma
T 1492, Nj 1106 Triskandhaka?
T 1552, Nj 1287 Abhidharma-sāra-pratikīṛṇaka-[śāstra]? (Abhidharma)
T 2027, Nj 1363 Sutra on Kāśyapa's collection of the Tripiṭaka (historic tradition)

The lack of Sanskrit titles is due to the loss of immense Sanskrit literature during the political upheavals in Central Asia. Treatises on logic or philosophy do not seem to have been popular.

The Parthian An Hsüan translated two sutras in 181 and at the same time he was commander of the cavalry. The Parthian shot is well-known.

6. Khotan. Chinese undertook arduous trek to obtain Sanskrit originals from Khotan. Chu Shih-hsing went to Khotan in 260 AC to get the Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā copied on birch bark. The Sanskrit ms was preserved in a Chinese monastery till the sixth century.

In 422 AC Buddhabhadra of Khotan translated the Avataṁsaka-sutras. Among them is the Gaṇḍavyūha (Gv.) which has survived in original Sanskrit. Its main Tathāgata is Rocana or *abhyuccadeva* as a colossus. The Gv. has inspired the Borobudur and the Daibutsu of Nara. In the 7th century Empress Wu Tsö-ts'ien (r.684-705) wanted to legitimate her reign and she sent a special envoy to Khotan for the Sanskrit text as well as the Khotanese master Śikṣānanda to translate the text into Chinese. Khotan was an important source for Sanskrit mss throughout the centuries. A Khotanese-Sanskrit conversation scroll from Tun-huang, the only one of its kind, indicates that the transmission of Sanskrit sutras to China from Khotan was an ongoing process. The conversation centres around the books the Khotanese monk was carrying on his pilgrimage to Wu-t'ai-shan:

"Have you equipment for the road or not?
I do not like equipment for the road. A horse or two and I shall go.
Have you books or not?
I have some.
What is the book?
Sūtra, Abhidharma, Vinaya, Vajrayāna.
Among these what book (i.e. title) is there?"

Bhagavaddharma translated the hymn to Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara at Khotan, in 650-661 AC (K 294), as per the colophon of the Stein scroll 3793 from Tun-huang. It is a garbled version of a Nīlakaṇṭha-stotra, and has been popular in China ever since the T'ang dynasty. Bhagavaddharma's transliteration of the Sanskrit text is recited to this day every morning, noon and evening in the Buddhist monasteries of East Asia. The inauguration of the World Olympics at Shanghai began with a thousand young girls dancing with the Sanskrit hymn set to powerful modern music.

A Kharosthi inscription has been found in China (John Brough, A Kharosthi Inscription from China, *BSOAS* 1961:24.517-530).

The Avataṁsaka collection has 39 sutras in the translation of Śikṣānanda (652-710). The very first text to be translated into Chinese in 167-187 by the Yüeh-chih Laukākṣin was the Tuṣita-sūtra (no.7 in Śikṣāṇanda). A partial translation of the Gaṇḍavyūha was done by *Āryasthira under the title Ramyaka-sūtra (Chin. Lo-mo-chia ching, T 294, K 102) between 388-407. The place name Rammaka occurs in Jātaka 1.11, 13, 29 and Dhammapada Commentary 1.83. Ramyaka is the original Sanskrit name of Lamqan or Lamghan. *Ramya* means 'beautiful', and it is no wonder that Babar expatiates on the beauty of its forested hillsides. The two colossi of Bamiyan represent the first and the 1000th of the Thousand Buddhas namely from Maitreya to Rocana. The 32nd book of the Avataṁsaka-sūtra, available only in Chinese and Tibetan translations, says: "In Afghanistan there is a dwelling place called 'Producing Compassion' where enlightening beings have lived since ancient times". (Cleary's translation 2.219).

The various partial and complete translations of the Avataṁsaka corpus into Chinese are shown below in chronological order.

AC	Book no. in Śikṣānanda	Cleary p.	Translator
167-187	7	181	Yüeh-chih Laukākṣin
3rd c.	15	185	Gītamitra
3rd c.	37	202	Pai Fa Tsu
3rd c.	37	202	unknown
3rd c.	38	203	″
220-265	11	183	Chih-ch'ien
265-289	15	185	Dharmarakṣa
″	26	192	″
″	27	197	″
″	37	202	″
″	38	203	″
265-316	11	183	Nieh Tao Chen
385-431	39	205	partial translation by Āryasthira
401-413	26	192	Kumārajīva and Buddhayaśas
422	corpus in 60 fasc.	171	Buddhabhadra of Khotan
—	36	201	″ (alternate translation)
602-664	31	199	Hsüan-tsang
699	corpus in 80 fasc.	171	Śikṣānanda (ms. from Khotan)
704-774	36	201	Amoghavajra

785-805	26	192	Śīladharma
798	39	205	Prājña (ms. from **South India**)
—	36	201	″ (alternate translation)
985	31	199	Dharmabhadra

(tabulated from Thomas Cleary, *Entry into the Inconceivable*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii, 1983).

Sanskrit fragments from the Khotan region on the southern route in the British Library in the Hoernle and Stein collections consist of about ten thousand items. Prof. Seishi Karashima started the Brahmi Club at the Soka University which convenes every two weeks to read Sanskrit fragments from the Silk Route (Kara-shima/Wille 2006:273). These items have been edited and compared with Chinese and Tibetan versions in vols.I, II.1, II.2 of *The British Library Sanskrit Fragments* (Tokyo, Soka University). The crystal clear photographs of the fragments and the excellent and painstaking scholarship of the distinguished editors make these literary treasures of the Silk Route part of the literary heritage of India and other countries. The identified titles are listed in vol.II/1.31-33. The dedication of young Japanese scholars like Tatsushi Tamai "transcribing joyfully (!) and enthusiastically . . . every day from eight in the morning until seven in the evening" evokes our admiration. Prof. Karashima's enthusiasm for the boxes with Sanskrit fragments is "For me, these boxes truly contained a ratnakūṭa "a heap of jewels"". The Japanese discovered a fragment of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha on the Silk Route, the very first outside Japan. On 23 December 1900 Sir Aurel Stein dug a ms of the Vajracchedikā from the ruins of a small dwelling place in Dandān Uiliq. Prof. F.E. Pargiter dated it to the fifth century on palaeographic grounds (Hoernle 1916:176f). It reminds me of a Japanese in Koyasan reading the Vajracchedikā every day. The Dandan Uiliq ms is a hallowed sutra of a devoted Buddhist.

7. Discovery of the earliest Sanskrit mss. The so-called Silk Route was really the Path of Sutras over the centuries. This is clear from the decline of this international highway when śramaṇas, sūtras and sancta were annihilated by fundamentalist terrorism, the route lost its glorious heritage as well as its flourishing economy. Prof. Takayasu Higuchi says that the desert and oasis became an embodiment of Buddhist teaching. The desert symbolised hell and the oasis paradise.

The discovery of Sanskrit and its close nexus with European languages at the end of the 19th century was a major sensation of an emerging new world of Europe of fundamental discoveries that raised human thought and life to unprecedented heights. Sanskrit came to be taught in all the major universities of Europe and Russia. Oxford came to be a famous seat of Sanskrit learning due to Prof. F. Max Müller. At the same time Japan was emerging as a modern nation after the Meiji restoration in 1868. In **1879** the most influential and liberal Jodo Shinshu sect sent two monks, Bunyiu Nanjio and Kasawara to learn Sanskrit at Oxford. Max Müller used the palmleaf ms preserved at the Hōryūji monastery that had come to Japan in 609. It was then the oldest known Sanskrit ms in the world. Lt. H. Bower had gone to Kuchar in **1890** in quest of a murderer on a confidential mission from the Government of India. A Kucha man took him to a subterranean town to dig treasures but found only a book. Some merchants excavated a house to find treasure, "but found only the bodies of some cows, which on the first touch, crumbled into dust. On that occasion they found also the above-mentioned book" (Hoernle 1893:vi). The Bower ms contains an ayurvedic text Nāvanītaka, Pāśaka-kevalī and Mahāmāyūrī. The ms must have belonged to a medical practitioner who looked into the astrology of his patients to administer the correct medicine. His books must have been placed in a cow so that he could carry on his medical profession in heaven. The cow was the Vaitaraṇī cow that transports a deceased person over the Vaitaraṇī river (Greek Styx) that flows between the earth and the abode of departed spirits presided over by Yama. Within two years, Dutreuil de Rhins and Grenard discovered in **1892** a birch-bark ms of the Dharmapada in Gandhari Prakrit from Kohmārī Mazar, 21 km from Khotan, identified with ancient Gośṛṅga-vihāra. The remaining pieces of the ms were acquired by the Russian Consul-General in Kashgar N. Th. Petrovskii that reached S.F. Oldenburg in 1897. John Brough dates it to the first or second century AC. These discoveries led to the whole movement of the exploration of Central Asia.

8. Kambuja (Chin. K'ang), Sogdiana. K'ang Sêng-hui from K'ang or Kambuja (Sogdiana) gives a brief version of the Rāmāyaṇa in his Ṣaṭ-pāramitā-sūtra (251 AC). Kumārajīva studied the Vedas, along with their six ancillary sciences, at Kashgar.

9. Kucha. In Pāṇini they are mentioned as Kūcāvāra. In 307-312 Śrīmitra the Crown Prince of Kucha gave up the kingdom and became a monk. He translated three sutras including the Mahāmāyūrī.

In 402 Kumarajīva arrived in China from Kucha. He was the son of a Kuchean princess and Kumārāyaṇa of Kashmir and became "the greatest translator of all time" in the words of Arthur F. Wright (*Buddhism in Chinese History*, 1959:62). He transcreated a new literary style that continues to illumine the spiritual consciousness of East Asia. His unusual knowledge of Sanskrit, Tocharian and Chinese became the vocabulary of wonder. Kucha had a Hindu temple. Kumarajīva studied the Vedas and their six auxiliary disciplines in Kashgar. A chart of the recensions of the Yajurveda mentions the recensions prevalent in Śvetadvīpa which is Kucha. In Chinese Po 'white' is the ethnicon for the peope of Kucha. Varāhamihira mentions Kucika (var. Kuśika) along with the Cīna.

Indian music was in vogue in Kucha. Prince Sujiva of Kucha introduced the seven notes of Indian music to China in 568 AC.

The Russian botanist Albert Regel reported "numerous idols". He was the first European to see the ruins of Khocho near Karakhoja. From 1902 to 1914 German expeditions to sites on the northern Silk Route discovered folios and fragments of Sanskrit texts. In the Cave of the Red Dome at Kizil Grünwedel found "the remains of a library of very old mss on palm leaf, birch bark and paper, together with inscribed wooden tablets. This cave was also the source of leaves

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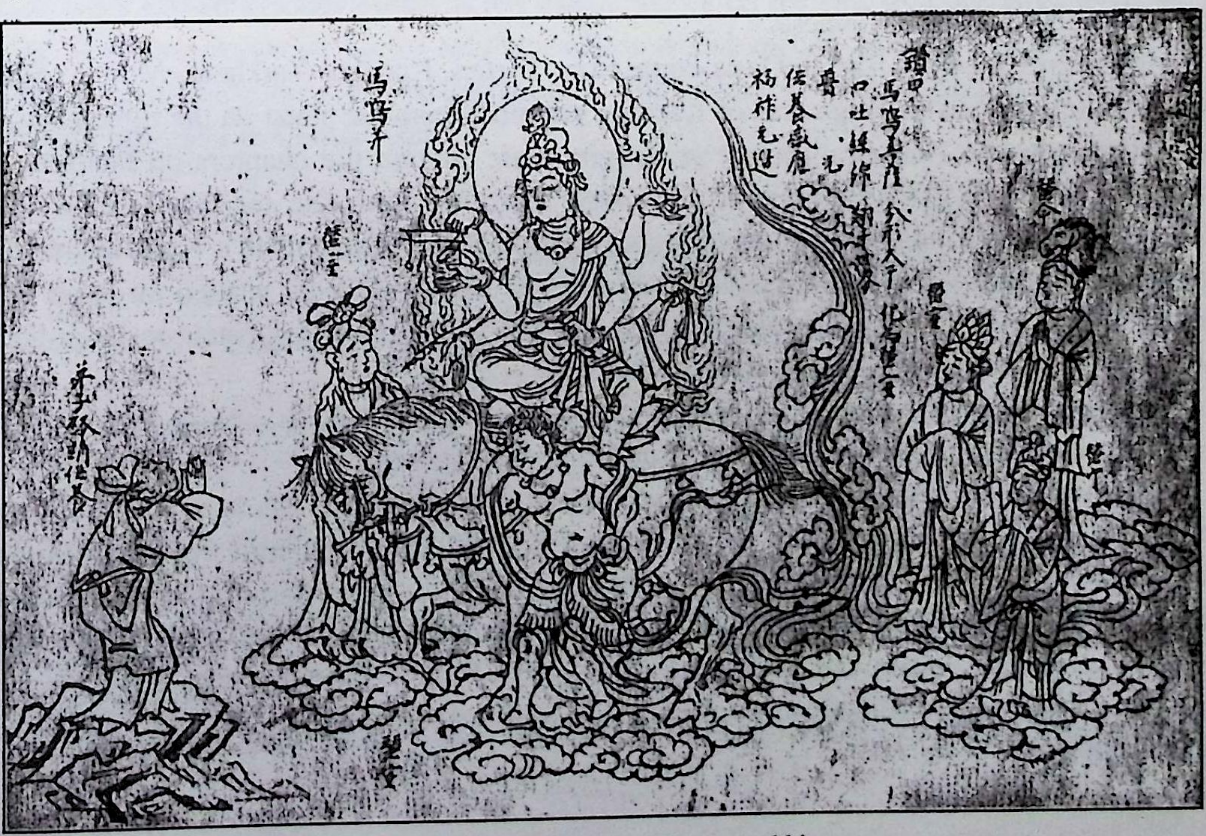
from the oldest Sanskrit ms, which at the same time is one of the oldest Indian mss ever found" (Härtel et al.1982:41). One thousand and fourteen items of Sanskrit mss have been catalogued in the four volumes of the *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanbunden* under the editorship of Prof. Ernst Waldschmidt. These mss come from four areas:

(a) Tumshuk
(b) Kucha region (Kizil, Kumtura, Kirish, Achik-ilek)
(c) Shorchuk
(d) Turfan oasis (Khocho, Yarkhoto, Murtuk, Sengim, Toyok).

The Kucha region has yielded the largest number of mss (nos.15-375) of Buddhist texts. The most interesting are the fragments of *three dramas of Aśvaghoṣa* from Kizil, written on palm leaves in the *Kushan script* (no.16). The first drama is a dialogue between *Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kīrti*. The second is Śāriputra-prakaraṇa, and the third pertains to a hetaera. Another fragment of the Śāriputra-prakaraṇa written an palmleaves in Turkistan Brāhmī from the Cave of the Red Dome of the Ming-öi of Kizil has the colophon of the last and ninth act. It reads:

// śāriputraprakaraṇe navamo = ṅkaḥ 9 āryyasuvarṇṇākṣiputrasy = āryy =
āśvaghoṣasya kṛtiś = śāradvatīputrapprakaraṇaṃ samāptaṁ [sa]māptāni
c = āṅkāni nava .... gyam = anu[ṣṭubhe] ccha ..

The name of the mother of Aśvaghoṣa is given as Suvarṇākṣī, but his father's name is conspicuously absent.



Aśvaghoṣa in the Besson-zakki

Mss (nos.376-531) from the Manuscripts Cave of ***Shorchuk*** include the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa (no.432) written in North Turkistan Brāhmī. Fragments of the Saundarananda kāvya written in North Turkistan-Brāhmī on paper (no.515) were also found.

Why did Aśvaghoṣa become popular in this region? Did his father come from Central Asia as a trader or pilgrim and gave birth to him as the son of Suvarṇākṣī while he remained unknown. Japanese iconographic treatise Besson-zakki by Shinkaku (1117-1180 AC, TZ 87.148) shows him six-armed, sitting on a horse and with a retinue of six. The second part of his name ghoṣa can be a sanskritisation of *kuṣa* in Kuṣāṇa and Kuśadvīpa 'Kushanshahr'.

A work of eighty stories and ten parables by Kumāralāta found at Kizil, written on palmleaves in the Kushan-Gupta script is Kalpanā-maṇḍitika Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti. It is the only Sanskrit work that shows the travel of Indian merchants to China. The third German expedition found fragments of Kumāralāta's grammar with a commentary, written in the Kushan-Gupta script on palmleaves, from the Cave of the Red Dome of the Ming-öi of Kizil. It pertains to the sandhi chapter (no.22).

10. Turfan oasis (Khocho, Yarkhoto, Murtuk, Sengim, Toyok). Among those who opened Abhidharma literature to the Chinese were Dharmanandin from Tukhāra, and Kumārabodhi the ābhidhārmika who was the *purohita* of King Mi-ti of Turfan. The latter had been a member of the tribute mission to the Chinese Emperor in 382. They brought Abhidharma texts which were translated into Chinese.

Manuscripts from the Turfan Oasis come from Turfan, Khocho, Yarkhoto, Murtuk, Sengim and Toyok (nos.532-648). Fragments of Kātantra grammar from the stupa on the right side of the river flowing by the Nakṣatra Temple at ***Sengim Agiz*** contain the chapters on taddhita, strī-pratyaya and ākhyāta (no.633). From the ***Toyok*** monastic ruins the second German Turfan expedition found the fragments of Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā and Kumāralāta's Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti (no.638). Toyok yielded fragments of Bheḍa-saṁhitā, written on paper in the Gilgit script (nos.641, 642). The metrical text Chando-viciti (no.654) written on birch-bark in Turkistan-Gupta script comes from an unknown site.

All the mss are Buddhist texts of vinaya, sutra, gāthās, avadānas, abhidharma, yoga and commentaries, dhāraṇī, mantra, nāmāvalī, stotra, and other genres.

The mural of a brahmin was found in temple 9 of **Bezeklik.** It has been dated to 7th-8th century, but could not be identified (Härtel & Yaldiz 1982:146). The third eye on the forehead identifies him as Nīlakaṇṭha, the great Siddha. The hymn to Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara translated by Bhagavaddharma has *siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/ siddha-yogeśvarāya svāhā/ nīlakaṇṭhāya svāhā/* (Lokesh Chandra 1988:268). The two opening verses show that it was originally a hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha recited by Avalokiteśvara and not a hymn addressed to Avalokiteśvara:

sarva-bhaya-trāṇakarāya tasmai namaskṛtvā imaṁ/
āry-Āvalokiteśvara-stavanaṁ Nīlakaṇṭhānāṁ/
hṛdayaṁ vartayiṣyāmi sarvārtha-sādhanaṁ śubham/
ajeyaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ bhava-mārga-viśodhakam//

Bhagavaddharma translated the work at Khotan which means that Nīlakaṇṭha was popular in the Silk Route monasteries.

The most important site in the Turfan region are the temples of Bezeklik ("place with paintings" in Eastern Turkish). These paintings have Sanskrit captions. For example the praṇidhi scene in temple 9 is captioned in Sanskrit, evidently written by an Uigur master:

upasthito brāhmaṇena mahendro lokanāyakaḥ
jyentākakarmaṇā gandhai kālenaguruṇā tathā
vihāraṁ kṛtvā sarvai ca upasthanai nimantrita
(Albert von le Coq, *Chotscho*, 1979 reprint, Tafel 17)

The Sanskrit tradition can also be seen in the ruins of free-standing Stūpa Y in ***Khocho***, the ancient Karakhoja. It is a three-storeyed structure with niches for statues on all sides. It rests on a square base with stepped tiers for circumambulation. On every tier there are 24 niches (6 niches in each direction), totalling to 72 on the three tiers. It is a *śata-dvāra* or Tib. *sgo.maṅ* 'many doors'. It must have enshrined 72 images of a Buddhist sutra, for paying homage. A similar structure exists in Hauz Khas known as Chor Minar. It has eleven niches on the base and one large niche on the first tier. It reflects an earlier sacred structure whose twelve niches could have held the statues of the Twelve Light Buddhas of the Amitābha cycle. The present structure is Islamic derived from an earlier type prevalent in Cental Asia.

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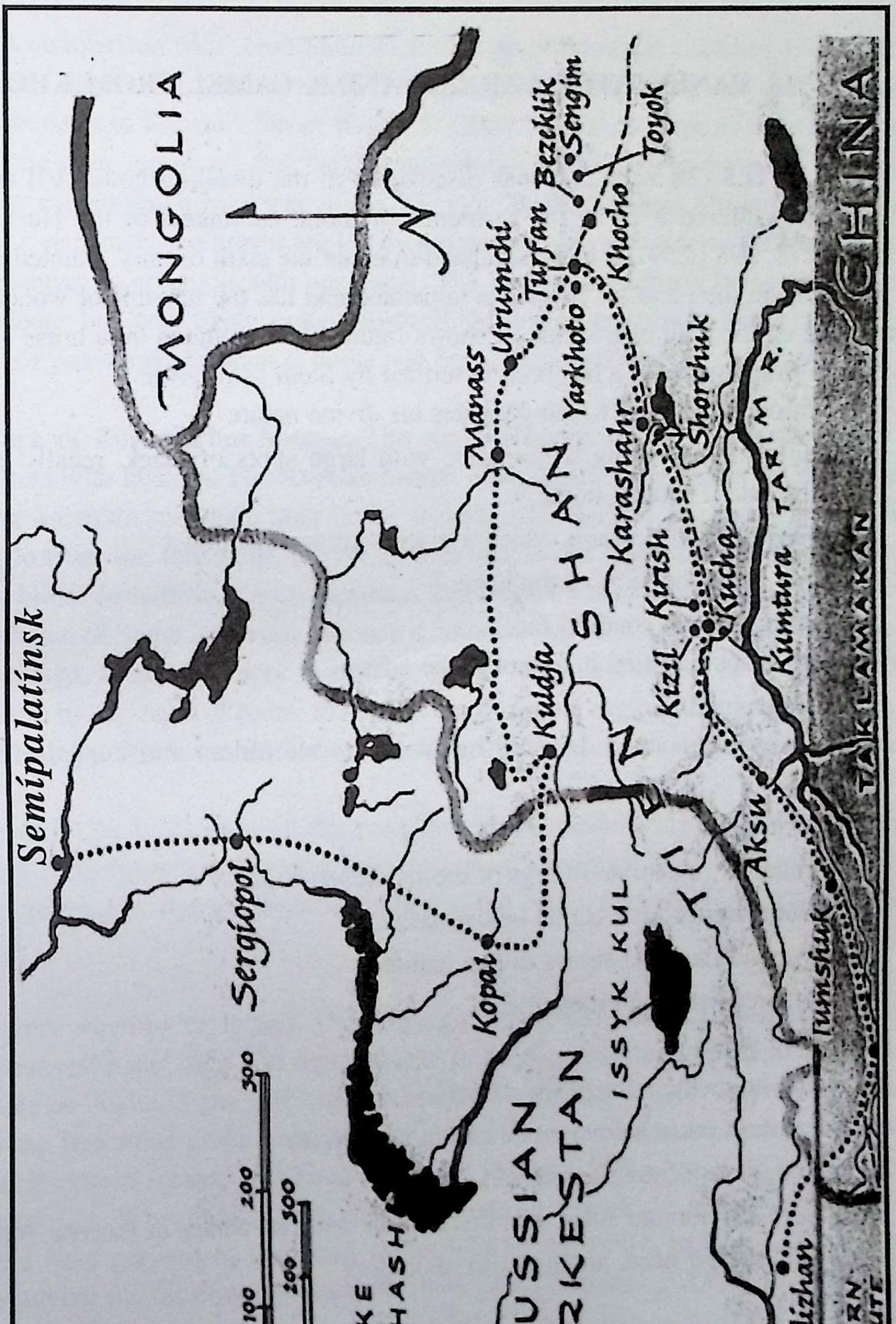
Itinerary of the German Expeditions


MONGOLIA
Semipalatinsk
Sergiopol
Kopal
Kuldja
Manass
Urumchi
Turfan
Bezeklik
Sengim
Toyok
Khocho
Yarkhoto
Karashahr
Shorchuk
Kirish
Kizil
Kucha
Kumtura
TARIM R.
TAKLAMAKAN
CHINA
Aksu
Tumshuk
Andizhan
NORTHERN SILK ROUTE
RUSSIAN TURKESTAN
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TIEN SHAN
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18. PANEL WITH A HORSE AND A CAMEL FROM KHOTAN

Panel DVII.5 (38.5×18 cm) was discovered in the dwelling house VII at Dandan-uliq by Stein who considered it to be the residence of monk caretakers of the Hu-kuo temple (Stein 1907:276, 278, 298 pl.59). It has been dated to about the sixth century. Painted on wood with ink and pigments on the recto, its reverse is unpainted and has the remains of wooden pegs by which it was hung on the wall of a shrine. It shows figures: one mounted on a horse and the other on a camel. The **first figure** on a has been described by Stein as follows:

- nimbus round the head which indicates his divine nature
- rides on a high-stepping white horse with large spots of black, recalls the appearance of a piebald Yarkandi horse.
- right hand: a bowl, towards which a black bird swoops down
- left hand: holds the reins of the horse
- features: handsome youthful face
  long black hair tied in a knot at the crown
- dress: long pink tunic
  narrow light scarf descending from the shoulders and curled around both upper arms
- high black boots
- horse millinery: elaborate fittings of the saddle, stirrups

The **second figure** on a camel below has:

- nimbus round the head shows divine nature
- rides: on a camel in full movement
- right hand: bowl
- left hand: holds the reins of the camel
- features: short curly hair; wears a cap of spotted fur
- dress: long, loose-fitting garment
- red moccasins without soles, like the charuks worn in winter in Eastern Turkistan
- scarf falls behind head, another over shoulders

Nimbus indicates their divine nature. Both the riders have a nimbus around their heads, and Stein (1907:278) ha intuitively pointed out that "the nimbus painted around the head of each of riders plainly shows their holy character."

They are not tributaries. Whitfield in his *Art of Central Asia* (1985:3.69) rightly terms them "aristocratic riders" holding a bowl or 'wine cup" into which a bird is diving. Because of the two

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mounts he suggests comparison with scroll Stein 77 (vol. 2 pp.56) that has sketches of a horse and a camel, both led by drivers but without riders. Following Williams, he opines that "this panel would represent tributaries to Khotan". Susan Whitfield (2004:160 cat.59) repeats the identification of Williams that "the rider represents the Turkish neighbours of Khotan in a parade of tributes, such as the tributary camels and horses seen in cat. 17" (Ch.00388, National Museum, New Delhi, 2003-17-343). The five camels and horses are led by grooms and have no riders. Both the sketches have nothing substantive in common with our panel. The horses and camels being led by lowly grooms can be a tribute, but more likely a sale. As it will become clear in the following paragraphs, the two riders on our panel are aristocratic, noble and have divine attributes.

Shallow patera of Zoroastrian haoma. The shallow bowls held by both the riders are *haoma* or *soma* patera with libation. The Avestan haoma was prepared as early as the Indo-Iranian period: it grows on a certain mountain both in the Ṛgveda (ṚV) and in Avesta. In the ṚV it is brought by an eagle from the mountain, in Avesta it is distributed from its native mountain by certain auspicious birds. In both it is a medicament that bestows health, long life and removes death. In both, the home of Soma is heaven, whence it comes down to earth. In both it removes the machinations of wicked, bestows victory over foes, grants steed and excellent children. It was brought down to earth by the eagle of Indra, like the nectar-bringing eagle of Zeus. Flying swifts as thought, the eagle brought the Soma for Indra (see details in A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 111-1114).

Bloomfield (JAOS. 16.1-24) cites all the passages where *śyena* brings soma from heaven. In Atharvaveda 7.41.2 the *śyena* watches over men (*nṛ-cakṣas*). Zimmer (*Altindische Leben* 87-88) points out that the epithet *ṛjit* 'flying upwards' applied to the *śyena*, appears as the actual name of the eagle in Iranian.

Silk scarves were worn by divinities. The flowing silken scarves of both riders point to their high status. In the present panel they also represent the flourishing silk industry of Khotan, which was termed Serindia or "India of the Silk" in Procopius who relates that two monks introduced the silkworm into the Byzantine empire around the time of Justinian in about AD 550. Ptolemy's *Issedon Serica* has also been located as Khotan. The silk industry of Khotan is of high antiquity and it was the earliest silk producing area in the Iranian ecumene. In voitive panel DIII.6 Maheśvara wears a long garland of silk yarn (Whitfield/Farrer 1990: 163 cat. 134). Gaṇeśa (Kha. i. C.0095) again has the same long garland of silken yarn (Williams 1973 fig.54). Sericulture was and continues to be a major part of the economy of Khotan, and as such the blessings of deities like Mahesvara and Gaṇeśa were invoked by garlanding them with silk yarn. Likewise in modern India, political leaders were garlanded with yarn of handspun khadi instead of flowers, as khadi was a symbol of a freedom fighter. The Tibetan custom of offering a ceremonial scarf (*kha-btags*) may have been derived from khotan, with which they had close relations in art, polity and religion. Sarat Chandra Das (*A Tibetan-English Dictionary* 1902:128) defines them as silk

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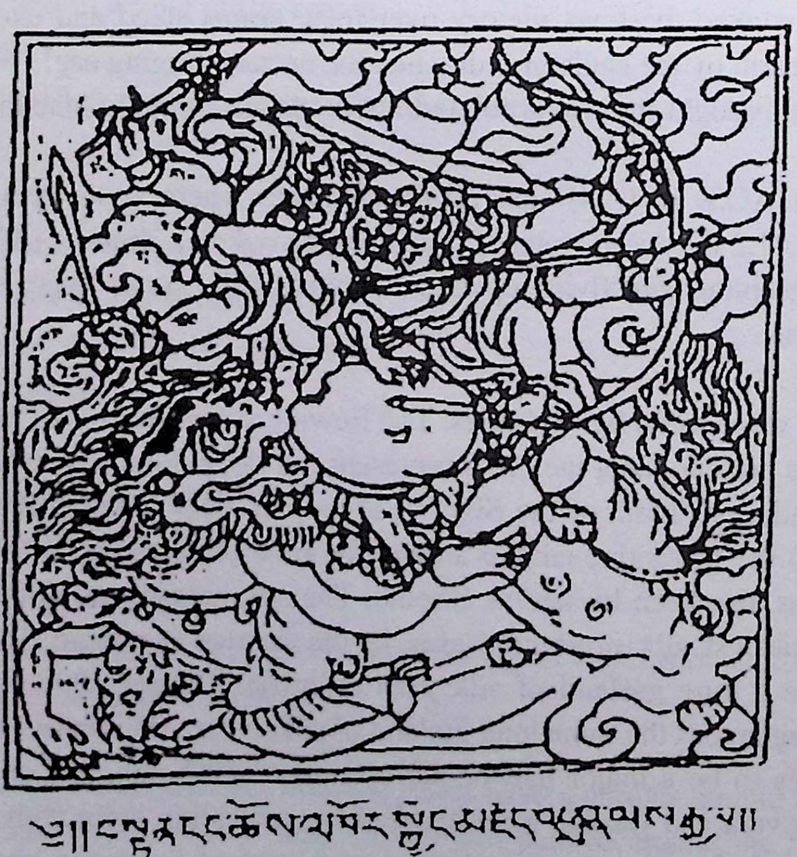
presentation scarves given to a person for acceptance as a salutation. "The longest and the best ones are presented to the great lamas, high officials, and to other personages; they carry respect according to their quality, colour and length. There are different sorts of them." The root of *btags of kha.btags is ḥdogs pa* 'to put on [gay clothes, finery]' Jaschke. The long silken scarves of the two riders of the votive panel highlight their divine status. They can not be bearers of tribute, and cannot be associated with plaques depicting tributary animals.

The equestrian figure is not Pehar. Williams identifies the equestrian figure as Pehar the tutelary hero of the Uighur Turks on the basis of the history of the Fifth Dalai Lama who describes the encounter between Pehar and a yaksa. Pehar fled when attacked by prince Mu.rug.btsan.po, changed his body into that of a vulture when a yaksa hit his wing with an arrow, so that he fell down, was caught by Vaiśravaṇa and led to the Samye monastery. Pehar caused madness and epidemics and he was compelled to fly away (Tucci 1949: 735) the horse-rider cannot be Pehar, who is a ferocious deity, with three faces, six arms, and rides on a lion or an elephant (and not on a horse). His illustration from the xylograph *Bsam.yas dkar.chag* 'Guide to Samye Monastery' is reproduced below:



For more illustrations see my *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* 9.2614-17.

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The horse-rider in the Khotanese panel is serene and shares no iconic attributes of Pehar. Buddhist iconography makes a clear distinction between serene (*śānta*) and ferocious (*krodha*) deities. The two riders with the nimbus around their heads are divine protectors from Ferghana and Sogdiana to assure the security of Khotan at the monastery of Hu-kuo which means 'Defence of the Kingdom'. Khotan was an important source of supply of silk to these kingdoms of the Western Silk Road, and its security had to be ensured by divine protection as well as international allies.

The libation bowl of *haoma* of the horse rider, with the eagle swooping down in it, and that of the camel rider without the bird, indicates that they are Zoroastrian guardian deities of the Iranian ecumene. Khotan spoke an Iranian language, wore Iranian material costumes (as the God of Silk in panel D VIII.6), had bushy black beards characteristic of Iranian ethnicity, and thus its commercial relations with the Iranian states like Ferghana and Sogdiana were natural. The two riders remind of two regions, one renowned for horses, and the other for one-humped camel. The camel of the bottom rider is single-humped and not the double-humped dromedary. The gait of the single-humped is light and swift, while that of the two-humped is portly and majestic. The fast paces of the camel are clear in the panel and are further heightened by the flying silken scarf.

The kingdom of Khotan was constantly under attack and military preparedness was a prime *sine qua non* for which a strong cavalry was needed. Horses had to be imported from Ferghana which was famous for its mighty steeds from ancient times. A horse rider is depicted on the Skrine panel (BM 1925, 619.25, Whitfield 2004: 160 cat 60) alongwith Vaiśravaṇa. Vaiśravaṇa was appointed as a protector of Khotan by Lord Śākyamuni when he preached the Candragarbha-sūtra (R.E. Emmeric 1967:9), and he is the Lord of Yakṣas. The horse-rider deity came from Ferghana where flows the large river Jaxartes (modern Sir Darya). Jaxartes is ancient *yakhsha arta* 'true or noble pearl' and it is confirmed by its Chinese name Chin-chu ho and Old Turkish Yincu-Ugus which have the same meaning (*First Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1913-1936:449. The horse-rider hailed from the River *Yakhsha arta* and thus he was associated with Vaiśravaṇa the Lord of Yakṣas: an analogy arising from a popular etymology.

Both are Zoroastrian guardian deities. Williams (1973:151) notes that the armor and trappings of the horse-rider are distinct from Khotanese examples.

The pioneering envoy of the Han emperor, Chang Ch'ien started his historic journey to the Western Regions in 138 BC. He visited Ta-yuan (Ferghana) where he was welcomed joyfully as one coming from the wealth and fertility of China with which they had vainly tried to communicate. They guided him on the postal roads to K'ang-chu (Sogdiana). He noted that the people of Ferghana make wine of grapes, and have many good horses. The horses sweat blood and come from the stock of the Heavenly Horse (Mirsky 1965:16). Sogdiana is coterminous with Ferghana and has 80-90 thousand arches (ib.17). Susan Whitfield (2004:129 cat.17) notes: "camels were the consummate travelers of the Silk Road. Sogdiana marks the watershed between the single-humped camel of the Western Silk Road and the double-humped camel of the Eastern

Silk Road." Caravans from the Sogdian cities of Samarkand, Varaksha and Penjikant brought stones, perfumes, silver, wool, cotton textiles, and horses, and in return purchased silk to be resold to the Persians, Byzantines, Indians and nomads of the steppe. Letters discovered in a watch tower at the western extremity of the Great Wall, dated to ca. 313 indicate trade between Sogdiana and China (Tucker 2003:92). The single-humped camel, the ethnic headgear of the rider, the Zoroastrian ritual bowl of haoma, and his nimbus seem to mark out the rider as a guardian deity of Sogdiana enshrined at Dandan-uiliq to ensure the continuing prosperity of silk trade between Khotanese and Sogdian merchants. The Khotanese were devoted to the concept of divine protection and the annals of Khotan are replete with the names of Buddhist gods and goddesses who defend their kingdom. It was but natural that homage be paid to the deity of the greatest of all transnational caravan merchants that is the Sogdians.

The libation bowl of haoma of the horse rider, with a sacred bird swooping down in it, and that of the camel rider without the bird, indicates that they are Zoroastrian guardian deities of the Iranian ecumene. Khotan spoke an Iranian language, wore Iranian martial costumes (as the God of Silk in panel D VIII.6.), had bushy black beards characteristic of Iranian ethnicity, and thus its commercial relations with the Iranian states like Ferghana and Sogdiana were natural. The two riders remind of these two regions, one renowned for horses, and the other for single-humped camel. The camel of the bottom rider is single-humped and not the double-humped dromedary. The gait of the single-humped is light and swift, while that of the double-humped is portly and majestic. The fast paces of the camel are clear in the panel and are further heightened by the flying silken scarf.

Wooden panel Har.028 from Khotan. The iconography of Buddha on a wooden panel from Khotan, published in the IDP News no.34, needs a fresh look. The "Buddha" wears jewelry: necklace, arm-band, wrist-band. The vibrations of his samādhi and Maitreya standing to the right with a flask (kuṇḍikā) are significant. All these three attributes do not go with Śākyamuni, who does not wear jewelry. The vibrations of samādhi in the halo are of Vairocana. They can be seen in the Japanese maṇḍalas of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu Vairocana. Vairocana preaches the Dharma in the dharmacakra-pravartana mudrā, in the Ming illustration of *Shih-chia ju-lai ying-hua shih-chi*, an illustrated life of the Buddha with citations from various sutras, including the Avataṁsaka texts. Maitreya to the right recalls the Gaṇḍavyūha 443.9 of the Avataṁsaka Sutras where Māyā says that she will be the mother of all the Thousand Buddhas, beginning with Maitreya and culminating with Abhyuccadeva "Colossal Deva" which is another name of Rocana. Khotan was an important centre of the Avataṁsaka. The Sanskrit text for the first Chinese translation of the Avataṁsaka was brought to China from Khotan by Chih Fa-lin. It was translated by Buddhabhadra by 420 AC. Likewise, the Sanskrit original for the second Chinese translation by Śikṣānanda was again brought from Khotan by a special messenger sent by Empress Wu Tsê-t'ien. Its translation was completed by 699 AC. Śikṣānanda was a Khotanese monk-scholar who came to

Loyang to translate sutras, returned to Khotan, and came back to Ch'ang-an where he passed away. It is only natural that a wooden panel from Khotan represents Rocana of the Avataṁsaka denomination.

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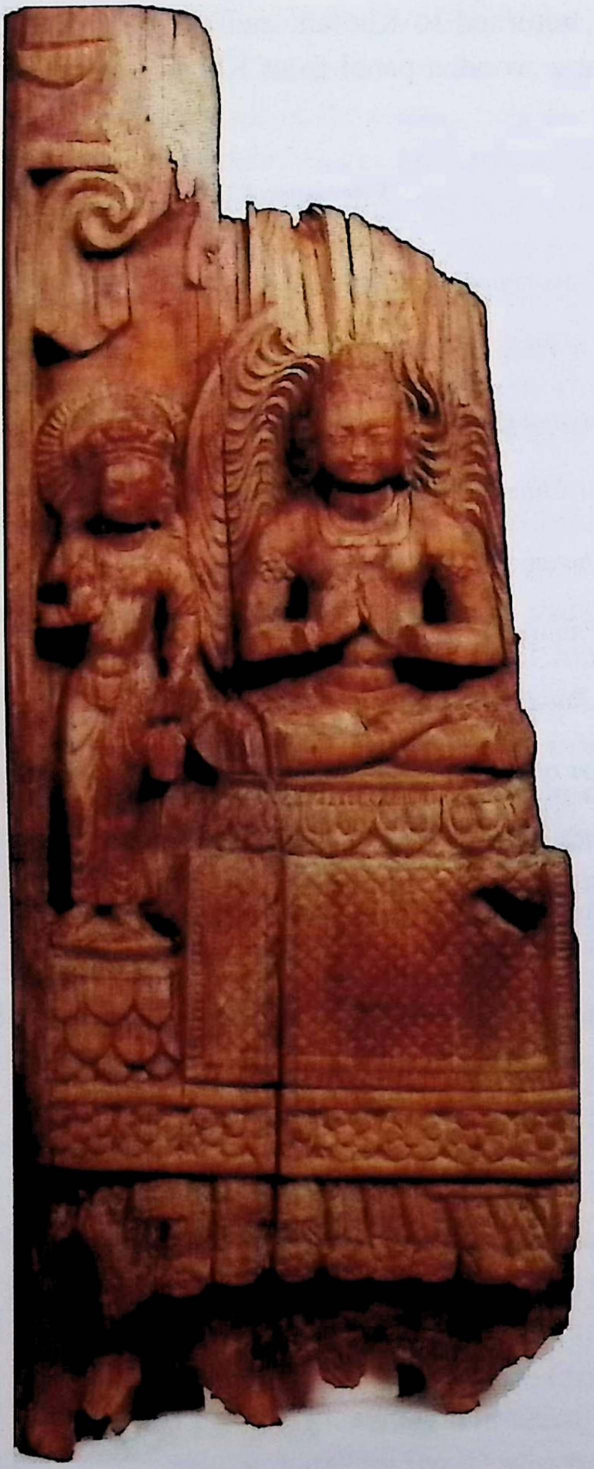

Wooden panel from Khotan, Har.028

19. TRAVELS TO WESTERN CENTRAL ASIA

(prologue to Mrs. Sunita Dwivedi's)

This book is reminiscent of the dream-space of Emperor Aśoka, whose global vision is unique in the annals of India. As a viceroy at Taxila, the cultural heart of the Gandhara region, he was close to Trans Gandhara (Uttarāpatha) or the Central Asian kingdoms where his *dharma-vijaya* found a brilliant efflorescence in later years. Mrs. Sunita Dwivedi as a daughter of Kuśīnagara, the capital of the Mallas whence Lord Buddha transitted from this world into the *dharmakāya,* finds her mind roaming in the Trans Gandharan regions once highlighted by Buddhism as a way of values, dotted with great monastic centres and stupas, richly endowed libraries of sacred texts and profound philosophical treatises, as their literate created the immensity of the East Asian diction. The acculturation of the ferocious tribes of Central Asia was commenced by Aśoka when he sent his ministers to Khotan to found a kingdom. This Chinese nidāna of the blinding of Aśoka's son, which was translated in AD 391 by Dharmanandin, says that his expire comprised Kucha (Watters 1904:1.59). Imperial pennants of Aśoka flew over Gandhara, and it is natural that Sunītaji should begin her travelogue from Afghanistan. The Afghans are mentioned by Varāhamihira (early 6th cent.) as *Avagāna* and repeated by Hsüan-tsang in Chinese transcription (A-p'o-kien). Gandhāra is the only region which gives name to one of the seven notes of Indian music as GA (sa re ga ...) This travelogue is fascinating in its evocative description of contemporary life in the six states traversed by the author. She begins her odyssey in quest of the footprints of Lord Buddha by a flight to Kabul. The most ancient reference to Kabul is in three hymns of the Ṛigveda. Kabul as Her first destination is true to her name. Dwivedi which refers to the two Vedas: Ṛigveda and Sāmaveda. Journey of an Indian to Central Asian states, the Serindia or "India of the Silk" of the Roman historian Procopius, kindles new sensitivities of phylogeny of time.

The cool of Kabul, the mountain pados of Paghman, its orange ice-lolly, roaring gush of the river, the tombs of the mother, sister, wife, favoured begums of Babur, and finally of Emperor Babur himself recall the glories of this historic capital where he finally based his kingdom. The remains of the Buddhist city of Mes Aynak belonging to nine centuries (1-9th cents) with two monastic centres with richly ornamented shrines, hundreds of statuettes, coins of Kushan kings bring up the glories of Classical Afghanistan. Sanskrit Manuscripts on palm leaf, use of Gupta script, Lord Śiva as the tutelary deity of Kugūla Kadphises the founder of the Kushan empire are a thrilling experience in the simple flow of Sunitaji's narrative. She deserves her visit to the National Museum, its reconstruction, the alms bowl of the Buddha, statue of Kaniska from Surkh Kotal, murals from Kakrak, Bamiyan, Nanguhar, Dalbarzhin tepe, ivory statuettes and other amazing antiquities are a reassuring thought that the contributions of the forefathers of the Afghans are treasured for understanding the cultural outflow that gave rise to the glories of distant China, Korea and Japan.

The preservation of Bamiyan by experts from France, Italy, Germany and Japan and setting up a site museum, a database of all the objects in the National Museum of Kabul, and a Japanese artist recreating the Bamiyan colossi using laser beams all reads like a travel in the wonderlands of the mind. In the vast void of śunyata the author celebrates small fragments of a lost immensity. In the words of yogīni Ekavajnā:

In the volume of skylike emptiness
Write with letters of pure awareness and wisdom.

The book gives a vivid birds-eye-view of the important Buddhist sites of Afghanistan, beginning with Bamiyan, its cave shrines, the efforts to find the 1000 feet Buddha in nirvana, the colossal statue of Lord Buddha at Kakrak, the original home of the Kakkars. Balkh or Bactra 'the amoured city' from Persian *bakhtar* 'armour', where Alexander married Roxana the charming daughter of a nobleman, where Trapusa and Bhallika put up world's first Buddhist stupa with the hair and nail pairings of Lord Buddha, which had 100 convents with 3000 monks during the visit of Hsuan-tsang, and other treasures are a dazzling sweep in the words of Sunitaji and tempt any reader to visit these hallowed spots by the first flight. The massive stupas at Top-e-Rustam and Takht-e-Rustam in the Samangan province: are they the ancient Navbahar? Navbahar is the new (nav) bahar (vihara, monastery) of Vajrayana with the concupicent charm of the images of Buddhist goddesses. The blue-tiled Blue Mosque is the most sacred shrine of Afghanistan as the mausoleum of Ali the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. Blue is the colour of meditation in Buddhism. Layers of time owned in the amnesia of centuries.

The scene shifts to Tajikistan known in Sanskrit through the astrological work Tajika-nīlakaṇṭhi which is used in our days for horoscopic calculations. In the capital Dushanbe she describes the largest 12 metre long reclining Buddha whose feet she touched in reverence. When I saw it in 1967 it was whole, later on it was cut into parts for transmission to the Hermitage Museum, and was now back in Dushanbe. It represents the Nirvana School based on the Mahaparinīrvāṇa-sutra. It maintains that the Dharmakaya is eternal and Buddha nature is inherent in all beings. These teachings were expounded by Lord Buddha immediately before his nirvaṇa. The reclining Buddhas represent the state of nirvana endowed with four virtues of eternity, happiness, true self and purity. The author continues with her walk along the Rudaki street, visit to the Gissar Fortress and to a caravanserai and heads to the Museum to photograph the Hindu-Buddhist antiquities. It is a rich repository of seals with dhāraṇī-mantras, votive stupas, Buddha heads from different monastic centres: Ajina-tepe, Kafirkala, Kalai Kafirnigan, Penjikent. Four-armed Goddess astride a lion Sinhavahini Durga the palladium or guardian of the state. Umā and Maheśvara (not Śiva and Pāwatī), Nārāyaṇa and consort are four Buddhist Mantrayāna. The monastic town of Kafirnihon the author recalls the busy life of the monks of whose many rooms with their corridors and niches in ruin have been victims of Arab forces. She speaks of the sacred Temple to the Oxus River where a bronze figure of a greek god playing a double-barrel

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flute was discovered. Five thousand antiquities found here are an view at the Museum in Dushanbe. More than two thousand gold and silver coins of the 4-3rd century BC. were discovered in 1887 and are well preserved in the British Museum. Ancient cultural treasures belong to humankind and their conservation and study is more important than possessive instincts of nations. The Greek name Oxus is from the Sanskrit *Vakṣhu* from the root *vah* 'to flow', meaning the 'fast flouring river': Oxus.

As the Greek alphabet does not have a letter for *va* it was substituted by *o*. So *vakshu* became *oxu* plus the final *s* for the nominative case. It is mentioned in the Brahmāṇḍa and Matrya-purāṇas, as well as in the Mahābhārata. The King of Vakshu came to the sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira on donkeys who were sturdy like horses. On a visit to the Oxus I made it a point to see these donkeys who are really strong riding and draught animals.

A salient feature of this work is a delightful and engrossing reading of difficult trips to the classical Buddhist sites after crossing bureaucratic hurdles. The congregation halls, stupas, fragments of icons, Kafir-kala, Kurgan tube, Khisht-tepa, remind of centuries when these lands were blessed by philosophy, sacred sutras, exquisite hieratic architecture, sculptures both colossal and votive, mural paintings and scrolls on silk and other fabrics. These lands were vectors of the highest intellectual attainments of India to the celestial empire of China. The colossal reclining Buddha hallowed the Ajina-tape monastery, as a symbol of saving beings from undulations that surge violently and silently against the shores of the illusion clad human continent.

The author has a detailed description of Penjikant whose last ruler Divastich made a strong resistance to the Arabs in the 8th century. His archives of Sogdian documentation was discovered on Mount Mug. Penjikent was conceived on a pentad plan (penj 'five' like the Five Tathagatas of Mantrayana. The ruins form a pattern of four clearly demarcated areas: ruler's citadel, town proper (Shahristan), suburban settlement and necropolis. The fifth should have been the sacred monastic area. It is an exceptionally preserved archaeological site to study the plan of the town, its architecture, advanced construction teachniques and has yielded the greatest quantity of pottery of different types including kitchen and table wax. The Mug archives have official documents, diplomatic reports, marriage contracts, financial records, besides fragments of astrological, medical, mineralogical texts. It is the richest site in monumental art of wall paintings, wood carvings and clay sculptures. An attractive little scene illustrates a fable of the Pañcatantra: a hare frees the cenemals from the tyranny of the lion by his persuasive eloquence that induced the lion to jump into a deep lake. Does it refer to the hope of freeing the kingdom from tyrannies of Arab occupation.

The art of Penjikant emerged from the temples from the temples and from the palace and took an important step to relate it to the general body of citizens. Bussagli speaks of the influence of Gupta art, in natural development of traditions inherited from Kushan art. A four-armed goddess discovered in the second temple in 1964 relates to Nanaia whose name has been found on coins minted locally. The Indian Nanaka means a son born by the blessings of this goddess.

The last ruler of Penjikent Divastich fled the city purmed by the Arabs, sought refuge on Mount Mugh but was slaughtered in 722, and it was the end of Sogdian Culture. By a happy coincidence, in the 1930s Soviet archaeologists discovered that the Sogdian language was spoken by the residents of Yaghnot Valley. The Tajiks are their descendants, who have lost all memories of the cultural excellence of the Sogdians, their paintings, their metal work, their textiles, their sculpture, their flambuyant expressions of prosperity and power. A small ivory head of Alexander found at Dushanbe attests to a settlement as far back as the third century BC.

An eighth century mural from Penjikent XXII.1 had been named *vešparak* in Sogdian letters. It is equal to Iśvaraka, attested by the Copper Ladle Inscription from Taxila dateable to the first century AD. The hand-sketch of the mural is illustrated below from Guitty Azarpayled, Sogdian Paintings, Berkeley 1981:29 fig. 5). He is clad in armour, holds a trident, has three heads and six arms. All the three heads have the third eye on the forehead. The leonine head on the left is the Narasimha face of Harihara, while the boar face on the right is *varāha-mukha*. The pelts with heads covering the shoulders are the *vyāghra-carma* 'tiger skin' of Harihara. This identification is confirmed by a Sogdian fragment of the end of the dhāraṇī to Āryāvalokiteśvara Nīlakaṇṭha, found by Sri Aural Stein from Tun-huang Ch 0092. It is in Sogdian and Brahmi scripts. Nīlakaṇṭha Śiva at Penji Kent was a guardian of the state. It is clear in the version of Amoghavajra who hailed from Sogdiana and invokes Him to bring the small princedoms under the control of state (**शीघ्रं वशं मे राष्ट्रं सराजकं कुरु**).

Turkmenistan came into being in 1990 when its Parliament passed a resolution of sovereignty and it gained full independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 under the present name. It has yielded the earliest traces of human settlement in Central Asia in Paledithic times, but the Turkmen entered the area in the 11th century. About nine-tenths is desert. Its Karakum sand desert is one of the world's largest. The main rivers are Oxus (Amu Darya), Tedzen Morghāb and Atrek. Oxus is the wester most river to have a Sanskrit name Vaksra (already discussed). It is mentioned in the Sabhāparva. Bhīṣmaparva of the Mahābhārata. Murg-āb 'the river of Merv' retains the ancient Sanskrit name of Mrīga, which occurs in Avesta as Maurva, and as Margu in the Achaemenian inscriptions. Murg was the mediaeval name of Merv. The 11th chapter of the Bhīṣmaparva of the Mahābhārata describes the Śākadvīpa in which it says that the brāhmaṇas were present in large numbers among the Migas (*brāhmaṇa-bhūyiṣṭhāh mṛgāḥ*). The capital Alexandria Margiana was founded by Alexander the Great on the River Margus and rebuilt by Antiochus I Soter (ruled 280-261 BC) after it was destroyed by the barbarians. It was ruled by the Archaemenians, Parthians, Sarsanians, Arabians and others in its ever-changing fortunes. Buddhism was its major cultural expressions and the present narrative goes into details to trace this heritage. Unfortunately under constant destruction. She speaks of the capital Ashgabad with its forests, orchards, flower gardens, as a hill station in the sprawling surrounds of the sandy desert. Monumental institutions are being built in this glittering oasis city by Indians, with the most beautiful marble from India. The Dragon Mosque at Bagabat (modern Anau) built in 1456 has dragons from the non-Islamic past. The

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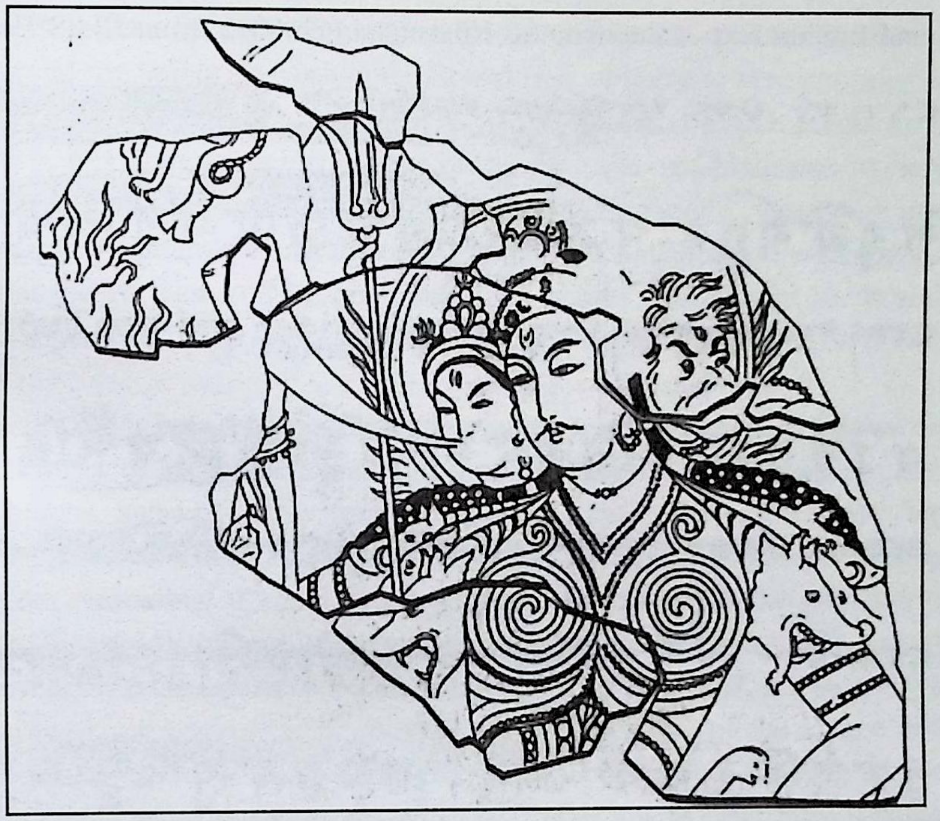

Sketch of Īśvaraka from Perjikent XXII.1

dragons are shown with flowers in their months to indicate that the evil of paganis or had been reduced to submission.

She describes Nisa ancient capital of Parthia, a place of prime importance among Hellenistic sites in Western Central Asia. It has yielded 2500 inscribed sherds in the Parthian language written in the Bramaic alphabet. They are records of wine from various districts to the royal wine cellar dated to the 2nd-1st century BC. It was built by Mrthridates and was known as Mihrdatkart 'the city of M.' The Arsacid dynasty gained power in Parthia about 247 BC and ruled until its overthrow by Ardashir in AD 224. Their beginnings correspond to the reign of Emperor Aśoka who ruled about 268-232 BC. The Pathian Prince An Shih-kao gave up the throne, donned the Buddhist robes and became the first master to translate Sanskrit texts into Chinese. The Chinese remembered him as the Parthian (An) Lokottara (shih-kao) master. The Lokottaravādins consider the Buddha as a supramundane Being. He must have brought a large collection of Sanskrit sutras from his native land of Parthia. The author speaks of other monks from Pallava-bhoga 'Pallava Country' (compare Pallavi) who participated in the consecration of the great stupa under King Dattagamani (108-77 BC). Buddhism could have been introduced in Parthia by the monks of the aśokan period.

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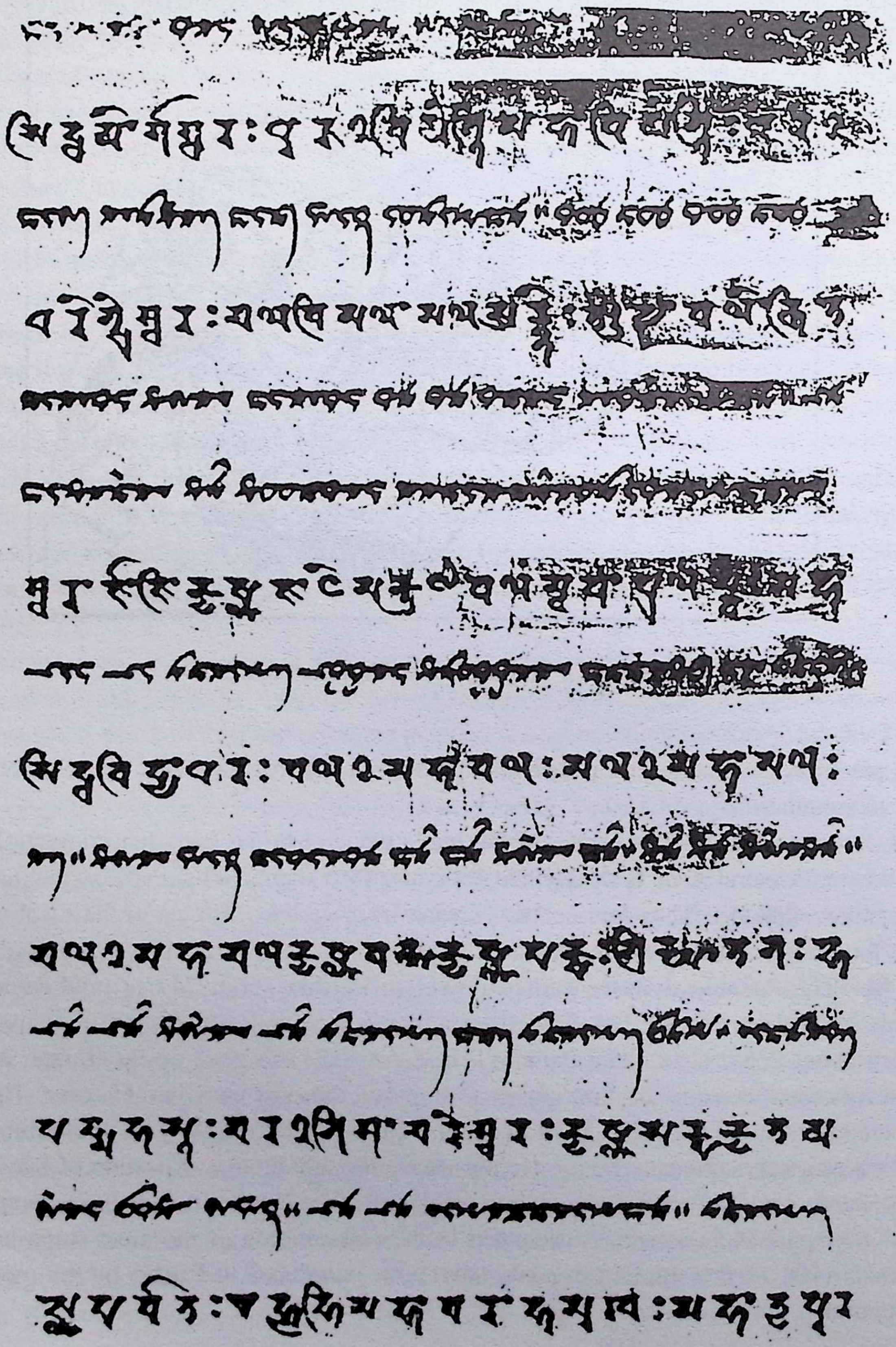
Sogdian and Brahmi text of the hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha (Ch 0092, from JRAS 1912)



It is a delight to read through the glorious episodes of Parthian victories, their sanctuary for guarding the eternal fire (*akhaṇḍa-jyoti*) in the Round Hall, colossal towers imposing even in ruins, and the Goddess of Nisa of white marble clad in a long dress and a such across her breast in the National Museum, ivory objects as elephantine links with India, and Madustan 'winery' found in a building adjacent to the ancient royal treasury. Huge wine jars from this winery are treasured in the National Museum. The Chinese General Chang Ch'ien who travelled to Fergana and Sogdiana in 128 BC says that the Parthians have wine made from grapes. He took its seeds and the Son of Heaven or the Emperor of China was the first to plant the vine in fertile soil. Parthia became close to China.

Mrs. Sunitaji's prose becomes the vibrating awareness of the silence of time when she speaks of the magnificent city of Merv, the *Mragāḥ* of the Mahābhārata, the Margiana of the Greeks, the Marg of the Iranians. Sanskrit *mriga* (pronounced mruga in Maharashtra to this day) becomes *murg* 'cock' in modern Persian. Analogues of vessels of Gonur citrdels to Harappan objects, resides of ephedra reminding of *somā* in the Rigveda, but above all the plenitude of Buddhist monasteries as at Gyaur-kala, stupas, statues, manuscripts of Buddhist Sutras in Sanskrit inscribed on birch bark reveal the wide spread of Buddhism in this land. This book is a stunning aesthetics of tranquil and serena karuṇā and prajñā, compassion and wisdom, of the Prince of Peace Lord Buddha. The evocative words of Sunitaji in hushed igony of ruins are stepping stones of the path to the mind-house other words recall an ancient poet: "what a wonderful lotus it is that blooms in the calyx of the heart". From the fall of Meru to the Arabs in 651 to the discovery of Buddhist monastery in 1890 is a long journey to renew our memories of a time when the Parthians discussed philosophical texts in Sanskrit, their hearts being the very eloquence of the Buddha. The author dropped coins in the deep waters of the sardoba to make a wich. The Turkmen believe that those who throw these coins are blessed by the saints: an ancient Buddhist practice still prevalent among the Buryats of Transbarkalian Siberia to drop coins in Lake Baikal to earn *puṇya*. The details of Buddhist antiquities at Erk-kak, Gyaur-kala, Sultan-kala, the rich holdings of the Museum at Marg, a painted vase for storing a text of the Vinaya dating to the fifth century and much more has been narrated for the first time. She is wordless in the area to see the head of the Giant Buddha, alas gone in the utter silence of dogma.

Here we are with the author in Tashkent the glamourous capital of Uzbekistan. Tashkent has the suffic *kent* for city, which is mentioned by Pāṇini 4.2.142 as the ending for the names of cities in Uśīmara. Kāśikā commentary on Pāṇini mentions Tashkant as Dakṣīkanthā. Tash means stone in Turkish, and Buddhist monks from Tashkent bear the ethnicon *Chih* 'Stone' in the Chinese Tripitaka. Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā of Kumāralāta (2nd century AD) tells of the piety of a painter from Puṣkalāvati who went to Aśmaka ('Stony') or Tashkent to decorate a Buddhist monastery. The people of Tashkent are mentioned in the Mahābhārata as *Karika* which means stone (compare Hindi *karikar*), and also in the Bhāgarata-Purāṇa 2.4.18. At Bīrūnī's Ta'rīkh al-Hind is the second work in which the name Taškent occurs, after the Kāśikā commentary of the second century. Once upon a time Tashkent must have been a famous centre of Buddhism, and an important seat of political power and economic prosperity. Modern Tashkent with its parks, ornate hotels and the History Museum come alive in the words of the author. She saw a Buddhist statuette from Minguruk at the Museum, but it was no longer there on her second visit. Destruction is an ongoing process. Hsian-tsang speaks of Buddhism sin the country. She refers to Tashkent in the Chirchik oasis, watered by a tributary of Syr Darya. The Kālacakra-tantra was: promulgated on its banks where it is named Sītā River. His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been giving its empowerment over the years. The author spent her evenings in Tachkent sitting on a bench in front of the statue of Tilnur who took a wife from the clan of Chinggis Khan and wanted to restore his empire. He had a strong reverence for Sunons Islam and has been remembered as a supremely charismatic figure for centuries.

Khiva with its 10th century minarat of the Juma Mosque has carved wooden pillars from India with svastika and elephant-head (representing Lord Gaṇeśa). The great grandfather of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi studied here Feroze Gandhi was of Persian descent and Persians studied in the madressahs at Khiva. In the Museum of Avesta at Ichom Kala she saw a fragment of Avesta written in gold letters on bull skin. Alexander the Great saw 12,000 such bull skins in golden letters.

The author's quest of Buddhism in Khorezur led her to a terracotta Buddhist statuette of the first century AD from the Kazakliyatkan site in 1999.

The author is heading to Bokhara thinking of Buddhist monasteries whose sacred icons might be in the museums and she might see the ruins of viharas. Sitting in Paris, George Roerich was joyed to discover that Bokkara is the word Vihara. It was confirmed by Paul Pelliot the great savant of Central Asian history. She saw the mausoleum of the founder of the Somavid dynasty, the 1718 Bolo Hauz mosque of the Bukhara emirs, and the execution square where British officers were murdered by the emir: a story narrated in *The Great Game*. Buddhism was dominant in Bukhara according to Narshakhi's history. Buddhist icons were sold here as one of the Samanids had become a Buddhist after marrying a Chinese princess.

Samarkand was the second important metropolis in the sixth century BC. King Vishtaspa had the copy of the Avesta written in letters of gold and preserved in the stronghold of Records at Persefolis. Another copy containing all the 1200 chapters in 2,000,000 verses inscribed on gilded tablets was kept in the treasury of the fire-temple at Samarkand. These archetype copies preserved with zealous care were destroyed in the invasion of Alexander when he burned the palace at Persepolis and conquered Samarkand. The excavations of Macedonian tombs has brought to light rich cashes of gold, which was sought for in vengeance by Alexander's hosts.

Samarkand became the heart of the Silk Route Archaeological evidence at Tepe Afrāsiyāb confirms Hellenistic presence. According to the Annals of the Wei Dynasty compiled in 437 AD a dynasty of the yueh-chih had been reigning here before the Christian era Hsuan-tsang visited Sa-mo-kian in 630 AD and he found two abandoned Buddhist monasteries. From the Han period

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onwards it was called K'ang-ku. A number of monks from Samarkand translated Sanskrit sutras into Chinese:

(1) K'ang Chin in AD 187.

(2) K'ang Meng-hsiang worked at Loyang in AD 194-199

(3) K'ang Seng-k'ai *alias* Saṅghavarman in AD 252

(4) K'ang Seng-hui, worked from 247-280

(5) K'ang Tao-hü, translated a sutra in AD 396.

(6) Itsing gives the biography of Saṅghavarman of K'ang who went to China on foot, came on a pilgrimage to Mahabodhi where he carved the images of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara under the Aśoka tree:

The last Buddhist pilgrim to India, the Korean Hyech'o (born 704) says that there was one monastery in Samarkand, with one monk who did not know how to severe the Triratna. The author mentions the visit of Hsüan-tsang whose discourses on Buddhism so impressed the king that he requested to be ordained as a monk. In the 10th century the western gate of Samarkand was Naubahar, a nostalgic memory of the glories of the Navavihara of Balkh. There were many navabahars or vajrayāna monasteries in Iranian lands. As late as the 13th century, the Nowbahar was celebrated in Persian poetic themes. Poets like Gorgani, Ayyuqa, Onsori, Manučehri at Farroqi Seystani and others employ similes pertaining to the moon faces of the images and to the grandeur of the buildings of Nowbahar. Yaqut evokes the vihara in describing the royal palace and compares the beauty of human faces to the moon-faces (*mahruy*) of the compiscent images of the Vajrayāna-goddesses in Nowbahar. The author writes about a votive terracotta plaque with a Buddhist image discovered at Salteja, Brahmi and Kharisthi inscriptions on monastic wares, the graffiti at Shatial Bridge on the Indus in Sogdian. Today Samarkand is the city of Timur. In 1967 I saw a small relief of Durgā riding on a lion at the top of the gateway of the Bibi Khanum Mosque constructed by Timur. Samarkand fascinated the author and every page is a temptation to feel with her the landscape and mindscape of this metropolis of history. The grace and charm of the Buddhist images, particularly of the enchanting Tantric goddesses in all their concupiscence gave the equation "ideal beauty-Buddhist image", which was an established fact in the East Iranian world. Even when Buddhism had faded away, early Persian poerty continued to cultivate abstract mental forms poignantly recalling the grace of Buddhist statues. Ayyūqi in his novel *Varqe va Golshah* (Tehran 1956:6) writes of his beautiful heroine that "she was.... a Buddha in a temple full of offerings." Further on we find the crescendo in stanzas 2138-2142 where she is addressed as *Bot* (Buddha), then *lo'bat* (statuette), and finally as nowbahar, the Buddhist monastery which was well known for its graceful statues in Iranian literature (both in the Persian and Arabic languages) upto the time of Yāqūt in the 13th century. In early Persian poetry, young beauty whether masculine or feminine, is constantly referred to by the poet or addressed by various characters in their romance as *Bot* (Buddha). Early Persian literature as we know it, is a creation of the Eastern Iranians and till the 11th century Persian poetry was exclusively written in Kharosan, Sogdiana and adjacent lands — areas once steeped in the Buddha. The Buddhist overtones of Persian poetical vocabulary were memories of a time when the images were loaded with their full emotional and aesthetic import. No wonder that the metaphor of the *Bot* is the term that the description of beauty spontaneously calls for.

The author is in the village of Ayrtam which is famous for the frieze of male and female musicians.

It is 20 inches high and 23 feet long. Its Bactrian inscription dates it to the Kushan king Huviska (about AD 164-174). Her narratives is a journey into Kushan history. She finally reaches the sites of Karatepa and Fayaz-tepe in Old Termez. Hsuan-tsang says that there were 12 monasteries and about 1000 monks in Ta-mi or Termez. A Buddhist monk from Tar-mi-ta is mentioned in the Tibetan Kanjur. In 689-90 it was conquered by the Arab Musa. In the archaeologicalss remains we can have a feel of the stūpa, the beautiful paintings, and sacred sculptures of Fayaz-tepe 'the Mound of Liberality' where persons could have gone to get their wishes fulfilled long after it lay in ruins. The Kara-tepe 'Dark Mound' of the second century has caves which constituted the monastic complexes from the second to the fourth century. There are Indian inscriptions on pottery. An inscription gives the name of the monastery. Khadevaka-vihāras 'Sovereigns Monastery'. Kha-dur means the Son of Heaven (*kha*). Kushan, post-Kushan and a large hoard of Hepthalite silver coins have been found. There are inscriptions on ceramic-vessels and graffiti scratched on the walls of the rooms in different languages. Inscriptions on ceramics are in Brahmi and Kharosthi. For example an inscription on the southern wall of the southern corridor in Complex B reads: *Maheśvaradharmasya*. An interesting inscription on a jar reticulated with glass reads: *ayaṁ pā(ni):yo-kuṁḍika budhaśi[-]da(jh/l)āka=mahādharmakathi*. It means: "this water jar [belongs to] Buddhaśira the great exponent of the daljh/l)āka[School]". Buddha*ś*ira = Buddhami*h*ira. The Mishra jati of the brāhmanas is this *miśira* (*mihira*) from mitra 'sun.' It is the most ancient occurrence of the word Mishra. The doubtful reading of the second syllable as *jh* or *l* has to be corrected from Pali *vedaḷho/vedalla* who were mahāśunyatāvādins, also known as Uttarāpathakas or the school of the Trans-Gandhara region. This inscription is the earliest reference to them. Termez played a major role in Buddhism and it needs a detailed study.

Its great academic traditions continued even under Islam. In the ninth century Abn Isa Muhammad (825-892) authored a great collection of *hadith* for which he travelled widely in Khorasan. The episodes begin like Buddhist sutras: "This I have heard". There are other stylistic resemblances to show how deeper cultural layers lived on. The mausoleum of the Sufi philosopher Ab Hakim al-Termezi of the 9th century composed over 400 works including the life episodes of the Holy Prophets. The authors went inside his mausoleum to pay homage. While Buddhism no more sanctified the place, its became the sanctum of another faith and bore a rich harvest in its new incarnation.

The author takes us to Ferghana's horses, wines, sweet melons in its picturesque setting. In ancient India it was known as Kamboja, celebrated for its horses in the Mahābharata and also

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mentioned in the Gernar and Dhauli edicts of Aśoka. Emperor Wu-ti (140-187 BC) sent Chang Ch'ien in 138 BC who saw divine horses of Dayuan or Ferghana. An anonymous poem of the Han dynasty speaks of the superb courage and marvellous spirit of these horses praning through floating clouds. The hourse of Lord Buddha is named Kanthaka, from *kanthā* (modern °kent) referring to its Central Asian origin.

The author speaks of the in age of the Goddess of Kuvala nagara-devā) and Śrīdevī to whom a whose chapter is devoted in the Suvarnabhāsottama-sutra. As a flourishing trade centre, in Kuva should certainly have paid homage to the Godden of Wealth. It was discovered from the Buddhist temple. Likewise we find a number of votive plaques of Lakṣmī in Nalanda for the monastic centres were patronised the rich merchants for bleasings. A twice life-size usage was recovered from the depths of the temple his massive clay bust with the third eye represents the Buddhist Nīlakaṇṭha Avalokiteśvara worshipped to this day in all the monasteries of East Asia. Images of ferocious deities of Vajrayāna, and ceramic bowls for offerings speak of the vogue of the compassion of the Tathāgata. Few fragments of its wall paintings that have survived show that the Vinaya injunation of decorating monasteries was adhered to.

She takes us to the Silk city of Margilan, which Babur praises for its excellent apricots and pomegranates. It dates back to the second century BC. Thereafter we are in the great religious centre of Kokand 'City of Winds' where stand the Palace of the last Khudoyar Khan (1845-76) and the Jami Mosque built in 1814. It had 300 mosques in mediaeval times. She evokes the splendour and intense love of Babur for his birth town of Andijan. In her words we behold the soul of these towns, once Buddhist and non Islamic, wonderful in their modern life and radiant in their hearts in the silent indwelling piety and tranquility.

The sacred mountains of Osh in Kyrgyzstan, rock paintings in a cave deep in the belly of a mountain, a trek to Babur's cave refuge where he worked out the strategy to win back his kingdom, and the Chu Valley speak of times that created history. Archaeological diggings Dharma of the Western Turks. As the Arts Centre of Novopokrovka began to suite archaeological excavations were carried out. They yielded a head of the Buddha, Buddhist bronze figureness and the structures could have been a monastery. At Krasnayarechka were discovered two Buddhist temples with a monumental redining Buddha of the late 7th century, and fragments of birch bark manuscripts in Sanskrit. Clay fragments of the limbs of a Buddha point to a six metre high statue. The monastic centre of Navekat yielded a gilded bronze sculpture of a Buddhist monk. Hsüan-tsang reached Suyab in 629 and expounded the Buddhist doctrines to the Khan, who became a devotee. The Buddhist shrine at Suyub belongs to the 7-8 century. An image of Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara from the Chu Valley is prized at the State Historical Museum at Bishkek. Mother Earth treasures the wayfaring "Time can never obliterate Buddha from history. On from the minds of believers"

Finally, the author takes the reader to Kazakhstan to see the Tamgaly of the Bronze Age through rock paintings on the rocks, and the 8th century Buddhist petroglyphs on the mountains.

Buddhist deities were carved on treeless cliffs with the mantra *Om maṇipadma hūm* written under them in Tibetan. In a gorge near Taygak village again the same mantra in Tibetan script written by passing travellers. The ruins of a monastery on the right bank of the Sumbe River, with inscriptions on stones, which was functioning in the 19th century. In May 1859 Golubev stayed in this monastery which had thirty monks. An ivory image of the Buddha was found in the Takhiz village. Excavations in Kayalik had the remnants of a Buddhist temple. Gulnar accompanying the author chanted what she believed to be a Sanskrit mantra, as the smoke of the fire touched the stupa in the Kora Valley. Gulnar explained the mantra as: we are one with the sky and earth. Altaic peoples worshipped the sky as god and the deities of towns for protection from evil forces.

Haunting descriptions of her pilgrimage, rather than a travelogue, to the six republics of Western Central Asia, are an invitation to their enchanting landscape, of friendly people, where Indian monks, and merchants once spread the message of compassion as well as enriched the lives of the people with material goods. All those cultural strands have been erased, monasteries destroyed, and local languages replaced during the second millenium. This book is a far journey to the inner regions of ourselves, a rare feat as very few Indians have written or will write about these lands. Reading through the book, I was reminded of the travels of the Chinese envoy Chang Ch'ien in the third century BC, of Hsüan-tsang and I-tsing, and of many Indian āchāryas who have left no records of their dreams. This recount is deep in history, flowering in the wrappings of life as the dynamic and divine resonate in the onrush of the future. Todays rest on their historic evolution: no flowers can forget the spring.

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20. SASANIAN IRAN: POWER AND SERENITY

The Sasanian dynasty has multiple dimensions, a long rule of 427 years, and extensive international relations that have influenced cultures as far east as Japan. It is a phenomenal expression of the Iranian persona: the might of the Aryans (*airyānām vājah*), the fire of the worship of Anahita, the dichotomy of good and evil of Zoroastrianism, nobility of power and virtue, the Achaemenian heritage, the living arts and crafts of the Hellenised Parthians or Pahlava which gave the name Pahlavi to the language of the Sasanian empire. The historian Tabari says that Sasan was the custodian of the fire temple of Anahita and was married into the royal family of Fars. This explains the zealous dedication of the dynasty to Zoroastrianism, and their martial dynamism of Zoroaster riding on a horse as the god of war. The sense of nobility and its chivalrous values is inherent in the word Iran, which a derivative of Airyan 'the Aryan Land', or 'the Land of Nobility.' The word *ārya* denotes nobility as an ethical value and has no racial connotation.

The Indians and Iranians have shared six to seven thousand years of linguistic evolution. Modern historians of linguistics speak of the 'depth of time' besides 'historical chronology.' Linguistic development of the Iranian group is paralleled by the Indo-Aryan languages. The earliest dateable Old Persian of the Achaemenian inscriptions belongs to the fifth century BC. The difference between Old Persian and the language of the Gāthās of Zoroastrianism is tremendous. The period of development has to be millennarian and the language of the Gāthās has to be dated to about two to three thousand years BC. This continuity of development is more transparent in India: from Vedic Sanskrit to the Brāhmanas, to the Upaniṣads, to the Epics, to the spoken tongue of Pāṇini and the dateable idioms of Māgadhī (or Pali) of Buddhism and Ardhamāgadhī of Jainism in the 5th century. Pāṇini does not speak of Sanskrit, but of *bhāṣā* 'spoken language' in contradistinction to *chandasi* 'in the metric Vedic'. He means that the language being systematised by him is the spoken speech of his time, the language of daily parlance. Pāṇini will have to be dated somewhere between 2000-1500 BC. The sutra on *Yavanī, Yavanānī* and *Yavanikā* is a later addition and should not be assigned to him. In keeping with the parallel development of the Indian and Iranian speech, the linguistic chronology of Iranian has to be assigned a 'depth of time.' The Aitareya-brāhmaṇa mentions the Uttarakuru who are Iranians. The name of Cyrus the Great is Kurush (Sanskrit Kuruḥ) in his own inscriptions.

The Iranians played a major role in the dissemination of Indo-European languages. Certain Greek words are closer to Iranian than to Sanskrit, for example, the Sanskrit *durmanas* is *dusmenes* in Greek which is closer to Persian *dušman* 'enemy'. In Sanskrit the prefix is *dur*, but *dus* in Greek and *duš* in Persian. The word for 'mine' in Old Persian is *manā*, Modern Persian *man* (as in *jane man*), and the English word 'mine' (German *mein*) echoes the Iranian form and does not correspond to the Sanskrit *mama*. The Iranians seem to have been active in the transmission of language in the 3rd or 4th millennium. Quite a number of formations in European languages cannot be explained without the intermediary role of Iranian speakers. The Iranians have been rightly proud of their language since they became conscious of it during the Sasanian period, and of its alluring poetry.

The antiquity of Indo-Iranian languages deserves a 'rethink' in the light of new evidence from archaeology. The excavations in Mehrgarh in Pakistan took the earliest strata to the 8th millennium BC for the first-time. Recent diggings in the Haryana region have revealed a dozen sites that can be carbon dated to the 7th millennium BC in the precision of the sophisticated technology available today.

The Mehrauli village in Delhi is a reminder of our relationship with Sasanian scholarship. Mehrauli is Mihira-pallī 'the village of Mihira'. Mihira is *mehr* in Modern Persian (Av. mithra, Skt. mitra), and the village seems to be the site of an observatory of the famous astronomer Varāhamihira who lived in the 6th century (505-587 AC). He wrote the Bṛhat-saṁhitā in Sanskrit on the study of celestial omens. He wrote, "As a night without a lamp, as a sky without the sun, so is a king without astrologers." His Bṛhaj-jātaka and the shorter Laghu-jātaka are on horoscopes. The second text contains Greek terms which are evident in the vogue of Hellenistic sciences in the Iranian lands. His Pañca-siddhāntikā 'Five Treatises' has two texts of Hellenistic influence. The first Romaka-siddhānta is derived from Ptolemy and makes calculations by the meridian of Yavanapura. The second text Pauliśa-siddhānta is based on the works of Paulus of Alexandria (378 AC) and gives trigonometrical rules. Varāhamihira's name and his knowledge of Greek works suggest Sasanian affinities. He belongs to the epoch of the glorious interflow of Indo-Sasanian culture. A century earlier King Bahram V (ruled 420-438 AC) married an Indian princess and purified her by converting her to Magianism. He invited 4000 Indian musicians who spread throughout the empire.

Northwest India and Iran were linked by political and strategic bonds besides linguistic ties. It becomes clear in the history of Herodotus. The Achaemenian King Xerxes (520-465 BC) was the son of Darius I and was educated by his father to rule a world empire. He laid the foundation of the first empire of history and became the progenitor of the concept of imperialism. The Iranian form of his name is *Kšayarša* "Ruling over Kings". The original Old Persian name of the Achaemenian dynasty is *Hakhamaniš* or Sakhāmaṇi in Sanskrit, meaning "Friends of Jewels" alluding to their immense riches gained in victories over many lands. Xerxes had inherited a war with Greece from his father. In 480 BC he led an invasion of Greece in person and won a spectacular victory, as if it were the birthright of the Persians endowed by Ahura Mazda and Anahita. The aura of invincibility preceded their sweeping victories across West Asia and the Mediterranean region, shattering ancient and at times arrogant kingdoms. Xerxes ruled an empire from the frontiers of Ancient India to the shores of the Aeges, true to his name "Ruling over Kings". Shocked by the defeat at the hands of the 'barbarians' or the Persians under King Xerxes,

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Herodotus set out to find as to how the 'barbarians' could have defeated the highly civilised Greeks. He found that the valiant Paktues from the Paktuike Region of NW India formed the vanguard of the armies of Xerxes and they were responsible for the stunning victories. They are the Paktha of the Daśarājña hymn of the Ṛgveda 7.18.7 as the most powerful people, and the modern Pakhtuns. Herodotus finds consolation in Hellenic defeat as the Indians were the largest, most powerful, and highly civilised country in the world. The Achaemenian kings endowed their country with unprecedented glory on the fields of war and they became the enduring mythos of their identity, especially under the Sasanians.

The ancestor of the dynasty Sasan was a descendant of the last Achaemenian King Dara, according to Kārnāmag of Artexerxes. The Sasanians inherited from them the putzsch for global political power, its deep roots in sacred rites and theology, in the purity of language and fearlessness of regnum in lion-hunts, so vivid in the 4th century gilded Sasanian silver plate depicting Shapur II hunting lions on horse back (Idemitsu Art Gallery, Tokyo).

The satrapies of Bactria, Gandhara and Sindhu Region were the easternmost dominions of the Achaemenians. Sasanian power also extended into these regions, as far as Turan which is modern Quetta (now in Pakistan).

Alexander the Great had set out from his native land of Macedonia in search of dominions as well as gold. The tomb of his father yielded a rich hoard of gold ornaments and other objects which were exhibited at the National Museum, New Delhi, about forty years ago. Alexander was aware that Zoroastrian scriptures were written on thousands of gold plates, both at Persepolis and Samarkand. He carried away these fabulous scriptures to be stored in his eagle's-nest the Pergamum. It was an irretrievable loss of the Zoroastrian heritage. The Sasanian state resurrected the sacred texts, had exegetical works written and the vast corpus of Zoroastrian lore came alive.

The Sasanians inherited their empire, religion, and system of governance from the Parthians whom they had vanquished. The Parthians (Pahlav, Sanskrit/Pali Pallava) were an Iranian people who became a satrapy of the Seleucid Greeks. The first Parthian king Arshak (Greek: Arsakes) defeated them and became full-fledged king in 247 BC. The empire he established was to be the longest lived of the three great Iranian empires: Achaemenian, Parthian and Sasanian. Mihrdat I (Gk. Mithridates, ruled 171-138 BC) conquered the remainder of Iran from the Greeks. He adopted the Achaemenian title of 'King of Kings' for the first time. The Parthians were heavily Hellenised and every king had a Greek counterpart of his Iranian name. At the same time, due to proximity with India, they became brilliant scholars of Sanskrit. They collaborated with Chinese masters in the 2nd and 3rd centuries to translate Sanskrit sutras into Chinese. An Shih-kao was a Parthian crown prince who renounced the throne to his uncle, became a monk and travelled to Loyang in 144 AC. He founded the first major school of Buddhist translators, known as the 'unrivalled'. He translated more than a hundred Sanskrit sutras, of which 55 are still extant in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. True to his princely background of strategic training, he was the first monk to organise a translation school for Buddhist Sutras to create a Chinese Buddhist Canon. Other

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Parthian monks, like An Hsüan (181 AC) and An Huei (6th century AC) followed him. Parthian bhikṣus took the sutras and martial techniques to China like the *clibanacii* or mounted archers with glittering armour and the backward fired 'Parthian Shot.' The Parthian King Valaksh organised the first redaction of the Zoroastrian sacred texts of the Avesta, according to the Pahlavi Denkard. Two of the three sacred fires of the Sasanians were in Parthia: at Asak and at Adur Burzen Mihr. Parthian nobility occupied a prominent place in the Sasanian hierarchy. The Iranian architectural feature of *iwan* is derived from the Buddhist *avadāna* or legends related at royal courts. Buddhism was wide-spread in Iran as far as Merv (Margiana) where Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhist texts were found by Soviet archaeologists in the 1960s and exhibited at the Kushan Conference, Dushanbe. Merv is now in Turkmenistan. The Mahābhārata and Vāyu-purāṇa speak of the Mṛga region inhabited by brahmins.

Sasan, whose grandson laid the foundations of Sasanian power, was the chief priest of Anahita, a goddess mentioned in the Avesta as *Aradvī Sūrā Anāhitā* moist, strong, immaculate. It reflects her multivalent character. She was the goddess of royalty, of war, of fertility, and of holy water. Fertility meant the constant replenishment of the population, as wars decimated the male citizens. No wonder that the descendants of Sasan were inspired by the goddess Anahita to found the third great empire of the Iranians. Herman Lommel opines that she is analogous to the Indian Sarasvatī and was perhaps originally named *Harahvaiti* 'rich in waters' whence her epithet *arədvi* 'moist'. The important 'hymn of the waters' (Yasht 5) is dedicated to her. Achaemenian inscriptions also invoke her along with Mithra and Ahura Mazda. She became central in the Sasanian period for her regal nature and war-like character. She played a major role at imperial investitures as the source and protector of sovereignty. The biunity of 'power and virtue' has been the archetype of Indo-Iranian political thought and practice; the internetting of *śastra* and *śāstra*. Archetype refers "both to the sacred model and its appearance within the world of phenomena" (Beverly Moon).

The family of Sasan was of hereditary priests of the Zoroastrian temple of Adur Anahid near Persepolis. His grandson Ardashir I defeated the Parthian King Ardavan V in 224 AC. He modeled his new empire on Achaemenian glory and their vast territories, as well as on Zoroastrian orthodoxy. He advised his son Shapur I (ruled 241-272 AC): "know that faith and kingship are brothers, one cannot survive without the other. Faith is the foundation of a kingdom, and the kingdom defends the faith." The nexus of altar and state was symbolised on coins by superimposing the throne on the fire altar. Shapur I recovered lands up to the Euphrates and beyond from the Romans. He conquered the Kushan kingdom in Bactria. Khusrau I (ruled 531-579 AC) defeated the Hephthalites in 558. The final redaction of the 21 nasks 'divisions' of the Avesta and the translation of Indian works into Pahlavi was undertaken. He invited Greek philosophers to his court when Plato's Academy at Athens was closed by the zealous Christian King Justinian. The scientific literature they brought from Greece was later on translated into Arabic by converts from Zoroastrianism, after the Arab conquest. The Pãncatantra was translated

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from Pahlavi into Arabic and is the first prose text of Arabic literature that laid the foundation of a new genre. The major part of the Thousand And One Nights are Indian legends in Iranian transformation, subsequently rendered into Arabic.

Khusrau II (ruled 591-628 AC) hoped to rule the world, to subjugate Byzantium, and conquer China. He seized Jerusalem in 614. He was murdered by his sons. The last Sasanian King Yazdigird III was crowned in 631. He saw the Arabs crossing into Ctesiphon and exclaimed: "The demons have come." By 637 the Arabs had extinguished the fire and élan of Iran. Yazdigird III spent his last years as a fugitive and in 651 he was murdered by a miller at Merv with whom he had taken refuge.

From its very beginnings the Sasanian kings were involved with India. Ardashir I subdued Seistan (Śakasthāna), Bactria and other territories of the Kushans who made submission to him. Shapur I (ruled 241-272) invaded the Roman provinces of Syria and Cappadocia, destroyed a Roman army of 60,000 men and captured the capital Antioch itself. He personally took the Roman Emperor Valerian prisoner and held him for the rest of his life. His inscription on Kaaba-e-Zardusht lists 27 provinces of the empire which included Seistan (21), Turan (22), Makran (23), Indus Delta (25), Kushanshahr (26) from Peshawar to Tashkent, from Sogdiana upto the borders of Kashgaria.

Mani dedicated his major work *Shapuragan* to Shapur. He made a journey to India by sea, and Hindu deities like Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Viṣṇu, and others are illustrated in Manichean texts found in Central Asia.

Tha Pahlavi inscriptions of Kartir refer to Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists (EBr.17.572).

Zurvanism modified the violent dualism of Ahura Mazda and Ahriman as emanations of the original principle of infinite time. Zurvan corresponds to the Ṛgvedic word *jūrya.* In the 10th century when Buddhism and other religions were being annihilated by Islam, there arose the synthesis of different systems as the Kālacakra doctrine on the Sītā River (mod. Syr Darya) in Shambhala. It was a transformation of Zurvanism and its basic tenet was of reconciliation of opposites in a higher abstraction. Kālacakra was the culmination of Tantric traditions and the final stage when Buddhist tantras ceased to evolve. Zurvanism enjoyed official recognition under earlier Sasanian kings.

The Parsis in India number their years by the era of Yazdigird III, the last Sasanian sovereign of Iran and defender of the Zoroastrian faith.

The sharp distinction of good and evil in Zoroastrianism is represented in Ahura Mazda and Ahriman. This ethical dualism became the strength of the state: anyone who did not believe in Ahura Mazda would pollute the earth. All enemies were pollution. The Iranian sense of purification is reflected in not cremating or burying the dead body as that would pollute the sacred fire or the earth. The Parthians were deprecated as slavish imitators of Hellenism: they spoke, wrote and read Greek, proudly displayed the epithet *Philhellenos* 'lovers of Hellenism' on their coins, and every king had a Greek equivalent of his Iranian name. The first Sasanian King

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Ardashir I who wrested power from the last Parthian King Ardavan V in about 224, was creating an Iranian renaissance. *Arda* means *ṛta* "cosmic order, truth" in Sanskrit, and *shir* means 'king' from the Sanskrit root *kṣi* 'to have power over, rule, govern, be master of' in the Ṛgveda + the suffix *ra (kṣi + ra* like *dhī-ra*). The goddess Khir Bhavani in Kashmir is the protectress of the realm (kṣira = khīr) of Kashmir. Khīr means 'realm, dominion.'

King Ardashir could penetrate into India as far as Turan identified as Quetta (now in Pakistan), as the-then Kushan kings were on the decline, having lost all their nomadic dynamism of running on horses across barren steppes and deserts with no water and nothing to eat. In 1957 I had the wonderful experience of witnessing Mongol nomads running on their horses for hundreds of miles, during a journey from the capital Ulaanbaatar to the Erdenidzu Monastery, erected on the site of Chinggis Khan's capital Karakorum. It was a lively experience of how Altaic nomads had conditioned history.

Certain Sasanian royal emblems became iconographic attributes of Buddhist deities. A relief in the Firuzabad gorge represents the investiture of King Ardashir by the god Ahura Mazda who is handing a diadem with floating ribbons to the king as the symbol of power (*Ency. of World Art* 12.715). A diadem with floating ribbons became popular in the depiction of Buddhist deities, as some artists came from the sprawling Sasanian dominions. Such floating ribbons of the diadem are evidenced as late as the murals in the Congregation Hall of the Alchi monastery in the 11-12th century in Ladakh. The cave of Taq-i-Bustan contains an investiture scene with Khusrau II (590-628) receiving the ribboned crown from Ahura Mazda and on the right of the king is the goddess Anahita holding out a crown tied with long and heavy ribbons (ibid.718).

The flowing ribbons are of interest for the history of sericulture: when was silk production introduced into Iranian lands. Silk was smuggled out of China by a Chinese princess when she was married to the king of Khotan. She carried silkworm cocoons and mulberry leaves hidden in her hairdo. Silk industry flourished in Iranian-speaking Khotan and became its major item of international trade. The flowing ribbons betokened this rare new fabric from a far-off land in Central Asia. Silk became the rage of the nobility, royalty, and the rich in the Iranian lands and as far as Byzantium and Rome. Silk was so important for the economic prosperity of Khotan that Gaṇeśa and Lord Maheśvara hold a silk ball and weaver's comb in two out of four hands. It was to ensure divine blessing for the silk industry to flourish.

A bas relief on the side wall of the royal hunting party of Khusrau II is shown in a *pairidaeza* 'enclosure with a wall.' It is an ancient architectural term from Avesta meaning: *pairi* 'around' (Skt. *pari*) and *daeza* 'wall'. It became 'paradise' in English, from Greek in which it meant 'heaven.' This word is reminiscent of the victory of Xerxes over the Greeks who now came to respect the Iranians. Yet the Sasanians never forgot to uproot all Greek and Roman presence of pollution on the sacred soil of Iran 'the Noble Land'.

The Sasanian kings had astronomical observations published for astrological considerations as 'Royal tables' (Zik-i-shastro ayar). These tables were continued even after the Arab conquest.

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They were prepared by Persians and in the Persian language. To understand these observations, the Brahma-siddhānta was translated into Arabic under the title of *Sindhind*, a corruption of the Indian word Siddhānta.

Armed resistance to the Arabs by the Iranians continued till the ninth century. Forty thousand defenders fell in the long siege of Istakhr to save the holy fire of Adur Anahita. It was taken to a small village near Yazd, where it still burns. By this time, the cult and culture of Iran was lost irretrievably, and the priests sat down to write their lore in Pahlavi. The fierce Sasanian spirit survives in New Persian works like the Shahnama of Firdausi.

The Iranians were the first scholars to translate Buddhist sutras from Sanskrit into Chinese. An Hsi-kao translated the shorter Sukhāvatī-vyūha on the worship of Amitābha which became very popular in China. Amitābha sits on a peacock and the 'peacock throne' reminds of his magisterial role in royal ceremonies. Buddhism was wide-spread in the eastern Iranian lands and monks from the Sasanian dominions continued to translate Sanskrit sutras into Chinese. Monk Dharmasatya from Parthia translated a chapter of the Dharmagupta Vinaya in 254 AC at the White Horse Monastery in Loyang (K 915). In 252 AC Saṅghavarman from Kambuja (Ferghana) translated three works at the same monastery. In 251 AC K'ang Seng-hui, again from Kambuja, translated the Ṣaṭ-pāramitā-sūtra (K 206) which includes a short version of the Rāmāyaṇa. In 306 AC An Fa-ch'in from Kambuja translated five works into Chinese, of which only the Aśokāvadāna 'Legends of Aśoka' is extant. In 396 AC K'ang Tao-ho translated a sutra which has been lost. I-tsing narrates the life of Saṅghavarman of Kambuja who went to China in the 7th century, came to Bodhgaya with an Imperial envoy, and carved images of the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara in the courtyard of the Bodhgaya monastery. He returned to China and worked for the relief of famine-stricken people.

The Iranian region of Kambuja or Ferghana was the main source of military steeds for China since the second century BC. Cambyses I (Old Persian Kambujiya in the Behistun Inscription of Darius I) was the son of Cyrus I and his successor under whom the supranational political structure created by his father and hailed by all nations collapsed (*Cambridge History of Iran* 2.133, 554). Horses from Kambuja were traded by the Kushans and Indians as far as Vietnam and Indonesia. The expanding dominions of China from the Han dynasty onwards were due to the Kambuja horses, whose height gave military superiority to the Chinese over the shorter Altaic horses of the Hsiung-nu and other 'Northern' tribes.

The knowledge of cultivated vine and of wine produced from grapes was obtained by Chang Ch'ien in 128 BC: "the people of Ta-yuan (Ferghana) have wine made of grapes." So also the An-hsi (Parthians). He took seeds and extensive cultivation was done near the imperial palace. The Annals of the Sui dynasty (589-618) say that rich persons in Sogdiana kept up to a thousand gallons of grape-wine. The best vintage wines were served at the imperial table in Achaemenian times. The office of the cup-bearer in the palace was important. These Annals refer to the date-palm which the Chinese received from Persia in the third century. When the royalty, nobility and

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commoners of Sasanian Iran fled to China after defeat, the fetching smiles of voluptuous blue-eyed Persian beauties were a usual sight in the taverns of the capital Ch'ang-an. The immortal T'ang poet Li Po (701-762) has written:

Where shall we say adieu?
Why not the Ching-i Gate of Ch'ang-an
Where Persian waitresses beckon with white hands
Enticing customers to drink their fill of fine wine.

The Sasanians fled to distant China as the only safe place and also because of the centuries old cultural and trade relations. Son of the last Sasanian King Yazdigird III, Peroz sent his envoy to Ch'ang-an to request the Emperor to extend assistance to restore the Sasanian dynasty. The Arab forces of the third Caliph Uthman were marching ahead relentlessly. They crossed the Amu River and Sogdians began fleeing their homeland. Lakhs of Iranian refugees were continuously flowing into the major cities of Ch'ang-an and Loyang. Ch'ang-an became a centre of Persian culture. The Old T'ang Annals point out: "People like Persian music, the nobility eats Persian food and wears Persian clothes." The exodus from Persia continued for a century.

This vast diaspora was the outcome of the personal hatred of the second Caliph Umar, who had destroyed the Sasanian empire. The daughter of Yazdigird III, Princess Shahrbanu, was brought to Medina in a litter due to the chivalry of Hasan so that she escaped being enslaved and driven through market places. The heart-moving passion play *Taziya-i-ghaib shudan-i Shahrbanu* says:

"But when at last I reached Madina's town
A whole world's sorrow seemed to weigh me down.
One cried, 'This girl a serving-maid shall be!"
Another, 'Nay, she was of high degree!'
The women thronged the roofs; the mosque, the men:
O Mother! Me they bore to 'Umar then,
Who spoke a word that caused me pain untold:
'These hapless wretches shall as slaves be sold!'
But 'Ali then appeared upon the scene,
And cried, 'Be silent, fool and coward mean!
These gentle women, traitor, void of grace,
Shall not stand naked in the market-place !'
Light of mine eyes! After such treatment dire,
They gave me to Husayn, thy noble sire,
(*A Literary History of Persia*, by Edward G. Browne, Cambridge, 1902:133)

Husayn was the younger son of Prophet's daughter Fatima. He used to call the Sasanian Princess Ghazala 'The Gazelle'. The last Sasanian Princess Shahrbanu became the mother of nine imams and endowed the new faith with the aura of Iran's royalty.

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Back to the historic grounds of Iranian assurance of seeking a safe haven and a permanent home in China can be understood in their centuries long economic relations. They are detailed on 450 pages of the encyclopedic work of Berthold Laufer entitled *Sino-Iranica* (Field Museum of Natural History, Publication 201, Chicago, 1919). It details the transplantation of fruits, vegetables, spices, aromatics, textiles, metals, minerals and other items from Iran to China over two thousand years. The post-Sasanian disapora to China was not to a hiding den but to their dream sanctum which they had visited as monks, scholars, merchants, marshals, painters, dancers, both in mansions and monasteries.

As stated earlier, the last Sasanian prince Peroz (transcribed as P'ai-lu-chi in the T'ang Annals), established a fortified garrison state at Zereng in Central Asia (or SE Iran) to restore his dynasty. The 'twin jewels' of Central Asian culture, Kucha and Khotan, had relations with Sasanian Iran and it was natural for the last scion of the dynasty to resuscitate his realm in the fastness of the deep sands. Both these 'jewels' have yielded art treasures that bear the imprimatur of Sasanian Iran. The artistic Sasanian heritage prospered under the Abbasids as the Arabs had no artistic canons. The Abbasid caliphate established around 750 came to be known as the Neo-Sasanian empire. They built the opulent capital at Baghdad along the banks of the Tigris River, where Iranian scholars created a new world of learning based on Sanskrit and Greek, that ultimately led to the Renaissance in Europe, and to the emergence of the modern technosphere.

The Sasanian exodus to China left its indelible mark on the court life and became the *élan vitale* of the civil society of the golden age of the T'ang. Several thousand Persians lived in the capital Ch'ang-an. The flamboyant court of Emperor Ming Huang was heavily influenced by Persian elements. The T'ang Annals record: "Inside the palace, Persian music is held in high esteem, the tables of persons of noble rank are always served with Persian food, and the women compete with one another in wearing Persian costumes." Round Persian cakes of wheat flour baked by Persian bakers were favourite of the commoners. Persian fashion reigned at the T'ang court. Emperor Ming Huang gave a "large silver Persian vase with inlaid golden flowers" to An Lu-shan. This gold inlay technique became common and was carried to Japan where it is known as *kin-zogan* ornamentation. Persian music continued from morning to noon at the court of Emperor Ming Huang. A brilliant Persian harpist Li P'ing at his court played the 23stringed harp. Poet Li Ho (791-819) was moved to write

Li P'ing strums his harp in the Middle Kingdom
As jade crumbles on Mount K'un-lun
As the lotus weeps dew
And fragrant orchids smile
……
And the sound of twenty-three strings
Moves the heart of His Celestial Majesty.

The ninth-century poet Wang Chien wrote: "The families of Loyang learn Persian music."

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The prevailing tastes for things Persian at the T'ang court travelled to the Tempyo Court of Japan, the golden age of Japanese history. Persian style glass or metal goblets and ewers, harps and lutes were the wonder of the day. The Shoso-in repository of the Todaiji Monastery, preserved since the 8th century, has a number of exotic Persian objects. The Shoso-in has housed the largest collection of the important belongings of Emperor Shomu of Japan (ruled 724-749), ever since May 756 when his empress donated all the articles he handled: "these objects remind me of the bygone days and the sight of them causes me bitter grief. There could be no prolongation of his august life on earth, and the trees have shed their leaves." The Shoso-in treasures hundreds of items: the painting of a Bodhisattva with a tasseled crown like the Sasanian crowns (Hayashi 37), lacquered Persian style ewer with bird-headed spout (Hay 69), Sasanian ewers (Hay 70, 90, 92), a Sasanian cup (Hay 91), a gilded Sasanian silver ewer showing Anahita executed in repousee (Hay 72) and others. A five-stringed biwa with mother-of-pearl inlay, and five four-stringed biwas are pear-shaped with curved necks and full bodies. The Japanese word *biwa* is derived from Persian *barbat* which originally denoted a four-stringed lute. The dance of the Drunken Persians, with the Drunken Persian King in the starring role, was performed by eight actors at the imperial court of Japan. A gigaku mask of the Drunken Persian King has been preserved at the Shoso-in (Hay 83). The role of the Sasanian diaspora in the arts, fashion and cuisine of East Asia has been unique, and what has survived is a fleeting glimpse of the grandeur of Sasanian Iran.

India and Iran are the 'we together', in the pure sunlight of language, with the same or similar divinities, apotheosised concepts and values, wrapped in the inheritance of memories, spanning vast expanses along rivers and creating hydronymy from the Don to the Danube, the Gāthās and Vedic hymns with the mindprints of common essence, Iranians translating Sanskrit sutras into Chinese, Iranians doctors curing the son of Lord Krishna, or the Physician of Lord Buddha studying under white-clad masters: there are endless sharings throbbing with harmony.

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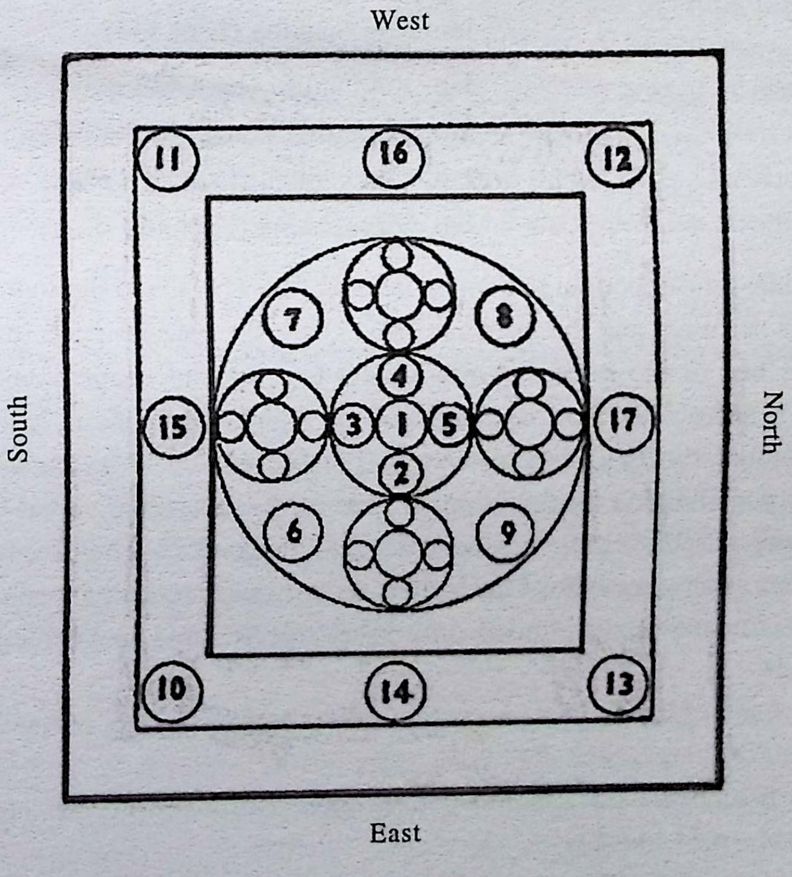
21. THE NAYA-MAṆḌALA IN KHOTAN

In *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 1.1 (1978):53 Prof. H.W. Bailey published the English translation of the Khotanese verses of Kim-śan of the Cang family. He rightly characterised them as pertaining to Vajrayāna. Ārya Vairocana (1) is surrounded by sixteen goddesses. Their placement is shown below, on the basis of the Japanese version of the naya-maṇḍala of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala (Esot.701-717). The names of the goddesses in the Khotanese poem are compared to the basic Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (Esot.406-410, 431-442).



2. Vajra-pāramitā	Jap. Vajra-pāramitā (Esot.407)
3. Ratnavajra	Jap. Ratna-pāramitā (Esot.408)
4. Dharmavajra	Jap. Dharma-pāramitā (Esot.409)
5. Karmavajra-pāramitā	Jap. Karma-pāramitā (Esot.410)

The Khotanese text calls them "four dharmas." As can be deduced from the Karmavajrapāramitā, all are vajra-pāramitās. The word 'vajra' is short for vajra-pāramitā in Ratnavajra (3), and Dharmavajra (4). Vajra-pāramitās is a generic designation for the Four Pāramitās surrounding Ārya Vairocana. The earlier classical Six Pāramitās are correlated to six pūjā-goddesses.

6. Lāsyā	is Dāna-pāramitā	Jap. Vajralāsī (Esot.431)
7. Mālā	is Śīla-pāramitā	Jap. Vajramālā (Esot.432)
8. Gītā	is Kṣānti-pāramitā	Jap. Vajragītā (Esot.433)
9. Nṛtyā	is Vīrya-pāramitā	Jap. Vajranṛtyā (Esot.434)
10. Puṣpā	is Dhyāna-pāramitā	Jap. Vajrapuṣpā (Esot.436)
11. Dhūpā	is Prajña-pāramitā	Jap. Vajradhūpā (Esot.435)
12. Vajrālokā	is Jñāna-pāramitā	Jap. Vajrālokā (Esot.437)
13. Ajitā		Jap. Vajragandhā (Esot.438)
14. Vajrāṅkuśā		Jap. Vajrāṅkuśa (Esot.439 male)
15. Vajrapāśā		Jap. Vajrapāśa (Esot.440 male)
16. Vajrasphoṭā		Jap. Vajrasphoṭa (Esot.441 male)
17. Vajraghaṇṭā		Jap. Vajraghaṇṭa (Esot.442 male)

The four goddesses 6-9 pertain to dance; the next four (10-13) to the four offerings of flowers, incense, lamp and perfume; and the last four (14-17) are the gate-keepers. In place of Gandhā we find Ajitā. She is one of the Four Apsaras Sisters in a special chapter devoted to them in the Adhyardhaśatikā (Taisho 243). The prevalence of the Adhyardhaśatikā in Khotan is attested by its Khotanese translation. Bailey (p.56) observes: "For the names *Vajra-kuśā*, *Vajra-pāśā*, *Vajra-sphoṭā* and *Vajra-gaṇḍā* which are feminine, in spite of the masculine verbal form 28 *hadāḍiṃ* 'he gathered' where the masculine pāśa may have decided the gender." They are female dvārapālīs and the masculine noun is an oversight of the writer, as the four gate-keepers can also be male. In the naya-maṇḍala Vairocana is surrounded only by goddesses and in keeping therewith the gate keepers are female.

A clear definition of the maṇḍala necessitates the re-paragraphing of the English translation of Prof. Bailey.

1 Ārya Vairocana: the para should end at "neṁ (followed by numeral 1)". The numeral 1 indicates the end. (p.54 line 21).

2-17 The sixteen pāramitās around ĀryaVairocana: the para begins "by the fourfold act..." and ends at "pure (*vasveṁ*) pāramitā" (p.54 line 24).

2 Vajrapāramitā: the para begins "issued from the vīpāka ..." (p.54 line 24).

4 Dharmavajra [pāramitā]: the para begins "right, great, purified ..." (p.54 line 33).

12 Vajrālokā: the para begins "who in the forest of ..." (p.55 line 16).

17 Vajraghaṇṭā: the para begins "who indeed is one having all sounds..." (p.56 line 2).

The terms 'Buddhaic light' (adj. to both Buddha and to bodhi), 'pure right bodhi (*byama*)' (p.55 line 21), 'Buddhaic bodhi' (line 31), refer to bodhyagrī or supreme enlightenment of the Vairocana of the basic Vajradhātu maṇḍala.

The Khotanese text terms the main deity as ĀryaVairocana, but under Vajrapāramitā (2) which is the supreme Pāramitā (mahāpāramitā is not a proper name but a descriptive expression) it speaks of the exalted Vajrasattva. Prof. Bailey comments: "The poet expresses his desire to behold the supreme Being, the Vajrasattva (line 54) and to attain to his presence (line 36 *byehīne*)". The present maṇḍala does not pertain to the basic Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, but to the Naya-maṇḍala whose main deity is Vajrasattva. It is based on the Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā whose Khotanese version was one of the first texts to be studied in 1912 (Ronald E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*, Tokyo 1992:18). Vajrasattva belongs to the Inner Tantras which are erototropic. As such he is Mahāsukha Vajrasattva in his 17-syllable mantra: *oṁ mahāsukha vajrasattva jaḥ hūṁ vaṁ hoḥ suratas tvaṁ*. He is surrounded by four vajriṇī goddesses representing four stages of the arousal of passions:
Manoja-vajriṇī holds an arrow [of Cupid, Esot. 702] to indicate the arising of desire
Rāga-vajriṇī holds a makara-banner to represent the passion aroused (Esot. 704)
Māna-vajriṇī holds her hands in the pride of feigned disdain (māna, Esot. 705)
Kelikila-vajriṇī represents the joyous exclaim (kila) of sexual union (keli) as she embraces the vajra with both hands. The vajra is the liṅga.

In the Japanese maṇḍala these four consorts have the aforesaid erotic attributes and are named apsarās as it should be. In the Khotanese text their names have been replaced by those of the basic Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

The Khotanese verses are numbered: 1, (2, 3, 4, 5 omitted), 6, (7 omitted), 8, 9, (10, 11, 12, 13 omitted), 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, no further numbering. After verse 12 Vajrālokā there is the verse 13 on Ajitā; no trace of Vajragandhā (letter of Prof. Bailey dated 31 Oct 1978). Verse 12 Vajrālokā makes it clear that each deity had one verse and the un-numbered verses have to be verified.

Prof. Bailey translated lines 1-32. Prof. Emmerick sent me the contents of lines 33-50 which are cited below:

"It is no coincidence that Bailey has translated lines 1-32 separately. What follows is from 33-50 a series of wishes such as are found in other texts. The colophon is found in 50-55 and 56-65 represents another text which also has nothing in common with lines 1-32.

"As for the wishes of lines 33-50 some of them recur elsewhere in the same words and in other cases the formulation is different but the content the same. Thus, lines 33-4 *vījsyāne mulaja ba'ysaṁ* in 'may I behold the primary Buddhas' occurs as *vījsyaune mūlaji ba'ysä* in P 3510.8.3 *KBT* 52. The term *mūlaja* seems to refer to the Dhyāni-Buddhas but I have not found the term in Buddhist tantric texts. Perhaps you can help. Recently von Stietencron told me he knew the term from Hindu tantric texts and he agreed with me as to what the term ought to mean in Khotanese. Still, it would be better to find it attested in the texts.

'May they give the abhiṣeka ... may I behold the *vajrasattvas* ... may I be able to proceed by their rays. May they at all times send forth rays upon me, yellow, white, blue, also red, yellow. ... May I constantly be pure. May I do homage to the endless *deva* Buddhas in the directions and subdirections, together with the Bodhisattvas and the *śrāvakas* respectively ... Whatever *āvaraṇas* I may have accumulated in this birth and in other births ... now you, Buddha-Lions of the *dharma*, remove (these) *karmas*, destroy the *vāsanās*, obscurations. May I turn the excellent wheel of the *dharma*. May I be able to conquer the 18 or 36 *koṭis* of armies of Māra ... May I obtain the four *ṛddhi-pādas* in turn, the six *abhijñās*, the (ability of) moving through the air in the sky so that I may traverse endless *lokadhātus*. May I come to the Vajra family ... may I obtain excellent, noble *siddhi* ... may the beings in the six *gatis* ... in the Abhayapura, where all fears may be removed, obtain the great Buddha-*bhūmis*'.

Lines 45-6 *byehīne* ... *anatti* occur also in P.3513.80v 1-2 *KBT* (translated by Bailey in the Brown volume p.20) but in the third person plural.

The above translation is restricted to what is unproblematic and should give you a reliable guide to the contents of lines 33-50.

Esot. = Lokesh Chandra, *The Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas*, New Delhi, Aditya Prakashan.

Funding by IKS-MoE

22. TRANSLATION AS THE CULTURAL SPACE OF TIBETAN

Translation is the dream space of a language at a critical moment of unknowing when it seeks to endow its words with the immensity and heights of expression, in quest of a new world of higher thought, a dynamised centre for intellection to discover new universes of ideas and new material evolution. From a dialect, it becomes a language of sophistication, a concordance of values and materiality. Let us take an example. Latin literature began as translation from the Greek, that largely conditioned its development. Roman writers absorbed and transfigured the borrowed elements. Whereas the Greeks excelled in abstraction, the Romans had an unusually concrete vision. Their ideal was a blend of culture and kindliness. Cicero the statesman, orator, poet, critic and philosopher developed the Latin language to express abstract and complicated thought with clarity. Alexander the Great had taken scholars to Pergamum, which became a home of learning as well as the eagle's nest of his treasures. It became the earliest home of Greek grammar and grammatical terms like genitive, accusative, aorist are its permanent contributions to the grammars of European languages.

The generative principles of Sanskrit grammar became the linguistic plenum of Latin vocabulary. From simple words related to our biologic needs (like go, sleep, walk, talk *ad infinitum*) there is a qualitative leap to a new vocabulary of learning like alphabet, book, lesson, vowels, consonants, going on to abstract concepts. A simple Latin root like *spec* 'to see' (from Sanskrit *spaś*) gave rise to a few hundred new words: a-spec-t, circum-spec-t, con-spec-tus, in-spec-t, intro-spec-t, per-spec-tive, pro-spec-t, re-spec-t, retro-spec-t, su-spec-t and so on. These processes are referred to by the Tibetan Emperor Khri Lde.sroṅ.btsan in his foreword to the Bam.po.gñis.pa who speaks of the importance of vyākaraṇa, the correlation of Tibetan and Sanskrit syntax, as well as the prefixes *pari*, *sam* and *upa* to be translated in an appropriate manner as *yoṅs.su* 'entirely', *yaṅ.dag.pa* 'truly' or *ñe.ba* 'proximately'. The emperor continues: "But in cases where meaning is not augmented [by them] and there is no need for a surplus of words, use a designation that accords with the meaning." Buddhism has been a major formative linguistic component of many Asian languages, both extinct and extant, like Khotanese, Parthian, Tokharian, Sogdian which became victims of historical processes; or the dynamic Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Cambodian, Thai, Laotian, Simhalese that are alive and creative media in their countries.

Gold and Sutras. The contacts of Sanskrit and Tibetan begin with Emperor Lha.tho.tho.ri who received a casket containing the Kāraṇḍavyūha, other sutras, dhāraṇīs and a golden stupa from India in 373 AC. The Kāraṇḍavyūha is the original scripture of *Om maṇipadme hūṁ*.

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The Tibetan state prospered and the sutras and stūpa became a great blessing. This was during the reign of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta. His name means "who defends the seas" like the song 'Britannia rules the waves' during the imperial glory of the UK. The Gupta Emperors brought an economic and cultural renaissance and a political and strategic deterrant by their international relations in trade and academics. Śrīgupta the founder of the Gupta dynasty realised the importance of trans-oceanic trade with China and built the Cīna-vihāra for Chinese monks near the Nalanda-to-come in later years. Samudragupta must have known that Tibet is rich in gold. The mausoleum of the previous 13th Dalai Lama is embellished with a lavish quantum of gold which was extracted by traditional methods. Kālidāsa speaks of Alakā the city of Kubera in the Himalayas in Meghadūta 2.7. Alakā is explained by the commentator as *Kubera-nagarī*. It reminds us of the golden land of Tibet. Kālidāsa lived during the reign of Kumāragupta I (r. 415-455) in whose honour he composed the Kumārasambhava. Kumāragupta I started the construction of a monastery at Nalanda by building the first convent at the request of Rājavaṁśa, a monk of Uttarāpatha or TransGandhara, probably of Bactria. All the stūpas and monasteries of the NW regions of India were destroyed by the Hūṇas. Sung-yun who visited Gandhara in 520 AC speaks of the devastation of the Hūṇas. The famous Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang says that 1600 stupas and monasteries were razed to the ground by the Hūṇas.

The Gupta emperors were constantly engaged in fighting the Hūṇas and it was but natural that a monk of the NW request Emperor Kumāragupta I to establish a University at Nalanda in the distant east so that Buddhist learning continues unhampered by political turmoil and prospers in peace and freedom. The Bactrians have played a major role in the spread and sophistication of Buddhism. They and Tibetan monks were commanded by Emperor Khri Lde.sroṅ.btsan at his court to prepare a catalogue of the Tibean translations and to collect all the neologisms in Tibetan deriving from Sanskrit, as a preparation for the final redaction of the Mahāvyutpatti. The epic of Gesar from the Latin Caesar and the majestic headgears of the Lamaist hierarchs could go back to the Bactrians who had contacts with the West.

The contacts of India and Tibet continued in border trade and major commercial undertakings in the precious metals. The Yarlung dynasty revered the sutras that had come to the palace of Lha.tho.tho.ri, which were a blessing for the prosperity and happiness of the palace and the people, by the trade avenues it had opened up. There was no one to read the sutras, or to pronounce the dhāraṇīs. They were venerated for 250 years and they kept the desire to comprehend them alive.

Tibetan imperium, script and literary language. Sroṅ.brtsan.sgam.po united the Tibetan clans in a powerful state, shifted the capital from the Yarlung Valley to the more central Ra.sa "City of Goats" which became Lhasa 'City of Gods'. From goats to gods was the mighty ascension to a new order of a powerful central authority. It needed a communication system to reach the remote distances of a sprawling country. For this the Emperor sent Thon.mi Sambhoṭa with sixteen companions to study in India, create a script, and work out a grammar for a standard language. As the tradition goes, Sambhoṭa wrote eight works on grammar, which refer to its model of the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini in eight chapters. The long tradition of transferring the linguistic culture of Sanskrit into Tibetan had begun. The two queens of Sroṅ.brtsan were Buddhists and had brought holy icons from Nepal and China whence they themselves came. Script and sacred images of Buddhism must have been accompanied by sutras whose translation was an imperative under the sagacious policies of Emperor Sroṅ.brtsan. Now Tibet was on way to an alphabetic civilisation.

Early translations. Emperor Khri.sroṅ.lde.brtsan was actively promoting Buddhism and he laid the foundations of the first monastery of Bsam.yas in about 779 AC to train Tibetan monks. He invited Śāntarakṣita, and Padmasambhava to make the country well disposed to Buddhism. Śāntarakṣita was a great philosopher, and Padmasambhava started the interiorisation of local deities into Buddhism as guardians of the faith. Initiation of monks and the tradition of translation of scriptures began in right earnest and by 800 AC a large number had been translated by various lotsavas, as can be seen from the Ldan.dkar catalogue. The immense philosophical literature had to have a common terminology and the next emperor took up this task. About 792 a debate between Indian and Chinese monks was held as to whether Indian or Chinese teachings should be followed. The Indian scholar Kamalaśīla won over the Chinese Hoshang. Tibet was at war with China and this weighed in favour of Kamalaśīla. Henceforth only Sanskrit texts were rendered into Tibetan. Some of these early translations have survived in Tun-huang which was under Tibetan control in 781-848. While these translations are more literal, the revised versions are clearer in precise Tibetan syntax and easier to understand.

Here is a stanza from the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra 14.28 in Sanskrit, early Tibetan translation from a Khotanese manuscript, and the revised Tibetan version. The last quarter of the Sanskrit has not been understood by all the translators. The Sanskrit original means: "O Lord (*vināyaka*), tell the name of that universe (*lokadhātu*)." The early translation has wrongly understood the last quarter and rendered it as "lord of the universe". The genetive *lokadhātor* goes with *nāma* and means "name of the universe". It does not pertain to the Lord (*vināyaka*) which is the vocative case: "O Lord". The revised version has followed the earlier version and did not consult the Sanskrit original. The revised version in the Kanjur (Narthang edition) has the appropriate Tibetan syntax and a better idiomatic style in accord with the genius of Tibetan.

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न ह्येते जातु अस्माभिर्
दृष्टपूर्वाः कदाचन ।
आख्याहि नो तस्य नाम
लोकधातोर्विनायक ॥

Khotanese manuscript

འདི་དག་ ནམ་ཡང་ བདག་ཅག་གིས།
སྔུང་ཆད་ ནམས་གཡང་ མ་མཐོང་ངོ།
གསུང་ཤིག་ དེ་ཡི་ ཞིང་རྣམས་ཀྱི།
མྱིང་ནི་ འཇིག་རྟེན་ཁམས་འདྲེན་པས॥

Nils Simonsson, *Indo-Tibetische Studien*, 1957: 89
Sven Hedin expedition 1927-1933
Ethnographic Museum, Stockholm

Narthang edition

འདི་དག་ ནམ་ཡང་ བདག་ཅག་གིས།
སྔོན་ཆད་ ཡེ་ཡོང་ མ་མཐོང་ན།
དེ་ཡི་ ཞིང་གི་ མིང་རྣམས་ནི།
འཇིག་རྟེན་འདྲེན་པ་ བསྙན་དུ་གསོལ॥

Standardisation of terms. In about 800 AC Emperor Khri.lde.sroṅ.brtsan came to the throne. He convened an assembly to discuss military matters, and to receive tributes. He commanded the Bactrian and Tibetan preceptors to catalogue the texts translated, and to list all the Tibetan coinages of Sanskrit terms. In 814 the Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon of Buddhist terms Mahāvyutpatti was compiled from various texts. The Emperor himself wrote the introduction to its complimentary text in two chapters Bam.po gñis.pa to explain the coining of neologisms as well as the technique of translation. He made the following points:

(i) In his father's time many terms were not in accord with the doctrine or with vyākaraṇa (he uses the Sanskrit term). Hence in the new effort the terms will be in accord with the original texts, with the conventions established according to vyākaraṇa, and the appropriate translation of the plain language.

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(ii) The challenges of syntax in the two languages have to be crossed over by deviating from the order in the original "according to what is easy".

(iii) In the case of homonyms Sanskrit loan words should be used. Gautama means phrase, direction, earth, light, vajra, cow, and heaven. Use a noun in accord with the context.

(iv) In the names of countries, flowers, plants and the like prefix the word with country or flower according to whatever is named, e.g. yul wā.rā.ṇa.si to specify that Varanasi is a place.

(v) Put numbers in the Tibetan way: "one thousand two hundred fifty" and not "thirteen hundred monks with a half".

(vi) Translate prefixes like *pari* by semantically appropriate *yoṅs.su* "entirely". When the meaning is not augmented by them, there is no need of the surplus element.

(vii) Honorific and rank-ordered terms to be used only for Buddhas.

(viii) No person is to correct or form neologisms hereafter. The translators were explicitly forbidden to coin new terms. When it was unavoidable, they were directed to report to a special Commission attached to the Royal Palace (Padma.dkar.po's Annals 102b-103b). These rules promulgated by Emperor Khri.lde.sroṅ.brtsan in 826 have been followed ever since. New coinages of proper names in Tibetan were however common in later times : Mñan.yod for Śrāvastī. The Bam.po gñis.pa is an unparalleled source for principles of translation into Tibetan, and deserves an English translation with extensive annotations.

Creation of a new Tibetan literary language may be illustrated by:

śes 'to know'

śes.rab 'prajñā' (rab = pra)

ye-śes 'jñāna'. ye, ye.nas 'completely', ye.rdzogs 'perfectly'.

From a nomadic dialect, Tibetan arose to a unique world status as the second major classical language after Sanskrit in profundity of expression, clarity of thought, and the power of subtle reasoning. The major classical languages are: Sanskrit, Tibetan, Greek, Latin, Arabic and Chinese. Once Prof. Baldanzhapov of Buryatia said: "One has to be a Bodhisattva to master Tibetan". The lotsavas or Tibetan masters who translated Sanskrit sutras into Tibetan along with Indian masters are celebrated in a marriage song as "jewels granting all wishes". The song follows:

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ཨོཾ་སྭསྟི།
རྒྱ་གར་ བལ་ བོད་སྐད་ བསྒྱུར་ ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་
སྒོས་ མཁས་དབང་ ཐུན་མི་སཾ་བྷོ་ཊ་
སཾ་བྷོ་ཊ་ཡི་ ལུས་ ངག་ དཀའ་སྤྱད་ཀྱིས་
རྒྱ་གར་ དང་ ལི་ཡི་ གནས་མཆོག་ནས་
ཆོས་ཟབ་ བརྒྱད་ མདོ་རྒྱུད་ མང་པོ་ ཞིག
བྱང་ ཁ་བའི་ ཡུལ་ འདིར་ སྤྱན་འདྲེན་ ཕྱར་
གཙང་ དབུས་འགྱུར་ བདེ་ཆེན་ཞིང་ གཉིས་པ་
དཔལ་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་ ལྷུན་པོའི་ ཉེ་འདབས་ཀྱི་
ཡིད་བཞིན་ ནོར་བུས་ གང་བའི་ ཁང་གསར་ ནང་
ནོར་ བསམ་ འཕེལ་ དབང་གི་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་
གདན་ འདྲེན་པ་ ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ བློན་པོ་ལ་
ནོར་ བསམ་ འཕེལ་ དེང་ འདིར་ སྤྱན་ འདྲངས་པའི་
ལེགས་ གསོལ་ཀྱི་ བཀྲ་ཤིས་ དར་ དཀར་ ཕུལ།

(The party of the bridegroom)
Om svasti.
The lotsavas, the translators of Tibet, India and Nepal
And specially the lord of the learned men, Thonmi Sambhoṭa,
With hardships of body and speech like those of Sambhoṭa,
From the holy places of India and Khotan
Introduced here, into this Northern Country of the Snow
The eight deep doctrines and many Sutras and Tantras.
In the same say, in the proximity of the blessed Tashilhunpo
Which is a second Sukhāvatī in the middle of Tsang,
Inside this new house full of jewels granting every wish
You like the minister lotsava (Sambhoṭa) have brought
This powerful king of the jewels granting all sorts of wishes.
We offer this white auspicious scarf (to you)
With our thanks for having brought here this jewel granting all sorts of wishes.

G. Tucci, *Tibetan Folk Songs*, 1966:37, 57-58

Funding by IKS-MoE

Refinement of Tibetan literary culture. With the standardisation of the Tibetan philosophical, ritual, mathematical, astronomical and other terms in the Sutras and Tantras, a vast Buddhist corpus was translated into Tibetan. In the 12th century Sa.skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251, Kapstein p.777) introduced the ideals of literary learning as intellectual excellence. He must have been fluent in Sanskrit to be able to read a Sanskrit text like the Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa. He studied the grammars of Kalāpa and Candra, kāvyas, metrics, science of poetic ornament (alaṅkāra-śāstra), synonymics, dramas, āyurveda, technical sciences (śilpa-śāstra), and astronomy. He introduced a comprehensive program of classical study to the Tibetan world. His exposition of the rasa theory has endured in Tibet till today. His "Eight Ego Poem" reflects his historic contribution:

I am the grammarian. *I* am the dialectician.
Among vanquishers of sophists, peerless am *I*.
I am learned in metrics, *I* stand alone in poetics.
In explaining synonymics, unrivaled am *I*.
I know celestial calculations. In exo- and esoteric science
I have a discerning intellect equaled by none.
Who can this be? Sakya alone!
Other scholars are my reflected forms.

The earliest Japanese collection of poetry the Manyoshu speaks of Japan as "The country where word-souls (*koto-dama*) flourish". The words and ideas of Buddhism have been oneiric sensitivity and summon us : "follow me to the spring and find its secret". The translations from Tibetan would be a glimmer of eternity descending upon the beauty of our world.

Transgression, translation and transcreation. These three levels of rendering remind us of the high onus on our intellect to convey "the fragrance of the blue lotus" in the words of the Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa. Higher language has to be different from common speech in forms of expression that have to produce aesthetic suggestion and ascend to transcension. A Tibetan text on meditation was translated into English, in which the yogic term *kumbhaka* was rendered as 'pot meditation'. It simply means 'retention of the breath within'. This misleading rendering is a transgression, even if it is literal. Translation conveys the meaning of words but misses the waves that shape reveries. Transcreation animates the image within and we become flowering beings. Miranda Shaw has translated a stanza from the Citta-guhya-dohā from the Derge Tanjur in a manner that becomes expanding consciousness:

Who speaks the sound of an echo?
Who paints the image in a mirror?
Where are the spectacles in a dream?
Nowhere at all —
That's the nature of mind.

Miranda Shaw, *Passionate Enlightenment*, p.90

Funding by IKS-MoE

Its Tibetan original is cited from the Thugs.kyi gsaṅ.ba glur.blaṅs.pa zhes.bya.ba, sDe-dge 2443, fol.70a2-3:

brag ciḥi sgra ḥdi su.yis smras/
me.loṅ gzugs.brñan su.yis bris/
rmi.lam ltad.mo gaṅ.du gyis/
gaṅ.na 'aṅ med.do sems.kyi ṅaṅ//

A limp and listless translation loses the very structure and spirit. Transcreation has to be the shadow *en passant* in an effortless innocence to restructure the haunting light and music of words. Failing this, its translator sinks into oblivion.

Funding by IKS-MoE

23. ATIŚA ŚRĪDĪPAṄKARAJÑĀNA

1. The **name** of Atiśa has been translated into Tibetan differently in the colophons of the Tanjur. The variants in the colophons of works in the Peking edition of the Tanjur are listed here, as catalogued by P. Cordier, who has meticulously reproduced the name with all prefixed and suffixed honorifics.

1.1. The appropriate form *Śrīdīpaṅkarajñāna* occurs in the following works:

Tantra 13.40, 41, 42, 44, 14.73, 40.21, 40.22, 47.46, 63.27, 68.11, 69.118, 122, 138, 71.386, 72.71, 72, 82.19

Sūtra 10.2, 29.9, 30.23, 24, 25, 31.4, 8, 10 (~ pāda), 31.11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 32.1, 7, 12, 16, 19, 33.4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 26, 128.10, 11, 136.35

1.2. *Dīpaṅkarajñāna* in Tantra 69.121 and 83.55.

1.3. The short form *Dīpaṅkara* occurs in:

Tantra 13.11, 45, 14.35, 68, 26.80, 40.15 (Śrī ~), 43.29, 31, 47.47, 48.120 (Śrī ~), 121 (Śrī ~), 154 (Śrī ~), 63.28, 81.13, 82.9 (Śrī ~), 29, 45 (~ bhadra), 69, 83.46

Sūtra 27.6, 7, 94.16

1.4. In the form *Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna* (Tib. Mar.me.mdzad.dpal.ye.śes, Cordier 3.290), śrī after Dīpaṅkara represents the Tibetan sequence of the honorific (śrī) coming after the name (Dīpaṅkara). Its restoration has to follow the Sanskrit sequence which will be Śrīdīpaṅkarajñāna. The form Dīpaṅkaraśrījñana has to be corrected to and replaced by Śrīdīpaṅkarajñana which is actually found in Tibetan renderings enumerated in 1.1. Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna occurs in the following titles in Tibetan

Bstod.tshogs 17

Tantra 13.38, 39, 43, 14.72, 74, 75, 26.14, 67, 68, 40.20, 43.10, 40, 48.34 (in the Sanskrit title), 145, 63.15, 26, 31, 66.6, 68.17, 40, 42, 159, 160, 174, 178, 200, 69.113, 120, 135, 76.346, 362, 370, 384, 387, 72.4, 20, 33, 34, 36, 64, 70, 74.5 (Śrījñānadīpaṅkara), 81.10, 21, 82.20, 27, 39, 40, 68, 84.16, 86.14, 56

Sūtra 6, 7.3, 16.14, 18.5, 9, 19.1, 24.3, 30.22, 32, 31.10, 16, 23, 32.9, 11, 33.2, 11, 12, 14, 33.50, 101, 103, 37.10, 11, 54.5, 56.3, 90.5, 12, 21, 94.20, 33, 128.9, 133.1

Dīpaṅkara is the Buddha of the past, Śākyamuni is of the present, and Maitreya of the Future. The images of Dīpaṅkara abound in Gandhara, he predicted the future Śākyamuni's attainment of Buddhahood, and narrative details about him are found in the Mahāvastu 1.193f, a work of the Lokottaravādin school. The name Atiśa is a palimpsest of the painful memories of the destruction of the Bamiyan monastic complex which was the birthplace of Dīpaṅkara Buddha.

2. Meaning and nuances. Atiśa has been translated as Jo.bo.rje in Tibetan. The Sanskrit equivalents of jo.bo and rje are:

Jo.bo = ārya (Nāgānanda 3.7, Mvy. 3757)
= bhartṛ (Buddhacarita)
= bhaṭṭaka (Nāgānanda 94, 101)
= bhaṭṭāraka (ibid. 104)
= vallabha (Kāvyādarśa 2.124, 152)
= vibhu (Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā 24.140)
= svāmin (Nāgānanda 152)
rje = svāmin (ibid. 2.7), Mvy. 18, 4581
rje.po = ārya (Mvy. 3750)

The Tibetan translation seems to reflect atīśa = ati.(rje) īśa (jo.bo) with a long –ī–. Cordier (3.498) has reconstructed jo.bo.chen.po as mahārya. The word ati-śa can be *ati* 'beyond, surpassing, extraordinary, super-' and the rare ending *śa* (Whitney 1889: 471 no. 1229). *śa* is not an abbreviation of *śaya* (in atiśaya). Whitney has clearly contradistinguished the suffix *śa* from formations containing the root *śī*. Though grammatically atiśa is a formation *sui generis*, it may reflect subtle nuances of atiśaya which is a technical term for the thirtyfour superhuman qualities or attributes of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras : (a) 10 atiśayas which are inherent in them since birth, (b) 11 atiśayas that arise when the Tīrthaṅkaras attain transcendental knowledge (*kevala jñāna*), (c) 13 atiśayas of miraculous divine origin. They are detailed in the Jambūdīva-pannatti-saṅgaho and Darśana-pahuḍa commentary (Varni 1970:141).

3. Atiśa in Suvarṇadvīpa. Atiśa is a rare pilgrim who left the homeland of Buddhism for Suvarṇadvīpa to study under Dharmakīrti whom he regarded as one of the four eminent minds who knew the subtleties of philosophical systems of both the Hindus and Buddhists: Dharmakīrti, Ratnākaraśānti *alias* Śāntipa, himself and his disciple Kṣitigarbha. There is none else than these four. On the way to Suvarṇadvīpa when the ship was tossed about his disciple Kṣitigarbha invoked Tārā who guards against shipwreck, one of the eight terrors against which she specialises as Aṣṭabhaya-trāṇa Tārā. The Tibetan account of the journey of Atiśa to Suvarṇadvīpa gives no specific details. Translated by Hubert Decleer, Atiśa's journey to Sumatra, in Donald S. Lopez Jr., *Buddhism in Practice*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1995:532-540.

Atiśa went to Suvarṇadvīpa to study under Dharmakīrti (Gser.gliṅ.pa) from whom he obtained numerous secret precepts and bodhicittotpāda (*Blue Annals* p. 244). Dharmakīrti composed a commentary on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra which was translated by Atiśa and Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po (Cordier 3.278 no.3). Cordier translates its colophon as: Composed by Dharmakīrti of Suvarṇadvīpa in the reign of Deva Śrī Varmarāja (Lha Dpal Go.chaḥi.rgyal.po,), of Cūḍāmaṇi (Gtsug.gi.nor.bu, *alias* Lha.khaṅ gtsug.nor / Cūḍāmaṇi-maṇḍapa), on Mount Malaya, at Vijayanagara (Rnam.par.rgyal.baḥi.groṅ), in Suvarṇadvīpa (Gser.gliṅ). The translation has to be corrected to: Composed by Dharmakīrti of Suvarṇadvīpa in the reign of King Cuḍāmaṇivarman in the Cūḍāmaṇi Monastery on Mount Malaya in Vijayanagara in Suvarṇadvīpa. The Tamil portion of the Larger Leiden Grant says that the Cola king Rājarāja granted the revenues of a village for the upkeep of the shrine of Buddha in the Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra which was being constructed by Cūḍamaṇivarman of Kaḍāra at Nāgapaṭṭana (see details in R.C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* 1.167-9).

Atiśa had two gurus in Suvarṇadvīpa: Dharmakīrti and Dharmapāla the king of Suvarṇadvīpa. The name of one guru of Atīśa, Mitrapāda Dharmakīrti, is mentioned in the colophon of his work Sūtra-samuccaya-sañcay-ārtha (Cordier 3.324 no.32) which he explained to his disciple Tshul.khrims.rgyal.ba. Mitrapāda is short for kalyāṇamitra-pāda.

King Dharmapāla (Tib. Chos.skyoṅ.ba, Gser.gliṅ rgyal.po Dpal.ldan.Chos.skyoṅ) is the author of five works translated into Tibetan by Atiśa.

3.1. Bodhisattvacary-āvatāra-ṣaṭtriṁśat-piṇḍārtha 'annotations on 36 topics in the Bodhicaryāvatāra' authored by Suvarṇadvīpa-guru Dharmapāla the King of Suvarṇadvīpa at the request of his disciples Kamalarakṣita and Atiśa. The king is probably the Paiṇḍapātika Avadhūta of Yavadvīpa (Cordier 3.309 no.6).

3.2 Bodhisattvacary-āvatāra-piṇḍārtha elucidates 11 main topics in the Bodhicary-āvatāra, by the Suvarṇadvīpa-guru Dharmapāla on the demand of his two disciples named in the foregoing paragraph (Cordier 3.309 no.7).

3.3. Satya-dvay-āvatāra by Atiśa. The colophon mentions Bhavya, Candrakīrti, and Kuru phala i.e. Guru Dharmapāla the King of Suvarṇadvīpa and Bhikṣu Devamati (Cordier 3.314 no.9). Literal reproduction in Cordier 3.336 no.3.

3.4. Śikṣā-samuccay-ābhisamaya is a résumé in one folio, by the King of Suvarṇadvīpa Śrī Dharmapāla, explained to his disciples Kamala[rakṣita] and Atiśa (Cordier 3.325-6 no.4). Literal reproduction in Cordier 3.356 no.87.

3.5. Bodhisattvacary-āvatāra-bhāṣya of Atiśa, commentary divided into ten sections, following the views of the Suvarṇadvīpa-guru Dharmapāla.

The Tanjur specifies that four texts were translated by Atiśa and Nag.tsho lotsava in the Vikramaśilā Monastery itself:

Triratna-Tārā-stotra (26.14 p.115, 61b8-62a4).

Saṁsāra-mano-niryāṇīkāra-saṅgīti, authored by Atiśa (Cordier 47.46 p.227, 267b1-269a8).

Kāya-vāk-citta-supratiṣṭhā by Atiśa, translated by him and Rgya lotsava (Cordier 48.154 p. 257, 316a1-322a1).

Ārya-Tārā-devī-stotra Muktikā-mālā nāma by Candragomin *alias* Amaracandra (Cordier 82.40 p. 186, 178b6-181a8).

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These are short texts but it is interesting that Nag.tsho lotsava could prevail upon Atiśa to translate them during his stay at Vikramaśilā itself.

Atiśa translated the Bodhisattva-bhūmi-vṛtti, along with Nag.tsho lotsava. This commentary was written by Guṇaprabha, the guru of Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya of Sthāṇvīśvara (mod.Thanesar) who ruled from 606-648 AC (Cordier Mdo 54.5 p. 3.381).

4. Atiśa and the offering of gold. King Ye.śes.ḥod had to sacrifice his life to collect gold for being offered to Atiśa to come to Tibet to spread the Dharma. Though he had relinquished his royal duties, he continued to be the commander of the armies. When he heard of the fame of Atiśa as the leading scholar of Vikramaśilā, he sent a messenger to offer him a bar of gold and invite him to Tibet. The attempt was unsuccessful. The King organised expeditions in the neighbouring kingdoms to collect a large amount of gold to invite Atiśa. He ventured into the territory of Gar.log who were the Turkish Muslim Qarluγ tribe. He was defeated, taken prisoner, and a ransom of gold was demanded. His grand-nephew Byaṅ.chub.ḥod organised the collection of gold throughout Tibet. When he went to the Gar.log court, the gold was not sufficient to cover the ransom. Ye.śes.ḥod said: do not give any grain of gold to this king. Convey to Atiśa that the King of Tibet has fallen into the hands of the Gar.log collecting gold for the diffusion of Dharma and for the paṇḍita himself. The paṇḍita should therefore vouchsafe his blessings. Byaṅ.chub.ḥod parted from his grand-uncle in tears and returned to invite Atiśa, and his efforts were successful. Ye.śes.ḥod was murdered in prison. For Indian scholars Tibet was a land of gold and gold bars were offered by the Tibetan lotsavas to invite them to their land. In 373 during the reign of Samudragupta, Lha.tho.tho.ri Gñan.btsan the king of Tibet received a golden stūpa and two books on blue paper impregnated with lapis lazuli written with purest gold ink. One of the books was the Za.ma.tog or Kāraṇḍavyūha the source of the prayer *Oṁ maṇipadme hūṁ*. Nobody could decipher the books as there was no written language in Tibet, but they were regarded with the deepest respect. By virtue of faith and devotion Tibetan people enjoyed peace and prosperity. This prosperity was due to the export of gold from Tibet to India under the far-sighted international vision of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta whose very name implies the control of transnational oceanic trade on the one hand, and opening up economic relations with the Land of Snows in the Himalayas. Kālidāsa's Meghadūta speaks of Alakā, the city of Kubera the God of Riches in the Himalayas: a veiled reference to the golden land of Tibet. The global vision of the Gupta emperors had become engrained in the Indian psyche : from the Suvarṇabhūmis of SE Asia, Kubera also had a home in the snowy north.

5. Atiśa and the transGandhara North-West. The name of Atiśa Śrīdīpaṅkarajñāna is interesting as it reminds of Dīpaṅkara who is the Buddha of the Past, while Śākyamuni is the Buddha of the Present and Maitreya is the Buddha of the Future. He is completely absent in Pali suttas, and only late Pali works say that the future Śākyamuni first vowed to become a Buddha in

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the presence of Dīpaṅkara. Images of Dīpaṅkara abound in Gandhara but are absent from other sites. He was born in Rammavatī or Ramyaka which is the modern Lamkan or Lamghan Valley. Bamiyan is situated in this valley. The colossi of Bamiyan were the wonder of the Buddhist cosmopolis. Bamiyan was desecrated and portable images were carried to Baghdad in 871. The colossi continued to be worshipped. In the early 11th century, Lāme'i Gorganī sings of the evocative power of the adorned Buddhas, dazzling in their pure beauty. These details of ornamentation are confirmed by fresco paintings of East Iranian Buddhist lands: dark blue veil over the red drapery of the robe, the circular golden earrings with pearl pendants, the crowned heads, and the silken robes. The panegyric of Gorganī runs:

The rose-bushes are like the adorned Buddhas of the vihāra
With blue upper breasts and red veils
A hundred golden earrings in the ears of each one
Having scattered gems over these earrings:

Buddhas wrapped in silks and robes they are
All these sweet basils and fruit-bearing trees.

Having laid their crowns on their heads and taken their cups
And filled their arms with agates and emeralds.

The name of Atiśa recalls the splendours of the colossi in the birthplace of Dīpaṅkara. The word *Ati*śa also reminds of *Ati*deva an earlier incarnation of Śākyamuni who belonged to Rammavatī (mod.Lamkan valley) in the commentary on the Buddhavaṁsa (Malalasekera 1937 : 52). Dīpaṅkara is imagined to have been eighty cubits in height. Does the word Atiśa refer to such an extraordinary height?

6. Atiśa and the global vision. Atiśa represents the Indian vision of the Buddhist cosmopolis, initiated by Śrīgupta the founder of the Gupta dynasty in the fourth century. Śrīgupta constructed the Cīna-vihāra for Chinese monks to study Buddhism. The monks accompanied transnational merchants for safe voyage on the high seas. Śrīgupta realised the important role of the monastic community and ensured trade by enabling the monks to study in favourable conditions in a special monastery for them. I-tsing says that Nalanda was established by King Śrī-Śakrāditya *alias* Kumāragupta I on the request of bhikṣu Rājavaṁśa from Uttarāpatha or Trans-Gandhara region, as the monasteries had been destroyed by the Hūṇas. Hsüan-tsang mentions that 1600 monasteries and stupas lay in ruins. The Gupta emperors were also in mortal combat with the Hūṇas. Founded in 415 AC Nalanda was enlarged by successive Gupta emperors. As narrated earlier, Samudragupta commenced bilateral relations with Lha.tho.tho.ri the King of Tibet. As the name implies Samudragupta had a clear policy of oceanic trade with SE Asia where Sanskrit inscriptions of 400

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AC have been found. Kālidāsa speaks of the Hūṇas and Persians in the conquests of Raghu, of ships bringing cardamom-laden cargo from Dvīpāntara (Indonesia), begins the Kumārasambhava with an evocative reference to the Himalayas and refers to the Kailash Mountain in Tibet as the abode of Kubera. TransGandhara in the NW, Indonesia in the SE and Tibet in the North had become a grand vision of the Buddhist cosmopolis in the Indian mind. Atiśa's name, with Dīpaṅkara, his studies in Suvarṇadvīpa and finally his mission in Tibet represent the golden heights of this vision in the philosophical, literary and artistic evolution of Tibet in the second millenium.

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24. THE MONASTERY OF HEMIS

A deep blue sky, and small cheerful clouds in their perennial course from peak to peak of the Himalayas take us to the monastery of Hemis. A sanctum shrouded in myth which is vast, beautiful and noble in all its symbols of the nocturnal and the primitive. Its architecture arising in harmony with its surroundings distinguished by simplicity of elementary lines, its solemn proportions, and courageous structures suggesting a fortress of strength. It shares the beauty of the horizons and colours of these high plateaus.

The monastery of Hemis was founded in the 17th century by Senge Namgyal, the king of Ladakh who lived from about 1570-1642. Senge Namgyal is the greatest of Ladakhi kings who waged war against the kingdom of Guge for fifteen long years and finally reduced it to naught. Guge was then a mighty kingdom, as well as the most celebrated and dynamic centre of art and culture of Himalayan Buddhism. Kings of Guge enjoyed glorious renown for their patronage to the arts. For five centuries, they had brought artists from Kashmir to embellish the monastic centres of their kingdom.

King Senge Namgyal vied with the vanished glories of Guge and constructed the fort-like palace which dominates the town of Leh, as well as monasteries like Hemis. These monasteries were intended to consecrate and stabilise his sovereignty in a syndrome of philosophy, ritual and architecture in a grand design to assure the peace and security of his realm, in an ever-continuing process of consolidating the kingdom in a harmony of the head of state and his people on the deeper levels of a shared awareness.

King Senge Namgyal promoted the Drukpa Kagyupa Order in his dominions. Monasteries, like Hemis, founded by him all over the land pertained to this order. The Drukpa continue the traditions of Indian *haṭhayoga* which engage in hard exercises that open subtle channels of correspondence between the body and the spirit. Their extra-sensorial and supersensible feats lead to a return to Initial Unity. Gods are the symbols and supports for meditation to get a glimpse of the mystery beyond things, to attain a palingenesis into higher planes of cosmic consciousness.

The monastery of Hemis has a remarkable treasure of Buddhist bronzes of Kashmir in a temple known as Zabkhang 'Elegant Room'. These stem from the spoils of wars against Guge. The glorious art heritage of Guge goes back to the 10th-11th century when it played a decisive role in the renaissance of Buddhism. In a fervid movement of renewal to disseminate Buddhism with greater purity of faith the temples were rendered more attractive, in a manner worthy of the classical artistic traditions of India. Seventyfive Kashmiri masters were invited. The vestiges of ruined temples of Guge bear evident traces of Kashmiri craftsmen's work: bronzes and wooden

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portals sculpted with soft suppleness and plastic relief. The northernmost projections of the classical traditions which were transmitted from Ajanta and Ellora in the form of Kashmiri idiom survive today in the Kashmiri bronzes of Hemis and in the mural paintings at Alchi and Tabo. Nothing else has come down to us of ancient Kashmiri painting: we lack even manuscripts ornamented with miniatures. From later copies of the Kashmiri idiom, we find figures drawn with extreme delicacy, frequent golden backgrounds, haloes irridiscent like rainbows. The figures are slender, tall, with no trace of the plumpness apparent in the Pala and Nepalese schools. There is a well-defined preference for erect and supple postures, wherein a slight undulation of the body replaces the classical *tribhaṅga*.

The 'Dark Treasury' at Hemis needs a survey of its treasures which may give us a glimpse into the modulations of the artistic currents that have penetrated into these snowbound regions together with the diffusion of sacred and secular texts.

In the Lhakhang nyingpa or 'Old Temple' we see the finest murals of the 17th century, like that of Lama Shambhunath, or that of Mila-raspa in a cave, skillfully painted into a central alcove. This temple preserves miniatures of the life of Śākyamuni in a spectrum of brilliant colours. The left wall is decorated with Vajradhara, the root of all manifestations, a spotless brightness which owing to its own inner law must expand into a manifest universe. The outstanding masters of the Kagyupa hierarchy are also portrayed. The sibylline and august, fierce and implacable, serene and smiling figures symbolise the eternal process of the universe. The artistic catharsis is complete in the crystalline impersonality of principles.

Hemis, Alchi and other monasteries of Ladakh deserve immediate attention. Once properly explored and documented, they will reveal the Buddhist traditions of Himalayas in space and time, in unexpected links and affinities, throw light on whole orders of facts, and unroll the immense pageant of ages and peoples.

25. ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KOROS (KŐRÖSI CSOMA SANDOR)

(also see *Cultural Horizons of India*, 1.191-193)

A cold morning in the winter of 1936. The city was Lahore. The frozen winds lashed against the faces of father and son—Prof. RaghuVira and myself—as we drove in a horse-carriage (tonga) to a world of excitement, a world of fantasy and legend. My father was going to negotiate a set of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, the Kanjur, xylographed at the monastic printery of Derge in Eastern Tibet, famous for the clarity of its print and accuracy of its readings. I was nine years of age and could feel only the howling cold gales rending the moments with chill and shivering. In about an hour father and me were at the residence of an Indian official who was posted in the Indian Trade Mission at Yatung in Tibet. He was draped in the regalia of Tibetan brocades, which struck wonder and awe in me while my father explored the possibilities of procuring the Derge Canon. When we were back home, I asked my father about the splendid brocades and the country whence they came. Father told me that they were from Tibet in the lap of the mighty Himalayas which Kālidāsa has described as the 'Soul of the Gods' देवतात्मा. Curiosity impelled me to request father if I could learn the language of Tibet and go there when I am grown up. The next day my father brought the Tibetan Grammar of Alexander Csoma de Koros. It was a big book, venerable in age, and with the strikingly ornamental Lantsha script. I exclaimed "How fortunate was de Kőrös to have been to the Tibetan regions. One day I will visit Tibetan regions and the country of Kőrösi Csoma". Henceforth Hungary became a land of dreams. This feeling for Hungary as a great cultural light was further enhanced when in 1938 I read *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks* by Sir Aurel Stein wherein he points out that his epoch-making discovery of the Tun-huang grottos was prompted by Professor de Loczy the head of the Hungarian Geological Survey who had recognised the artistic interest of the mural paintings and stucco sculptures which bid the onlooker to accompany them into worlds of luminous beauty. Sir Aurel Stein (1862-1943) was himself born at Budapest on 26 November 1862. So Hungary emerged as a land glowing with discoveries of the vigour of India's cultural history.

"Spending two years walking on foot from Hungary to India, then subsisting for years on 15-20 rupees a month in a wind-swept monastery at an altitude of 10,000 feet, this quiet and modest man of letters puts the twentieth century jet-set scholars to shame". (H. Kuloy, Duka's Life, 1970 reprint).

Quest of roots and laurels. "Being familiarised with the language and general contents of the Buddhistic works of Tibet, the author thought himself happy in having found an easy access to the whole Sanskrit literature. To his own nation he felt pride in announcing that the study of Sanskrit would be more satisfactory to it than to any other people in Europe. The Hungarians would find a fund of information from the study of the Sanskrit respecting their origin, manners, customs, and language". (Kőrösi Csoma about himself in the foreword to his grammar).

Kőrösi Csoma is a National Hero of the Hungarian people, who set out of his country in quest of the origins of his people. Young poets still celebrate him in poems. Magyari Lajos (born in 1942) published his poems on Kőrösi Csoma in 1970. "He is the son of the same Hungarian tribe, called Szekely, from which the hero of his poem came at the end of the 18th century. The Szekelys live in the south-eastern corner of the Carpathians. They regard themselves as the descendants of the Huns, the first Hungarians, who established an empire in the Pannonian Basin under the reign of Attila in the fourth century. The Szekelys, this proud, clever and courageous folk have preserved a number of traditions. For example, they used their ancient Runic script, scored into sticks, till the middle of the sixteenth century".

Magyari Lajos wrote the poems *Alexander Csoma de Koros' Legacy*. They were reprinted in 1976 at Debrecen (Hungary). Their editor Laszlo Kadar writes: "A. Kőrösi, the Christian theologian became Buddhist in Ladakh. We do not know whether, or not, he thought or knew that, when doing so he found his way back to his forefathers' religion. Nevertheless, reading his work on the history of Buddhism one gets the impression that the Huns, or, at least a part, or a social stratum of them, were Buddhists when they arrived in the Carpathian Basin.

"A. Csoma de Koros died on April 11th, 1842, in Darjeeling on his way to Lhasa. As the report of his death spread over his homeland, the veneration of his compatriots for his puritan personality and self-sacrificing patriotism grew from year to year and from generation to generation. Today he rates as one of the most popular great men of his nation. Meanwhile his reputation increased in the Buddhistic World, too. The Taisho University in Tokyo acknowledged him as a bodhisattva in 1933".

Kőrösi Csoma arrived in India in 1822 and spent the rest of his life here. He became an eternal bond in the friendship between the peoples of India and Hungary, and in the scholarly world the founder of Tibetan philology and Tibetan Buddhist studies. In India, Kőrösi Csoma became enamoured of the Tibetan language in all its mysterious obscurity. He opened up a vast vista of the treasures of art and thought, literature and philosophy, grammar and lexicography, medicine and metallurgy, astronomy and alchemy and other branches of learning of India hidden in the Tibetan language. The dark recesses of India's history shone afresh by the dedicated and pioneering efforts of Kőrösi Csoma. He analysed under a thousand works in the Kanjur which had been translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan. These researches were published from Calcutta in 1836 in the *Asiatic Researches* (vol.20, pages 41-93, 393-585: Analysis of the Kanjur). This 'Analysis' became a foundation for the interpretation of another discipline in Indic studies: the Chinese translations of Sanskrit texts could now be correlated to their original Sanskrit titles as preserved in the Tibetan Kanjur.

In 1875 the great collection of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was presented to the India Office by the Government of His Imperial Majesty of Japan. Rev. J. Summers remarked in his *Descriptive*

Catalogue of the Chinese, Japanese, and Manchu Books in the Library of the India Office, 1872 p.iv: "The title of a (Chinese) book is often untranslatable". When Bunyio Nanjio, a disciple of Max Müller, applied himself to the task of describing the Chinese Tripiṭaka, he succeded in identifying their Sanskrit titles with the help of Kőrösi Csoma's Analysis of the Kanjur. For instance, Nanjio no. 1022 which was translated into Chinese by Fa-hsien in 982-1001 AC, has a general title **Buddha-bhāṣita yoga-mahātantra-rāja-sūtra,* which could be specified only by using Kőrösi Csoma's Analysis (A.R. 20.500) as the *Māyājāla-mahātantra.*

Text no. 1027 of Nanjio has the Chinese title *Fo-shuo (Buddha-bhāṣita) i-ch'ieh (sarva) ju-lai (tathāgata) chin-kang (vajra) san-yeh (tri-karma) tsui-shang (anuttara) pi-mi (guhya) ta-chiao (mahātantra) wang (rāja) ching (sūtra).* It was translated by Dānapāla (980-1000). The Chinese title has become explanatory and its correct Sanskrit title can be known only with the help of Kőrösi Csoma (A.R. 20.496).

The *Mahāmaṇi-vipula-vimāna-viśva-supratiṣṭhita-guhya-parama-rahasya-kalparāja-dhāraṇī* is known from Kőrösi Csoma (A. R. 20.509). It was translated into Chinese thrice: each time under a different title. The Chinese titles did not necessarily correspond to the original Sanskrit title verbatim, due to stylistic reasons and quite often they were intentionally altered for better comprehension by the Chinese. The earliest but anonymous translation (Nj. 536) of the dhāraṇī done during the Liang dynasty (502-557 AC) bears the title *Mou-li (mauli) man-t'a-lo (maṇḍala) chou (mantra) ching (sūtra).* The second translation (Nj. 535) was done by Bodhiruci in 706 under a Chinese title which can be rendered literally into Sanskrit as *Vipula-mahāmaṇi-vimāna-supratiṣṭhita-guhya-dhāraṇī-sūtra.* The last translation (Nj. 1028) was by Amoghavajra (746-771) under the title *Ta-pao (mahāmaṇi) kuang (vipula) po-lou-ko (vimāna) shan-chu (supratiṣṭhita) pi-mi (guhya) t'o-lo-ni (dhāraṇī) ching (sūtra).* This title is closest to the Sanskrit in word-sequence as well as in verbal faithfulness.

Chinese titles deviated from the Sanskrit and they were approximations rather than exact translations in most cases. This fact was overshadowed by the fidelity of the Tibetan translations of Sanskrit titles, which gave rise to a vague but widely spread feeling that Sanskrit titles were reflected homonymically in other languages of Asia as well. This state of affairs is reflected in a statement by A. B. Keith "How the Chinese version of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, 'that which is adorned by poetic invention', came to bear the style Sutrālaṁkāra, remains an unexplained problem." *(A History of Sanskrit Literature,* Oxford 1928, preface p. ix). The Chinese title of this text (Nj. 1182) is:

Ta	*chuang-yen*	*ching*	*lun*
mahā	*alaṅkāra*	*sūtra*	*śāstra*

Here Nanjio translates Chinese *chuang-yen* by Sanskrit *alaṅkāra.* It can equally well be *maṇḍitikā.* It was translated by Kumārajīva in 405 AC and he is one of the best translators of Sanskrit into Chinese who could retain proximity to the original along with the elegance of Chinese style. Even he missed *kalpanā* in the title and, replaced it by *ta (mahā).* In the Chinese translation of Asaṅga's commentary (Nj. 1190) on it, by Prabhākara-mitra in 630-633 AC, *ta* was replaced by *ta-shang 'mahāyāna': Ta-shang (mahāyāna) chuang-yen (alaṅkāra) ching (sūtra) lung (śāstra=commentary).*

In 973-981 AC Fa-t'ien (Dharmadeva?) translated the *Jambhala-jalendra-kalpa* into Chinese under the title: *Fo-shuo (Buddha-bhāṣita) shêng (ārya) Pao-tsang (Ratnagarbha) shên (ṛddhi) i-kuei (kalpa) ching (sūtra).* Here Nanjio 1045 has mistranslated Pao-tsang shên, which is to be corrected to Jambhala-deva, though he cites the correct title from the Tibetan as *Jambhala-jalendra-yathālabdha-kalpa.* Jambhala could never have been restored from the Chinese without the help of Kőrösi Csoma's Analysis of the Kanjur. In the next title no. 1046, Nanjio was aware of the correct Sanskrit title from Kőrösi, as he says: "the above two works [namely 1045, 1046] agree with Tibetan". Yet he failed to cite the precise Sanskrit title *Jambhala-śrī-dhāraṇī* (A.R. 20.541 no. 15) and gave only its verbatim correspondence to Chinese: *Fo-shuo (Buddha-bhāṣita) Pao-tsang-shên (Ratnagarbha-ṛddhi, Jambhala) ta-ming (mahā-vidyā) man-na-lo (maṇḍala) i-kuei (kalpa) ching (sūtra).* This wrong Sanskrit reconstruction has been taken over by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine,* tome II p. 593 no. 94, and Hōbōgirin 1283 repeats the title of Nanjio 1045 with a question-mark. The errors committed by Nanjio in identifying Sanskrit captions of Chinese texts have been repeated over the years, and it is an urgent desideratum that a comparison of the Chinese and Tibetan titles is taken up to assign the appropriate Sanskrit title. The pioneering studies of Kőrösi Csoma opened up the way for Nanjio, but his legacy can now be enriched by new findings and long-awaited cross-cultural studies. The quadri-lingual collection of dhāraṇīs from the Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka redacted by Lcaṅ.skya Rol.paḥi.rdo.rje and edited by the present author, is a formidable help in correcting several Sanskrit titles in Nanjio.

Nanjio 1021 *A-li to-lo t'o-lo-ni a-lu-li ching*=Ārya-tārā(?)-dhāraṇī(?) a-lu-li(?) sūtra. The same erroneous reconstruction is repeated by Bagchi (II.570 no. 8), who cites TL 80b9 as saying that it is the 14th section entitled *a-lu-li* of the *A-li to-lo t'o-lo-ni.* The correct Sanskrit title would be: Ārolik-sūtra of the Ārya-Tārā-dhāraṇī. Ārolik is a famous mantra, whose maṇḍalas are illustrated in scrolls at the Daigoji monastery (Taishō Zuzō 93.7), Kōnen's collection of maṇḍalas copied in 1187 AC (Taishō Zuzō 98 text 73), Genshō's collection of maṇḍalas (Taishō Zuzō 99.21).

These instances can be multiplied to hundreds which highlight the fundamental relevance of Kőrösi Csoma's researches into Asian literature in general and to Indian in particular. By his untiring labours, a new discipline was born, and India emerged for the East what Greece was for the West: *l'Inde, cette Grèce excessive:* the birthplace of philosophical ideas and influences in the art and poetry of Asia, a tremendous influence of logic and light, as well as symbols, fantasies and intuitions, in the millenia of Buddhism.

Since 1936 Kőrösi Csoma's works have been my companions to lead me into the Tibetan language and its illumined literature. Even since I dreamt of visiting Hungary for years. In September 1975 the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi made it possible for me to pay a visit to Budapest and to discuss scientific problems of Eurasian history with leading scholars at the Central Asian Department of the University at Budapest led by Prof. L. Ligeti and Prof. G. Kara and at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Dr. J. Terjek, who is in charge of the Kőrösi Csoma Collection at the Academy of Sciences, located the 'Iskandar Papers' which are the basis of the pioneering researches of Kőrösi Csoma on Himalayan Buddhism. Alexander Csoma de Koros had persianised his name to 'Iskandar Beg' while passing through Iran on his way to India. This name stuck and it is found at the beginning of or in the colophons to compendia that were written by Ladakhi Lamas for him. These compendia, which form an integral part of the rich literary heritage of Kőrösi Csoma were published for the first time under the sponsorship of the Kőrösi Csoma Society, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the International Academy of Indian Culture. It is the first scientific collaboration between Indian and Hungarian scholars to unravel the fundamental contributions of Kőrösi Csoma to the understanding of Indian history.

To honour the memory of the great Hungarian pioneer of intercultural studies, it is our responsibility to correlate the Buddhist texts in different languages whose key was first discovered in the analysis of the Kanjur by Kőrösi Csoma.

529	Academy of Plato closed by Justinian I
1646-1716	Leibniz: Scythian origin of the languages of Europe
1781	Hungarian Pañcatantra
1784	Kőrösi born in April 1784
	Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society
1786	On 2 Feb 1786 William Jones pointed out a common source of Greek, Latin and Sanskrit
1789	Jones' translation of Śākuntala in English
1791	German translation of Śākuntala and the poets Herder and Goethe
1802	Schlegel's Romantic School and search for roots
	Hungary's academic traditions in German mould
1815-18	Kőrösi goes to Germany to study at Göttingen
1816	Bopp's discovery of Indo-European and the idea of development or evolution
1818	James Mill, History of British India
1819	Kőrösi leaves for India in February to find the origins of his people. In pursuing a dream he accomplished a reality. His lone companion was a dream: diaphanous in reality, but substantive in spirit.
1822	Kőrösi arrived in Lahore on 12 March 1822, the capital of Maharaja Ranjit Singh
	Went to Ladakh in June
	Studied Georgi's Alphabetum in the winter
1823	Raja Ram Mohan Roy (11 Dec 1823) advocates elimination of all classical learning

1825	Zanskar: Braving intense cold with frugal meals, half-freezing in the heights of the Himalayas, Kőrösi discovered an unimagined quantum of Sanskrit texts in Tibetan translations unknown to the academic world
1825	Kőrösi submitted proposals to the Govt. for a Tibetan dictionary in May
1827	Spring: introduced to Lord Amherst
1829	Five Indians admitted to the Asiatic Society, including Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore
1831	Tamasko wrote on grammatical cases in Sanskrit and short poems in Sanskrit
1834	Kőrösi's Dictionary and Grammar of Tibean published
1834-37	Kőrösi studied Sanskrit
1835	Macaulay's Minute on Education (2 Feb 1835)
1836	Analysis of Kanjur published (Sanskrit literature beyond India's frontiers)
1841	Montstuart Elphinstone, The History of India
1842	Left for Lhasa at the age of 58 in February
	Died peacefully on 11 April
1843	Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar
1852	PW (Sanskrit German Dictionary)
1859	Darwin, Origin of Species
1865	Overture Sakuntala composed by Goldmark which won him Govt. recognition
1875	Chinese Tripiṭaka received at the India Office Library, London.
1883	Bunyiu Nanjio used the Analysis of the Kanjur to catalogue the Tripiṭaka
1900	Aurel Stein's expedition to Central Asia
1902	Tenshin with the Tagores: India's cultural renaissance
	The Bengal school under the inspiration of the Tagores
	Influence of Japanese brushes, designs.
1921	Baktay wrote on India
1926	Tagore's visit to Hungary
	Brunners, mother and daughter, came to India
1930	Amrita Shergil
1958	Sandor Weores, the greatest artist of beauties of the Hungarian language of our days, carried out a translation of some parts of the Gītagovinda. It resonates the rhythm, melody and ideas of the Sanskrit original.
1959, 1961	Two volumes of Tagore's works in Hungarian
1962	Indo-Hungarian Cultural Agreement.

26. GEORGE ROERICH AND TIBETAN STUDIES

The mind-ground of the Roerich family. The Roerichs were a well-spring of the profound depths of the being of Russia. In them flowed the several images of sonorous and silent plenitude of their sacred soil. They descended from the first Russian dynasty founded by Chieftain Rurik at Novgorod 'The New Metropolis'. As founders of the Russian State in 958 they were the deeper dimensions of identity.

The cultural persona of Russia is embodied in her language and her rich traditions. Russian united the various strands on the soil of Russia into a Slavic identity, which betokened close ties with India. The word *Slav* has been interpreted in several ways. One is that *slava* means 'glory', namely 'a glorious people'. *Slava* is cognate to the Sanskrit word *śravas* 'glory'. Uccaiḥ-śravas is the horse of Indra, the King of the Gods. Some times the word *Slav* has been interpreted as *slovo* 'word', a people with language. The Slavs have always been proud of their language. They occupy a place of eminence among Indo-Europeans who have retained a number of ancient words in their daily language unchanged for the last five thousand years. The continuity of the Slav personality is unique, a continuity which has to be borne in mind when we speak of the future of Russia. Yet another etymology has been proposed that links the Slavic people as those who come from near the river. The Slavic languages are part of the Balto-Slavic system of languages, and they share certain innovations with Indo-Iranian and Armenian within the Indo-European family. There is a fundamental nexus between the Baltic and the Slavic languages. The Proto-Slavic languages are supposed to have started somewhere in the third millennium BC. This linguistic identity was maintained for four thousand years till the end of the 9th century when Proto-Slavic was still a language understood by tribes scattered over remote parts of Europe. It is a unique phenomenon in the history of European languages. A sense of eternity was enshrined in the close-knit ties of the different Slavic peoples. The Slavs expanded into the Finno-Ugrian and Baltic areas. The Volga and Don region and Moscow were Finnish. The migration of the Slavs into the present Russian areas is a comparatively recent event. The word Novgorod is a clear indication that it was a new town. At the invitation of the Slavs of the town the Varangian nobleman Rurik captured Novgorod. The Varangians were soon Russified. The Roerich family is one of the first royal families of the Russians, and as such the legend developing around Nikolai Roerich has a historic symbolism. We the Indians are a people not only of the word, not only of facts, but also of the myth. To us myth is an expression of a fact that has been, is and will be: the myth is co-terminous with the three periods of time: the past, the present and the future. The Russians too have a deep sense of the continuity of the flow of time. Slavic regions, like Austria and Bavaria,

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were Germanised in historic periods. Once again the historical nexus between the Russians and the Germans is coming up in the economic field.

The Slavs have preserved vivid memories of the original speech. Words are still close to Sanskrit, like *brat* for *bhrātā* 'brother', the Slavic word *rudru* 'red' is akin to Sanskrit *rudhira* 'blood', *rudhira* in Sanskrit has lost its primary meaning and is used in its secondary connotation of 'blood'. The word *snegu* means 'snow' in Slavic, and is identical to the Sanskrit root *snih* 'to have affection', or *sneha* 'love'. The Russian word *gora* for 'mountain' is Sanskrit *giri.* Thus the Russians and Indians share a linguistic heritage in the domain of nature. Some of these sharings are so basic that our relationships are going to become more intense in the world of the mind. As members of the great European family the Russians are going to veer more and more to the West. While their bodies will be turned to the West, their minds will be tuned to India. An inner fundamentality holds us together. The word *mat* for mother is the same as Indian *mātā,* though the word for father *otec* is a non-Sanskritic word. It is interesting that the word for father is non-Indic while the word for mother is. The word *pitā, pitar* occurs in most European languages but not in Russian: what transpired in the passing of centuries is anybody's guess. There are other common words denoting family relationships: like *snokha, snuṣā* in Sanskrit for daughter-in-law. The fundamental expressions that are common in the field of family, or of nature, are a crucial linguistic affinity. In Proto-Slavic grammar all the seven cases of Sanskrit were preserved till the ninth century, while Indian languages had lost these seven cases *(vibhakti)* around the fourth century. Besides symbols from the first millennium of the Christian era, the Russians and Indians will evolve new parameters woven around our shared heritage in the present millennium.

nature

physically western

mentally Eastern

family

During the Second World War a slogan that fired the Russian mind was *zhivyot rodina mat,* and till a few decades ago its posters were prominently displayed at the House of Soviet Culture at New Delhi. This sentence springs from the deeps of the Slavic mind. *Zhivyot* is a Rigvedic form *jīvyāt* "may live long". *Rodina* occurs in the Ṛgveda as *rodasī;* thereafter it has disappeared in Sanskrit, while it is alive in Russian. The sense of linguistic longevity in Russia is strong. The word *rodasī* means 'heaven and earth' in the Ṛgveda, but in Russian it is found in the singular. The Russian *mat* is *mātā.* The whole phrase means: "may Mother Earth live long". This is the slogan that made Russia impregnable to the Nazi might, as it is the within of the soil of Mother Russia, and the mystic fire of the mind of the Russian peasant.

Honey has played an important role in Russian life. The ancient chronicles refer to the Russians as producers of honey. In the 19th century when a Slavic language like Czech was fighting for its existence vis-à-vis German, its speakers said that our language is more ancient than French and German, as our language is closer to Sanskrit, hence more classical, and so our language has a right to full-fledged expression. The example they gave was *stara matra dati medu: stara* is *sthavirā* 'old', *matra* is 'mother', *dati* is 'gives', *medu* is *madhu:* 'the old mother gives honey'. Since ancient times *madhu-parka* has been a classical tradition of offering honey to a guest on arrival. Ancient Russian chronicles provide evidence that this was a popular way of welcoming a guest among them too.

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The conjugation of verbs was remarkably preserved in Old Slavic, for example *buditi* is Sanskrit *bodhayati.* The suffix *ti* was prevalent till a thousand years ago in Old Slavic. The continuity of language is tenacious in the Russian mind, besides zealous dedication to the land: that is why *zhivyot rodina mat* became a potent war cry. In Indo-European languages there are three words for God. The word *God* comes from ancient **ghūta* when God was invoked, *hūta* in Sanskrit. The second expression is *deva* 'divine, the shining one', from *div* 'to shine'. The Russians have a third word *Bog,* the same as *bhaga, bhāgya* 'what is one's due', the portion allotted by the gods: it becomes clear on contrast with its counterpart *nebog* 'not having one's portion, having bad fortune'. Here is a sharp distinction between right and wrong, between the positive and the negative. The Old Slavic *svarog* 'the God of heaven' is the same as Sanskrit *svarga* 'heaven'. In the Ṛgveda the sun is feminine and the moon is masculine, though it changes in the later tradition. Likewise, the sun is feminine in Russian folklore.

The Mongol nexus. The Mongols invaded Russia in 1237-40 and the Golden Horde left indelible impress on the people. Mongol blood flowed in Russian veins. The merchants of Novgorod traded with the Mongol tribes of Siberia for furs. In 1581 an expedition went to Western Siberia. In 1652 a fortified town was established by the Russians at Irkutsk. In the 17th century the legend about the utopian Christian kingdom of Belovodye "White Water" became popular among the Old Believers. They went in search of it during the following centuries visiting Central Asia, Mongolia and Tibet. The legend of the "White Water Kingdom" reflects the crystal clear waters of the Baikal lake, which were sacred to the Buryats and other Siberian tribes. The Buryats converted the water of the Baikal Lake into Gaṅgā Water by reciting special mantras and used it in ritual. Like the Gaṅgā Water it remains pure for a long time. During a visit to Baikal in 1967 I dropped a coin into the Lake and I could see it at the bottom through the transparently clear water. It is really "White Water". The legend of Belovodye was transferred unto Śambhala. Nikolai Roerich and his son Yuri led an expedition to Central Asia, Mongolia and Tibet in quest of Shambhala. Yuri Roerich later wrote on the Kālacakra where Shambhala is the promised land, and related problems.

Buddhism of the Mongols attracted Russians by its superb visual scrolls and sculptures, their world of pure color fusing the transcendent and the phenomenal. The idyllic beauty of the Mongol landscape merging into the aesthetics of monastic architecture was uplifting and sublime. The refined elegance of their bronzes contrasted sharply with the austere Russian icons in trans-Baikalian Siberia. They came into contact with Buddhism in 1716, and thence onwards the love of Russians for Buddhism has been on the rise. In 1818 the Asiatic Museum was established at St. Petersburg to house the Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist manuscripts collected by Russian adventurers, traders and explorers. The year 1856 is another watershed in Indo-Russian relations, when Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky created a halo around the masters in the Himalayas and Indian culture in general by giving rise to theosophy. Theosophy has been responsible for a new *forma mentis* in India that influenced our freedom struggle through Annie Beasant. Blavatsky

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visited Tibet in 1856 and 1868. She founded the Theosophical Society in 1878 and promoted the mystique of Tibet.

Nikolai had Mongol blood from his maternal side and herefrom stemmed the deep interest of the Roerichs in Mongolian culture which was a continuation of Tibetan Buddhism. Tibet was the Holy Land of the Mongols. Tibetan Buddhism, in turn, is based on Sanskrit texts, art forms of eastern India and Kashmir, and had a number of Indian scholars collaborating with Tibetan lotsavas. Again, Tibet brought the Roerichs to India. The connection of Russia with the Golden Horde, Russian traders in Siberia, establishment of fortified settlements and ultimately conquest of Siberia, Old Believers' quest of Belovodye and Mongolian concepts of Shambhala, led the Roerichs to Buddhism, to Tibet and finally to India.

The language of Russian academicians was German, the Imperial Court prided in conversing in French, and the people spoke Russian. This was due to the Westernising policies of Peter I the Great (1682-1725). The discovery of Sanskrit in the 19th century as being related to the European languages was a major self-discovery of Europe. Sanskrit became a catalyst to the stabilisation of the nation states via linguistic integration, as in Russia. Russian was closer to Sanskrit than either German or French; hence it was more Classical, and it became a symbol of national pride. In 1784 Prince Scherbatov wrote in his novel that a nobleman was sent to India to learn Sanskrit. This is the first reference to Sanskrit in Russian literature. Long before the Indo-European model was formulated, the Russian intellectuals were aware of a land, a solid earth of India, and of Indians in flesh and blood, who had to be understood. In 1835 the Minister of Public Instruction Count Uvarov appointed the first professor of Sanskrit. The greatest Sanskrit-German Dictionary was published in 1852 from St. Petersburg (PW) in seven volumes and to this day it remains a masterpiece of monumental scholarship. India has a project to enlarge and revise this Dictionary, but it will take centuries and till then the St. Petersburg lexicon will remain *the* reference work. The PW gave impetus to the concept of "Evolution", and led to Darwin's "Origin of Species" in 1859. In 1890 Sanskrit was made compulsory for Slavic and Classical studies at the University of St. Petersburg. As 'princes of culture' the Roerichs were devoted to the close relationship of the Russian and Sanskrit languages and their profound attachment to Buddhism led them to India the original home of both Sanskrit and Buddhism.

The emergence of Leo Tolstoy as a cult figure and the dialogue between Leo Tolstoy and Gandhi is another major landmark in Indian-Russian relations. The correspondence of Leo Tolstoy with Indian writers and religious leaders left a deep mark on the mind of our peoples. As late as the 1950s there were Tolstoy clubs in Europe where discussions on Indian philosophy were held and vegetarian food was served. Indianism spread in the West through the influence of Leo Tolstoy's ideas. The attraction for the thoughts and practices of India in European countries were, *inter alia,* a heritage of Leo Tolstoy.

A comprehensive analysis of Slavic vocabulary. from around the tenth century till the fifteenth century, when the native Slavic elements of Russian were pronounced, can reveal new vistas of

Indo-Russian proximities. The pre-Europeanisation phase of Russian language and culture needs a detailed analysis to comprehend factors of commonality. The relations in politics and economics are ephemeral, ever changing, ever flowing like the waters of the River Neva or of the River Gaṅgā. Though a future will be governed by the primary compulsions of politics and economics, no denying the fact that we have a body as well as a mind. The mind is as important as the body. The cultural dialogue has not only to expand but also to deepen. Synthesis of images has to become the impulse to a new life, the path to greatness. De-materialization has to be followed by transcendence.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF YURI ROERICH

Tibetan painting. While father Nikolai and brother Svetoslav painted, Yuri was fascinated by Trans-Himalayan Buddhism of the Mongols and Tibetans which was spiritually one of the most developed forms of Buddhism. He investigated the evolution of the art motifs of Tibetan painting and its impact on Russian artists. The Tibeto-Mongol system of transfers by using "dotted impressions" *(tshags.par)* were used by Russian icon-painters. His book on *Tibetan Painting* appeared in 1925 and it is one of the very few early works in English on the subject.

Expedition to Inmost Asia. The legend of the 'Kingdom of White Waters' or Belovodye was at play in the Russian mind since the 17th century. It was the poetry of non-knowing, ever beckoning to universes untrodden. The unknown poetics of space was to think for us. This took father Nikolai to Shambhala, the Mongolian counterpart of Belovodye. He defined Shambhala as the victory of the spirit on the great field of life. Yuri accompanied his father and brother on an expedition to Ladakh, Central Asia, Mongolia, and Tibet during the years 1924-28 and finally they settled down in India. Yuri wrote a research report on this scientific expedition under the title *Trails to Inmost Asia* (1931). The scientific materials collected are preserved in different museums in Russia, USA and India. These objects, manuscripts and xylographs deserve to be catalogued in a scientific manner so that they can be used in research.

The Roerichs were in Khotan for some months, as once it had been an "important seat of Buddhist learning". Here Yuri found fragments of leave permits of the 8th century for soldiers in the Tibetan garrison at the Miran Fort. They shed fascinating light on the ubiquitous presence of Tibetan garrisons in the Khotan kingdom, vividly described in the Annals of Khotan and in the Vimalaprabhā-paripṛcchā. This reminds me of the mural at Shrine II of Dandan-uiliq, where a ravishing yakṣiṇī is a haunting voice of the void of ancient Buddhist Khotan.

Strengthening of Indo-Russian ties. Yuri Roerich was a close friend of my father Prof. Raghu Vira who had frequent interactions with him. On my father's suggestion he wrote a history of "Indology in Russia" in 1945, as the Second World War was coming to a close. It was to add a cultural dimension to the glorious victories of Leningrad and Stalingrad. It was a symbolic

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transmutation of Russian power into a cultural virtue of the highest order. Ultimate selflessness of enlightenment was the intrinsic substance and source of triumph over evil forces. This article had a deep impact both on Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru. The research of Yuri Roerich became cultural resonances for Pt. Nehru and contributed to the profound friendship of India and Russia. These foundations were well and truly laid and continue till today in our strategic relationship.

History of Buddhism in Tibet. There was an animated debate about the lost years of Jesus Christ. It was supposed to be detailed in the Kraledvorsky Manuscript, which Yuri found to be a fake. His translation of the *Blue Annals* published in 1946 has dominated Buddhist studies for more than half a century. His rendering of the life of the Tibetan pilgrim scholar Chag Lotsava (1959) is historic is shedding light on the final destruction of the Buddhist centres of learning in India.

Tibetan linguistics. His fieldwork on the archaic dialect of Amdo, resulted in *Le Parler de l'Amdo,* published as No.XVIII of the renowned Rome Oriental Series. In 1957 appeared his *Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan* (dialect of Central Tibet) in collaboration with Tse-trung Lopsang Phuntshok.

He wrote on the folk customs, folk songs, Gesar epic, and philosophy (like Paraloka-siddhi) of the Tibeto-Mongol world.

Tibetan lexicography. His Tibetan-English Dictionary is a major lexicographical advance for comprehending medicine, metallurgy and other technical subjects in Tibetan. It was edited posthumously by Y. Parfionovich and V. Dylykova, who added Russian meanings.

Mongolistics. He announced the existence of a Mongolian Tanjur in his *Trails to Inmost Asia* p.150. While studying Mongolian at Paris, he discovered the etymology of Bokhara from the Sanskrit word *vihāra.* He wrote on the origin of the Mongol alphabet, on Alan troupes in the Mongol period, the author of the *Hor chos.ḥbyuṅ* or history of Buddhism in Mongolia, and Tibetan loan-words in Mongolian. He brought to light the letter of Peter I to Lobsan Taiji in 1960.

King Rurik. Prof. George Roerich came from a family where the confluence of time, identity and dream was interwoven as the ecstasy of the creative. The twelve centuries of the state of Russia were full of their family image. The light of Russian consolidation by them became constant striving to give humanity a vision of lasting worth. Chieftain Rurik of Novgorod had founded the first all-Russian dynasty in the 9th century. Russian legend says that the Varangian tribe Rus was asked to come to Novgorod by the local population to put an end to their internal feuds. The Rus tribe was related to the Swedes, Angles and Northmen. Rurik arrived in Novgorod in 862 AC and became its first king. The name Rurik became a family designation in its Germanic form Roerich. The term Rus was used to designate the whole system of defence. Thus the very name Russia is the legacy of the Roerich family. King Svyatoslav made his kingdom the centre where all goods gathered from all

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parts. He was slain on his way back home from the battlefront in 972. With him died the Scandinavian tradition of the Kiev dynasty. In our times, artist Nicholas Roerich celebrated his dynastic origins in naming his younger son Svyatoslav, while the elder son was George, a Greek name of Byzantian origin. The home town of the Roerichs was Novgorod the metropolis of the Rurik dynasty. George Roerich was born in this very historic city. He would sometimes speak of his 'roots', then a new concept just beginning to gain currency.

Sanskrit and Russian: the ideality of time. The 'roots' were a truth, a value that lived in the mind of George as well as of his parents. They were the palingenesis of the creative spark, the poetic exuberance of George's quest of historic forces. The roots lay also in the Russian language. Language is not merely the vehicle of culture but the very principle of culture. His language was of the Slavonic family, where the word Slav could be from Sanskrit *śravas* 'glory' which is *slava* in modern Russian. His love of the Russian language was intense. On return to Moscow, he always wrote in Russian. Pliny speaks of the Slavs as *Venedi* from the Sanskrit *vand* 'to pay homage to'. Pliny cites their words *Bogu* 'god' (Sanskrit *bhaga* भग or *bhagavān*), *svarog* 'god of heaven' from Sanskrit *svarga* स्वर्ग. For George Sanskrit was the roots of his mother tongue. He studied Sanskrit at the University of London at the tender age of 17 and 18 (1919-20). Hence he went to Harvard to complete a course in Sanskrit philology under the most famous Sanskritist in the States, Prof. Lanman who founded the distinguished Harvard Oriental Series. He paid eloquent tribute to Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman and his work in the field of Indology in his research journal *Urusvati* in 1931. Whenever he wrote about Tibetan philosophy he would inevitably make it clear by citing the original Sanskrit terms. He translated the Tibetan text of Paraloka-siddhi which was rendered by the Kashmirian paṇḍita Bhavyarāja and the Tibetan translator Pa.tshab in the 11th century. This text "attempts to prove the continuity of the flow of consciousness and thus establish the existence of the World Beyond". In 1960 he presented a paper on the story of Rāma in Tibet, a landmark study on the transmission of the great Indian epic to the Northern Regions.

George Roerich was constantly writing to my father Prof. RaghuVira about the multiple problems in his studies. He was enthusiastic in teaching Sanskrit to Lamas from Tibet, Mongolia and Buryatia. He was known throughout the Lamaist world as a great ācārya under whom they could study Sanskrit in comparison with Tibetan as well as Mongolian. He would recount to them the thousand years of Lamaist erudition in Sanskrit, enough to translate the most complex thoughts of philosophy, linguistics, synonymics, poetics, astronomy etc. George was revealing to the Lamas how Sanskrit had converted tribal idioms of Tibetan into a sophisticated classical *koine* under Emperor Thri Desongtsen in the 9th century, who took keen interest. George Roerich became a symbol of the sanctity of Sanskrit for the Lamas. My father was sending him simple readers for learning Sanskrit which were being published from different parts of India in the 1930s and 1940s.

The major academic interest of George Roerich Tibetology had to be enriched by Sanskrit original texts. Explaining the ubiquitous Tibetan mantra *Om Maṇi-padme hūṁ* for the inaugural issue of *Stepping Stones* (1950), he cited its glorification from the Sanskrit original of the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha. In his words: « It is said on p. 67 of the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha (Calcutta, 1873): "This great knowledge of the six syllables is the profound secret of Avalokiteśvara, and he who knows the profound secret, knows release." And further the same text proclaims (p. 69): "Whoever will give me the great knowledge of the six syllables", says the Bodhisattva Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin, "to that man I will willingly give the four continents, filled with the seven kinds of precious stones. O Lord, if there be no birch bark on which to write it down, no ink, and no quill, let him use my blood as ink, let him strip off my skin and use it instead of the birch bark, let him split my bones and make a quill of them. O Lord, this would not hurt my body. He will be a father and a mother to me, the teacher above all teachers." »

When Count Uvarov beacme Minister of Education in Russia, one of his first tasks was to establish a chair for Sanskrit at St. Petersburg. He founded a tradition which continued down to George Roerich who once again renewed Sanskrit studies on his return to the Soviet Union in 1957 when all classical disciplines were at a low ebb. His enthusiasm for Sanskrit, Buddhism and Tibetan was touching the younger generation. In September 1959 he was with my father Prof. RaghuVira at the International Congress of Mongolists at Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. He was enthusiastic about the response of students who flocked to hear him speak on Indian culture and Buddhism. Father warned him that he was sporting with danger. He shrugged his shoulders and said: "Things are changing. A new tempest is blowing. They will wade through the snow." Within nine months he was gone: in a state hospital. My father always suspected his death.

Feeling the wholeness of inheritance (Mongolistics). Prof. Nicholas Roerich was conscious of his Mongolian ancestry on the maternal side, which he pointed out to my father at an exhibition of his paintings in Lahore. Later on, during my first visit to the Soviet Union, I heard: "Scratch a Russian and you will find a Mongol under the skin." The dukes of Moscow ingratiated themselves with the khans of the Golden Horde and khan's protection gave them an upper hand over their enemies. The grand dukes of Moscow added "of all Russia" to their title. Marital relations with the Mongols were not rare. True to his inheritance Prof. Nicholas Roerich was a member of the Committee set up for the Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg. George Roerich studied Mongolian in Paris under Prof. Paul Pelliot, who was thrilled by his discovery that the name of the Central Asian city of Bokhara is derived from *vihāra* 'Buddhist monastery' through an intermediary Mongol form.

In 1927 George Roerich was in Mongolia in his father's expedition to Central Asia. His observations in the account of the expedition are a rare record of Mongolian life, monasteries and manuscripts: all were annihilated during the communist genocide of Mongolian culture.

The chapter on Mongolia in his *Trails to Inmost Asia* (1931) gives a vivid picture of the classical period which is a must to interpret the art, literature and history of the Mongols. He describes the palace of the Hutuktu, the Temple of Medicine, Temple of Astrology, Kālacakra colleges, the Temple of the State Oracle (Choijin Lamin Sum). The most famous Monastery of Mañjuśrī in the neighbourhood of the capital was reputed for the strict discipline of its monks. The most important event in Mongolia was the Maitreya Procession in the deep sonorous notes of the long trumpets, the clashing sound of cymbals, gorgeous garments of the Incarnate Lamas: all panoply of the gone in the haunting reminiscences of George Roerich.

My father was working on a Mongolian abecedarium of the Lantsha script used for writing Sanskrit mantras in Mongolian regions. He would consult George Roerich as the only scholar in India who could respond to his querries. All contacts with European scholars were interrupted by the Second World War. This kindled the interest of George Roerich in Mongolistics. He wrote on the origin of the Mongol alphabet (1945), on the author of the History of Buddhism in Mongolia (1946) and on Tibetan loanwords in Mongolian.

Esoteric shimmer of Shambhala. The esoteric traditions of Russia and Buddhism were the evocation and inspiration of Nicholas, Helena and George Roerichs. Artist Nicholas put them in paintings, which reproduced the eternal essences of the vision of Shambhala in the shimmer of lines and colors. Helena gave them the language of agni-yoga where the first principles became meaningful definition in yogic contemplation. George Roerich with his multi-lingual training in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian was busy opening up the conceptions and perceptions of Shambhala in the root text of the Kālacakra-tantra. He was exploring the Sanskrit text, commentaries written by Tibetan and Mongolian masters during the last thousand years, as well as the living expositions in Kālacakra seminaries in Tibets, Mongolia and Buryatia. He details these seminaries in his *Trails to Inmost Asia* (pages 155f). In 1932 he wrote an article on "Studies in the Kālacakra" in his journal *Urusvati*. It surveyed the important texts on this system.

The interest of father and son in Shambhala stemmed from the Russian legend about the fabulous kingdom of Belovodye (lit. "White Water"). It became popular with the Old Believers from the 16th century onwards, and they went in search in Mongolia, Tibet and other countries. This is referred to by George Roerich in his "Indology in Russia" (1945). During his visit to Mongolia, Nicholas made a painting of "The Ruler of Shambhala" at the request of a representative from the Mongolian Government and presented it to him for being enshrined in a monastery (*Altai-Himalaya* p. 352). In his *Himalayas: Abode of Light* (p.89) Nicholas writes: "I can tell you how, from distant Altai, many Old Believers went to seek for the so-called 'Belovodye' (White Waters) and never returned. I have heard the names of the mountains, rivers and lakes which lie on the way to the holy place. They are secret; some of the names are corrupted, but you discern their fundamental truth." Shambhala was "fundamental truth", the radiant energy of sanctity, a realm of deep values unfolding in time. Shambhala is derived from the Buddhist term *samvara* 'vow'. It became *sambara*, then *sambala*, and finally esoteric *Shambhala*. In the 10th century Buddhism was being annihilated in Central Asia and the Kālacakra-tantra was written as a preemptive measure, on the banks of Sītā River, which is modern Syr Darya in Central Asia.

During the International Congress of Mongolists at Ulaanbaatar in 1959, George Roerich discussed with my father Prof. RaghuVira the desirability of a bilingual edition of the Kālacakra-tantra in Sanskrit and Tibetan. My father took the idea seriously and started collecting manuscripts and xylographs. He made a trilingual edition by adding the Mongolian version. George Roerich passed away too early in 1960. The edition was ready in all the three scripts, but my father too was gone. It came out by the end of 1963.

Hereunder is the tragic history, ritual and philosophic symbolism of the Kālacakra. As monasteries and statues in the vast Cental Asian zone were destroyed, monks slain, the trees of the sacred complexes slashed: the sullen stones, the depopulated sancta knew only loneliness in the anger of silence. Mind's geometry alive with the images of life, eternity playing in the purity of silence, translated the faithless flush into a man-willed sacrament, into the image of Kālacakra. Assassination of a millenarian culture sought deep-reaching mysteries of faith and the long pilgrimage sank its roots in the Wheel of Time (Kāla-cakra). Muffled dreams became the crystal hard determination to reincarnate in eternity. Like a wheel (cakra), Time (kāla) is the timeless movement where trampled dreams become incredible vitality. In Kālacakra, life and time, hope and history, resolve and resurrection intertwine. Kālacakra is the reintegration of sacred time shattered by sanctimonious time.

In Kālacakra rites, one performs the withdrawal of all appearances that melt
Into light and dissolve into myself.
I also melt into light and then from within
Again transform into the aspect of Kālacakra,
The void of unapprehendability.

The much sought after Shambhala is a spiritual manifestation of the mind which knows only as it creates.

Tibet: the serenity and crystal light of metaphysical daring. Prof. George Roerich was born in a period when Madame Blavatsky, Tolstoy and the Roerich couple, the troika of ultra-terrestrial perfection, were opening a new way to metaphysical vitality, fresh plunges into the realm of psychological introspection, and experiential knowledge of spiritual mysteries. Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, a Russian noblewoman, of extraordinary psychic endowments, gave up social rank, wealth and family to spend some years near Shigatse with a Tibetan master. On return she devoted her life to carrying out his directions. She created the mystique of the Mahatmas of Tibet. Tibet became central in the mystic circles of Russia. George Roerich inherited this passion for Tibet from his parents. His entire life was devoted to the study of Tibetan art, ritual, Kālacakra, linguistics and history. His first book was on *Tibetan Paintings* (Paris) that appeared in 1925 when he was just 23 years young. It is one of very early works on Tibetan art as a "systematic study". In it he compared the "printed outline transfer" of thaṅka painting with exactly the same method used among icon painters in Russia (p.17). It is still a valuable introduction to the history, technique and iconography of Tibetan art. It is comprehensive and written in a simple style so that "the gates of the « sacred source » must be wide open for everybody, and the light of art will influence numerous

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hearts with a new love. . . . Then we shall have no more prisons. (Nicholas Roerich). He wrote on animal style among the nomad tribes of northern Tibet, on the Sixteen Arhats, and on Hellenic influences on Eastern Art. His interest in folk ritual was matched by his investigations into the living dialectical forms of Tibetan in Central Tibet, Lahul and Amdo. In 1957 he wrote a text book of colloquial dialect of Central Tibet, as learning spoken Tibetan became a strategic need of the time in India. His paper on the Kesar epic or the story of Rāma in Tibet complete our world view of the cultural personality of Tibet. The Kesar epic sometimes reminds of the power of Tibet in Central Asian lands. The Rāma story was a part of the core curriculum of epic poetics by Sakya Pandita (1182-1251) in his construction of a learned persona of Tibet from the refinements of Sanskrit literary culture.

The Tibetan-Russian-English Dictionary of George Roerich with Sanskrit equivalents is a milestone in Tibetan lexicography.

The most outstanding contributions of George are to the history of Tibet. He presented "The Historical Literature of Tibet" to the Indian History Congress at Lahore in 1940, and a life-sketch of Vanaratna the last of great paṇḍitas in Tibet. His translation of the life of Chag lotsava who witnessed the destruction of Nalanda shows how terrorism has been a constant menace in human affairs. His *magnum opus* is the translation of the majestic *Blue Annals* which are a comprehensive history of the evolution of Buddhism in the Land of Snows. Spiritual depths were bound up with every fresh sutra and tantra, alternating thought, dream and contemplation. The Blue Annals cast interesting light on the wonderment of eminent gurus from India who came to Tibet for nascent rhythms, and sudden vistas of the underlying plan of Bodhi. We cite the great master of the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet, the Noble Atiśa. Atiśa arrived in Tibet in the year 1042 to reform evil practices like the sexual union (*sbyor*) and ritual murder (*sgrol*) and restore the pristine purity of bodhisattva's path, the subtleties of the Prajñāpāramitā, and the esoteric experiences of the yoga-tantras. He was astonished to find men of vast learning like Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po: "If there are men such as you in Tibet, then there was no need of my coming to Tibet". Saying so, he joined the palms of his hands in front of his chest in devotion (Blue Annals 249). Atiśa wondered at the rich libraries in Tibet. The Master saw there many Indian manuscripts, and when he noticed many manuscripts which were not to be found in India, he said: 'It seems the Doctrine had first spread in Tibet, even more than in India' (Blue Annals 257). Indian teachers who came over the centuries to instruct the Tibetans, marvelled at their wisdom and deep learning: "Indian Panditas used to say: 'Dharmabhadra you should write numerous treatises, and thus protect living beings. There can be no question about your other knowledge. In India, men knowing not more than a third of the treatises on grammar and logic, mastered by you, compose treatises. You, why don't you write?" (Blue Annals 163).

Prof. George Roerich has bequeathed a dictionary to explore Tibetan texts so that our present misty vision can catch glimpses of eternity, so that we stand on the brink of great secrets to find a quintessence of possible Truth. Further, the Blue Annals document the long journey of Tibet on the way to a higher life. The precise comprehension of Tibetan texts, reflection on their undulatory meditation needs daylight. The multi-splendoured *oeuvre* of George Roerich is a guide and comforter among the shades of night.

Classicism and human values. The Roerichs are the embodiment of the intuitive underlying reality of the sacred, combining it with the rational dissection of reality by modern scientific knowledge. They unite the two halves of wisdom and ruthless experimentation of the sciences, to find humanism in a holistic universe dominated by the hidden patterns of the dance of life and of nature. The intuitive and the analytical approaches are bonds of human evolution, where consciousness and reason provide insights of advance in the enrichment of an organic society and fulfillment of every life. Their quest is the hidden 'biopolitics' to sustain the sacredness of life, and "to walk in the newness of life" (Romans 6.2-4) in the vast quest of natural sciences. The life-texture and the *Lebensform* is the dialectic progress between the ideal and its actualisation. The personal names of the Roerichs are constellations of a world-view, so lovingly enshrined in the agni-yoga of Helena Roerich. The Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad 2.12 says: the body is afire with yoga (*yogāgni-mayaṁ śarīraṁ*) and in the Kauśītakī-upaniṣad 4.6 the body is the abode of the Divine. Nicholas is from the Greek *Nike* 'victory, Goddess of Victory' + *laos* 'people.' Nicholas Roerich was the victory of the people, their pagan beliefs, and not an obscuration of sin. Helena is the Greek *Helene* from the root *eilein* 'to roll, turn': rolling in the currents of the mind, awaiting the within. She sought the future present in the living present of the West and the East. George is again Greek *ge* 'earth' + *ergon* 'work': his academic training under great Sinologists and Tibetologists like Prof. Paul Pelliot and Sylvain Lévi in Paris, and thereafter under eminent Indologists like Prof. Lanman and Whitney at Harvard provided the solid ground (*ge*) of his researches (*orge*) into complex areas where Buddhism, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian confluenced. Svetoslav is a Russian name from *svyato* 'holy' and *slav*(a) 'glory', Glory to the Sacred (Puṇyakīrti in Sanskrit). With their spiritual visions and astonishing erudition the Roerichs confront us with a spirituality of the "post-secular" age in a post-modern cosmopolis.

George Roerich chose the path of scholarship which was unconsciously conditioned by legends about the "Kingdom of White Water" (Byelo-vodye) that were prevalent among the Rusians in the 17th century. Beyond Lake Baikal, in Buryatia they came in contact with the Tibetan form of Buddhism, its gorgeous painted scrolls (*thaṅka*), exquisite statues, the legends of Shambhala, the Maitreya festival and so on: all this is reflected in the "Heart of Asia" by Nicholas Roerich and in his other writings like "Maitreya" (1932).

The present book begins with a review of two Buddhist iconographic albums done for the mother of Emperor Ch'ien-lung under the direction of the Imperial Preceptor Rolpaidorje. They were edited by Prof. Walter E. Clark of the Harvard University. One is a set of 766 bronze images in a temple in the garden of the Tzu-ning Palace, Peking; and the other is a xylographed album of 360 icons with names in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan. Sanskrit names have been restored by Prof. Clark. George Roerich correlates the teachers depicted in them to the philosophical schools they founded. The great Tibetan masters also founded different Tibetan denominations. George Roerich classifies the deities and enables us to assign them to texts or systems so that we can understand their philosophical affiliations and their contemplation rituals. He brings them to life into their explicit texture of thought and visualisation. From the *rūpadhātu* or Realm of Form he leads us to the Realm of Meditation.

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* Foreword to George Roerich, *Selected Works*, Naggar, 2007.

In the second chapter, George Roerich gives a detailed survey of the researches on the epic of King Kesar of Ling. The earliest information came to the West in 1776 when the Russian scholar P.S. Pallas described a Kesar temple. Kesar is cognate to Latin *Caesar* the title of Roman emperors. The Russian *tsar* from Old Slavic *cesari* is the same word. The Tibetan epic originated among the nomad tribes of NorthEast of Tibet. It is a poetic record of ancient wars between Tibetan and Turk tribes. Kesar was worshipped as a protective deity and temples were dedicated to him. The epic has chapters on his victory over the Demon King of the North, over the Hor tribes, war against the Jang kingdom, conquest of the Mon country and China, and so on. The epic must have taken its present forms after the Tibetan Imperial period, that is after the 9th century. Interestingly, the epic contains many parallels to European folklore. Ling, the principality of Kesar in NE Tibet was visited by A. Tafel in 1905-06 and by Madame Alexandra David-Neel. George Roerich gives a brief outline of the epic. Kesar was the youngest son of Indra, and was sent on earth to combat evil. The East Tibetan and West Tibetan versions show appreciable differences: bardic improvisations under local influences. The Mongol version was translated from a Tibetan original. The Manchu Emperors of China officially recognised Kesar as their God of War Kuan-ti. The customs of the Yellow Uighurs of the Kansu borderland retain memories of Kesar: they take their food hurriedly as they live in constant danger of an attack by King Kesar. Tribal antagonism between the Tibetan and Turkish tribes still lingers on. George Roerich discusses the mention of Phrom Gesar in the Khotan Annals. Phrom is Rome. The world was always linked across vast and inhospitable distances: man lives in his own geographic territory as well as in a cosmopolis. The Roerichs were cosmopolitan in their quest on the planes of spirituality, visual culture and material civilisation. The Kesar epic has echos of Rome, India of the Kushans, tribes of Central Asia, his consort from China, and his temple in Urga the capital of Mongolia. This search of Prof. George Roerich affirms the multiple realities that sustain our Living Space.

The 19th century was the elegance of neoclassic aesthetics. Classicism had a symbolic and transcendental value. Its emphasis on the intellectual and eternal meaning of art, its connections with literature and poetry, ran parallel to the political and ethical forms. The three essential elements of classicism were: interest in theory, its symbolic value, and its sense of history. The identification of spiritual and aesthetic qualities was in accord with the Greek ideal of *kalokagathia*, the beautiful and the good, harmoniously fused into transcendental and human values. The Greek language represented the pure and essential expression of the Hellenic spirit. At the same time Europe came into contact with a more ancient and more Classical Language, Culture and Spirituality in Sanskrit. Here were the most ancient Roots of the West. As early as Herodotus, the West had been seeking the origin of their languages. In 1786, Sir William Jones was led to the realisation of the common origin of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. It sparked off the age of scientific historical linguistics. It had an impact on the linguistic scene of Europe. In the 19th century, French was the language of the Imperial Court of Russia, the intellectuals wrote in German, and the peasants spoke Russian. It was found that Russian represents the western branch of the eastern division of Indo-European languages. The proximity of Russian to Sanskrit was clear. Rus. *den* for Skt. *dina* 'day', Rus. *brat* for Skt. *bhrātā* 'brother', Rus. *yetot* for Skt. *etat* 'this', Rus. *bog* for Skt. *bhaga*(*vān*) 'god'. Because Russian was close to the prime classical language Sanskrit, it acquired a new respectability in its own land. Count Uvarov appointed Robert Lenz as the Professor of Sanskrit in 1835. George Roerich traces this history of Indology in Russia. He refers to the find of Buddhist images in the burials of South Russia, probably originating with Central Asian Turks. He refers to notices about India in the Alexander Cycle, in Primary Russian Chronicle of the 11th century in the Novgorod Chronicle of 1352, Legend of the Kingdom of India of the 13th century, and the first hand information by Athanasius Nikitin in 1466. The Bhagavad Gītā was translated into Russian as early as 1786.

With the appointment of Robert Lenz as the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Linguistics. Indology became an established discipline in Russia. Russian scholars went to Berlin, Paris, Oxford and London to study Sanskrit. Sanskrit studies in Russia were linked with the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Russian Empire was in constant contact with the powerful Mongols, who were Buddhists and well-versed in Tibetan. The Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking had started studying Lamaism as early as 1716. Thus Russian Indologists were attracted to Buddhology, Tibetology, Mongolistics, Sinology and Central Asian archaeology. Their fundamental researches on the history, geography and Buddhism of these areas laid the foundations of these disciplines. George Roerich outlines in detail the outstanding contributions of Russian scholars. The Mongolian-Russian-French Dictionary of Kowalewsky, published during 1844-49, still remains the standard reference for Classical Mongolian with thousands of Buddhist texts. Vasilyev wrote three volumes on Buddhism: dogma, history and literature (1857-60) which laid the solid foundations of Buddhology. It included a translation of the history of Buddhism by Tāranātha, and deserves to be translated into English even after a century and half.

The Sanskrit-German Dictionary compiled by O.N. Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth was published by the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg in 1855-1875 in seven large volumes. It is still the *magnum opus* of the rich vocabulary of Sanskrit. The Sanskrit-English Dictionary being compiled at Poona to replace it will take two thousand years according to a press report. So the St. Petersburg "Wörterbuch" will remain an immortal aid for the comprehension of the Classical heritage of India.

George Roerich recounts the organisation of three archaeological missions to Central Asia by Oldenberg. The first mission photographed the ruined sites in the Kucha region in 1906-07. The

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second archaeological expedition investigated the sites in Karashahr, Turfan oasis and Kucha in 1909-10. The third expedition in 1913-14 made a photographic survey of the Tun-huang Caves.

Buddhist Logic and Epistemology by Stcherbatsky (1930) was a fundamental exposition of the subject. In 1910-11 he studied Sanskrit with pandits in India and met the Dalai Lama XIII in exile. He died in 1941 during the siege of Leningrad.

The archaeological exploration of the Buddhist period in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and other areas of Central Asia shows the cultural cosmopolis of the first millenium which included China and Japan, Tibet and Mongolia. Though the main thrust of Russian Sanskrit studies was Mahāyāna, yet Vedic and Classical Sanskrit texts were translated and analysed. Rhetorics, logic, kāvyas like the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa, study of story literature like the Vetāla-pañcaviṁśatikā and Daṇḍin's Daśa-kumāra-carita, history of ancient India, attracted Russian scholarship. A poetical translation of the Gitanjali of Poet Rabindranath Tagore by poet Baltrušaitis became popular. The study of the modern languages and literatures of India during the Soviet period have been the multifaceted contributions of Russian scholarship.

The fifth chapter is the origin of the Mongol alphabet and Chos.kyi.ḥod.zer. The Mongolian script is a derivative of the Uigur script as they were the first scribes in the imperial chanceries of Emperor Chinggis Khan. The chronicles attribute the creation of a new Mongol script to the Sa.skya paṇḍita (1182-1251), but it seems that he used the existing Uigur script to translate Tibetan sutras into Mongolian. His nephew Ḥphags.pa (1235-1280), who succeeded as the Imperial Preceptor to the Mongol Emperor Khubilai Khan, invented the 'Square Mongol script' which is still used for seals in Tibetan and Mongolian regions. The booklet published for the exhibition of the paintings of Prof. N. Roerich and S. Roerich, held under the auspices of the Art Department of the University of Panjab, from 16th to 28th December 1940, speaks of the racial patrimony of the Roerichs: "On his paternal side the doughty warrior chieftain Rurik of Novgorod founded the first Russian dynasty in the 9th century, and on his maternal side traces of Mongolian ancestry, provide him the foundation of heredity which in art as in everything else is so vitally essential." This writeup of Prof. George Roerich on the Mongolian script is an encounter with the Roots.

In the sixth chapter Prof. Roerich has translated the Paraloka-siddhi by Dharmottara on the continuity of the flow of consciousness and to establish the existence of a World Beyond. The Sanskrit text was translated into Tibetan by Pa.tshab Ñi.ma.grags in 1055.

The final chapter is on Ladakh, its distinct Tibetan customs, culture and language. Tibetan rule came to Ladakh in the 9th century. In earlier centuries it was on the trade route between India and Sogdiana. Sogdian merchants have left inscriptions in their language. Roerich speaks of the crucial role of Ladakh in being an intermediary between Khotan, Gilgit, Brusha Country, Eastern Iran, Sogdiana and Tibet. It is a short but perceptive survey of the historic role of Ladakh in transmitting influences to Tibet, Kashmiri artists of the Avantipur School in the 9th century, the kingdom of Guge, one of the foremost translators of Buddhist texts Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po (958-1055), the monastery of Likir founded in the 11th century, the Qarlug Islamic inroads and the capture of

King Ye.śes.ḥod, the Gelukpa penetration in the 15th century, the repulse of the invasion by Islamic Kashgar in 1531, and finally the conquest by Maharaja Gulab Singh—all has been narrated in a birds-eyeview of the historic destiny of Ladakh.

The researches of George Roerich affirm the language of creative discourse and spiritual destiny, inspite of the distortions and destructions. Prof. Nicholas Roerich writes: "And Bokhara is nothing else than Vihāra, the distorted name of a Buddhist monastery. George successfully discovered this philological transformation in Paris and Pelliot absolutely agreed with him." A vihāra has been discovered near Numijkath, a town that has merged into Bokhara. The traditions of learning continued even after the seventh century when Arab armies vanquished Buddhist Bokhara. Theologian Bukhari (810-870) compiled his famous work Saḥiḥ which is the most authoritative book after the Quran.

George Roerich, like his eminent parents, belongs to the tradition of the seers (rishis). He inherits in silence the inspiration of their arts, poetic and pictorial, and their transcendental inner voice, as he studies the Tibetan and Mongolian icons, the Kesar epic, origin of the Mongol alphabet, the history of Ladakh, or as he surveys the development of Indology in Russia. They are resonances of the close nexus Russian to Sanskrit, and of the memories of Mongolian blood in the maternal ancestry of his father. His researches are the far-reaching light through unusual associations. The cross-patterns of speech and blood seek a consciousness that waves through humanity in every period of history and in every life. The architecture of time is open to values, reason and reality, so long as we look in wonderment at the nobility of culture and the underlying spirituality of the cosmos.

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27. SANSKRIT TEXTS IN THE CHINESE TRIPIṬAKA

I

In 1758 the Chinese Emperor Ch'ien-lung wrote a preface to the collection of dhāraṇīs which had been redacted under the editorship of his friend and guru Lcaṅ.skya Rol.paḥi.rdo.rje.

The ninth case details the **system of transcription** adopted by great translators of the Chinese Tripiṭaka like Saṅghavara (460-524 AC, LC.21.8816), Amoghavajra (705-774 AC, LC.21.8817), Dharmarakṣa (963-1058 AC, LC.21.8821), Mokṣala (ca. 291 AC, LC.21.8823), Kumārajīva (344-413 AC var 409, LC 21.8825), Hsüan-tsang (602-664 AC, LC 21.8828), Buddhabhadra (359-429 AC, LC 21.8830), Śikṣānanda (652-710 AC, LC 21.8832), Divākara (613-687 AC, LC 21.8834), and others.

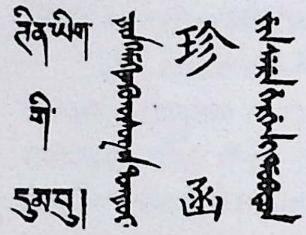
This collection bears the **title in four languages**, namely Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan. The titles are:

Ma. han-i araha manju nikan manggo tanggût hergen-i kamciha amba g'anjur nomun-i uheri tarni
Mo. qaγan-u bičigsen manǰu kitad mongγol töbed kelen qabsuraγsan bügüli ganǰur-un tarni
Ti. rgyal.pos mdzad.paḥi mañdzu rgya hor bod yig bzhi.yi skad śan.sbyar.baḥi bkaḥ.ḥgyur.gyi sṅags tshaṅ.bar bkod.pa

The Mongol title was translated by Leon Hurvitz as "imperially written complete dhāraṇīs of the bkaḥ-ḥgyur, which have combined the Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan languages" (Poppe et al. 1964:52 no.61); the Tib. as "imperially made incantations of the bka' 'gyur in a combination of four scripts, Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan, fixed so as to be complete". The Manchu title was translated: "imperially written complete dhāraṇīs of the great *bka' 'gyur* canon, which have combined Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan scripts." The Chinese title: "imperially written complete incantations of the great storehouse, in a combination of Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan."

This quadrilingual collection of dhāraṇīs was dealt with by Walther Heissig (1954:136-138 no.148) who translated the title correctly as "Die dhāraṇī des ganzen Kandjur zusammengefasst in Mandju, Chinesisch, Mongolisch und Tibetisch" i.e. dhāraṇīs of the entire Kanjur collected in Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan.

In both the aforesaid authors, the dhāraṇīs are implied to stem from the Kanjur, that is the Lamaist Canon in Tibetan or its Mongolian version. While engaged on the facsimile edition of this Collection, I tried to give the Sanskrit equivalents of the titles of the dhāraṇīs. Persistent efforts to trace their sequence in all the editions of the Tibetan Kanjur, yielded no results. This cast a doubt about the possibility of the Kanjur being the ultimate source. The probability of an alternate origin was further enhanced by references to original cases by Chinese characters (e.g. 1.19). The enumerative Chinese characters were repeated in transcription in the other three languages (Tib. *ṭin.yig.gi dum.bu*). This made it clear that Kanjur in the title of the collection referred to an edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. This was an attempt in antiquity to reconstruct the Sanskrit dhāraṇīs scattered over the vast Chinese Tripiṭaka. This realisation became a reality when the contents of part 9 of the collection were written. The Sanskrit titles of the eight earlier parts are given here.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As identification of the titles proceded it became evident that their sequence coincided with the edition catalogued by Bunyiu Nanjio (1883). This was the **Chinese Tripiṭaka** xylographed in China under the Ming dynasty, which was republished in Japan in 1678-1681 AC. This reprint was presented to the India Office, London in fulfilment of a promise made by the Japanese Ambassador Iwakura Tomomi to S. Beal in 1874 (Nanjio 1883: xi). It was catalogued by Bunyiu Nanjio.

The identification of the titles in the first two cases (parts 1-8 of LC) are as follows:

19 Mahā-prajñāpāramitā
  Nj.1, T. 220, K1, translated by Hsüan-tsang in 663 AC.
27 Suvikrānta-vikrāmi-paripṛcchā
  Nj.9, T. 231, K8, translated by Upaśūnya in 565 AC.
  In Tib. the title is Kauśika-paripṛcchā Prajñāpāramitā (Toh. 19)
28 Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā
  Nj.18, T. 240, K18, translated by Bodhiruci in 693 AC.
  In Tib. the title is Prajñāpāramitā-naya [adhy]-ardhaśatikā (Toh. 17: P.p. Śatapañcāśa).
30 Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra
  Nj.19, T. 250, K21, translated by Kumārajīva in 402-412 AC.
31 Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra
  Nj.20, T. 251, K20, translated by Hsüan-tsang in 649 AC.
33 Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra
  Nj.23, T. 310, K22, translated by Bodhiruci in 713 AC.
98 Acintya-buddha-viṣaya-nirdeśa spoken by Mañjuśrī
  Nj.46, T. 340, K43, translated by Bodhiruci in 693 AC.
  The Sanskrit title is confirmed by the Derge Kanjur (Toh. 79).
99 Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-sūtra
  Nj.61, T. 397, K56, translated by Dharmakṣema et al. in 414-426 AC
150 Sūryagarbha nāma mahāvaipulya-sūtra
  Nj.62, translated by Narendrayaśas, Toh. 257 AC.
194 Candragarbha nāma mahāvaipulya-sūtra
  Nj.63, translated by Narendrayaśas

233 Daśacakra-Kṣitigarbha-sūtra
Nj.64, T. 411, K57, translated by Hsüan-tsang in 652 AC.
Toh. 239 (the Tib. was translated from Chinese).

235 Daśacakra-Kṣitigarbha-sūtra
Nj.65, T. 410, K58, anonymous translation done during 412-439 AC (Hōbōgirin).

243 Sumeru-garbha mahāsannipāta-sūtra
Nj.66, T. 397(16), K59, translated by Narendrayaśas in 558 AC.
According to the Derge Kanjur (Toh. 230) the title is Mahāsannipātān mahāyānasūtrāt Tathāgata-śrī-samaya-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra.

271 Ākāśagarbha-sūtra
Nj.67, T. 408, K61, translated by Jñānagupta of Gandhara in 587 AC.
Derge Kanjur (Toh. 408).

278 Ākāśagarbha-sūtra
Nj.68, T. 405, K62, translated by Buddhayaśas during 408-413 AC.

280 Ākāśagarbha-sūtra
Nj.69, T. 407, K63, translated by Dharmamitra in 441 AC.

282 Ratnaketu-dhāraṇī
Nj.84, T. 402, K78, translated by Prabhākaramitra of Magadha in 630 AC. Toh. 138.
Correct the Sanskrit title in Nj.

338 Gaṇḍavyūha (correct in Nj.) *alias* Ramyaka-sūtra
Nj. 106, T. 294, K102, translated by Shêng-chien during 388-407 AC.

342 Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra
Nj. 113, T. 374, K105, translated by Dharmakṣema in 421 AC.
Toh. 120 or 121.

346 Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, revision of the earlier version done at Nanking ‘the Southern Capital’.
Nj. 114, T. 375, K1403, revised by Hui-yen a disciple of Kumārajīva and by others, during 424-452 AC.

348 Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra
Nj. 120, T. 376, K106, translated by Fa-hsien in 418 AC.

349 Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra
Nj. 126, T. 665, K127, translated by I-tsing in 703 AC.

401 Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra
Nj. 127, T. 663, K1465, translated by Dharmakṣema during 414-421 AC.

402 Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra
Nj. 130, T. 664, K128, compiled by Pao-kuei in 597 AC at Chʻang-an together with Jñānagupta, from three earlier but incomplete translations of Dharmakṣema?, Paramārtha and Yaśogupta.

405 Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
Nj. 134, T. 262, K116, translated by Kumārajīva in 405 AC

416 Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
Nj. 142, T. 157, K126, translated by Dharmakṣema during 414-421 AC

460 Kinnara-rāja-Druma-paripṛcchā
Nj. 162, T. 625, K130, translated by Kumārajīva between 402-409 AC
The Derge Kanjur (Toh. 157) has Druma (not Mahā-druma, as in Chinese for stylistic reasons. Correct Nj.)

464 Mahābhiṣeka-mantra
Nj. 167, T. 1331, K174, translated by Śrīmitra of Kucha during 317-322 AC.
Compare Toh. 503, 504.

476 Bhaiṣajyaguru-Vaiḍūryaprabha-sapta-tathāgata-pūrva-praṇidhāna-viśeṣa-vistara
Nj. 172, T. 451, K178, translated by I-tsing in 707 AC. Toh. 504.

488 Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra
Nj. 176, T. 671, K160, translated by Bodhiruci in 513 AC.

493 Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra
Nj. 177, T. 672, K161, translated by Śikṣānanda in 704 AC.

494 Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
Nj. 180, T. 158, K125, anonymous translation done during 350-431 AC.

495 Mahāmegha-sutra
Nj. 186, T. 992, K167, translated by Jñānayaśas in 570 AC.
Toh. 235, 657, 1063.

520 Mahāmegha-sūtra
Nj. 187, T. 993, K167, translated by the same person.

525 Mahāmegha-sūtra
Nj. 188, T. 991, K166, translated by Narendrayaśas in 585 AC.

527 Brahma-viśeṣa-cinti-paripṛcchā
Nj. 189, T. 587, K144, translated by Bodhiruci in 518 or 536 AC.
Toh. 160 (correct the Sanskrit title in Nj. and Hōbōgirin).

530 Brahma-viśeṣa-cinti-paripṛcchā
Nj. 190, T. 586, K143, translated by Kumārajīva in 402 AC.

531 Hasti-kakṣya-sūtra
Nj. 193, T. 814, K185, translated by Dharmamitra in 441 AC. Toh. 207

533 Brahma-viśeṣa-cinti-paripṛcchā
Nj. 197, T. 585, K142, translated by Dharmarakṣa of Tun-huang in 286 AC.
Correct the Sanskrit title in Nj. and Hōbōgirin.

534 Amitābha-dhāraṇī
Nj. 201, T. 368, transcribed by Guṇabhadra in 453 AC.

540 Large Amitāyus-sutra

543 Buddh-ākṣepaṇa-sūtra
Nj. 243, T. 831, K239, translated by Bodhiruci during 508-535 AC.
Toh. 276 gives the Sanskrit title, which should be corrected in Nj. and Hōbōgirin.

545 Mahāmegha-sūtra
Nj. 244, T. 387, K164, translated by Dharmakṣema during 414-421 AC

549 Rājāvavādaka-sūtra
Nj. 250, T. 593, K261, translated by I-tsing in 705 AC. Toh. 221

551 Aṣṭa-buddhaka-sūtra
Nj. 300, T. 428, K276, translated by Dharmarakṣa of Tun-huang during 266-313 AC

552 Bhaiṣajyarāja-Bhaiṣajyasamudgata-sūtra
Nj. 305, T. 1161, K379, translated by Kālayaśas during 424-442 AC.

556 Mahāmāyūrī
Nj. 306, T. 985, K303, translated by I-tsing in 705 AC.

566 Mahāmāyūrī
Nj. 307, T. 982, K1293, translated by Amoghavajra during 720-774 AC

663 Mahāmāyūrī
Nj. 308, T. 984, K307, translated by Saṅghapāla during 502-520 AC

672 Mahāmāyūrī
Nj. 309, T. 986, K305, translator unknown.

679 Mahāmāyūrī
Nj. 310, T. 987, K306, translator or unknown.

685 Mahāmāyūrī
Nj. 311, T. 988, K304, translated by Kumārajīva between 402-412 AC.

697 Amoghapāśa-hṛdaya
Nj. 312, T. 1093, K288, translated by Jñānagupta in 587 AC.
Toh. 682, 683, 686.

698 Amoghapāśa-hṛdaya
Nj. 313, T. 1097, K290, translated by Cintāmaṇi in 693 AC.

705 Amoghapāśa-hṛdaya
Nj. 314, T. 1096, K291, translated by Li Wu-ch'an in 700 AC.

734 Amoghapāśa-hṛdaya
Nj. 315, T. 1095, translated by Bodhiruci (572-727 AC).

737 Amoghapāśa-kalpa-rāja
Nj. 317, T. 1092, K287, translated by Bodhiruci in 707 AC. Compare Toh. 686.

1290 Nīlakaṇṭhaka (Sahasrabhuja-netra-Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī)
Nj. 318, T. 1057[b], K292, translated by Chih-t'ung during 627-649 AC.

1327 Nīlakaṇṭhaka

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Nj. 319, T. 1058, K293, translated by Bodhiruci in 709 AC.

1330 Nīlakaṇṭhaka

Nj. 320, T. 1060, K294, translated by Bhagavaddharma during 650-661 AC.

1338 Padma-cintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī

Nj. 321, T. 1082, K296, translated by Śikṣānanda of Khotan during 700-704 AC. Compare Toh. 692 = 898.

1343 Padma-cintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī

Nj. 322, T. 1083, K295, translated by Cintāmaṇi during 693-706 AC.

1344 Padma-cintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī

Nj. 323, T. 1081, K297, translated by I-tsing in 710 AC.

1346 Padma-cintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī

Nj. 324, T. 1080, K298, translated by Bodhiruci in 709 AC.

1368 Cintāmaṇi-Tārā-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī (?) spoken by Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva

Nj. 325, T. 1103^{a}, K317, translated by Chih-t‘ung in 653 AC. The first mantra of this text pertains to Tārā. Cintāmaṇi-Tārā-sādhana occurs in the Tibetan Tanjur 3676.

Nanjio transcribes the Chinese title as Kwân-tsz’-tsâi (Avalokiteśvara) phu-sâ (bodhisattva) ta-fo-to-li ([saman]tabhadra) sui-sin (anuhṛdaya)? – tho-lo-ni (dhāraṇī) chiṅ (sutra). His interpretation has to be corrected in two places: *phu-sā-ta-fo* is a transcription of bodhisattva, *to-li* is Tāre for Tārā, *sui-sin* is cintāmaṇi.

1385 Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā-mantra

Nj. 326, T. 1043, K353, translated by Nandi in 419 AC.

1392 Ekādaśamukh-āvalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī

Nj. 327, T. 1070, K309, translated by Yaśogupta during 564-572 AC.

1393 Ekādaśamukh-āvalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī

Nj. 328, T. 1071, K310, translated by Hsüan-tsang in 656 AC.

1400 Sahasra-pravartana-dhāraṇī

Nj. 329, T. 1035, K313, translated by Chih-t’ung in 653 AC.

In this collection the Chinese title is translated into Tib. as Stoṅ-ḥgyur ... gzuṅs, which is found in the Derge Kanjur (Toh. 710 = 930).

1405 Pañca-mantra-sūtra

Nj. 330, T. 1034, K312, translated by Hsüan-tsang in 664 AC.

Mantras of: Sahasra-pravartana, Mañjuśrī, Cundā, Kurukullā, and Cintāmaṇi-Tārā.

1408 Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā-mantra

Nj. 331, T. 1180, K316, translated by Bodhiruci in 693 AC.

1409 Tri-mantra-sūtra

Nj. 332, T. 1338, translated by Divākara (613-687 AC).

1413 Ekākṣara-Mañjuśrī-dhāraṇī from the Bodhisattva-piṭaka

Nj. 333, T. 1181, K299, translated by Cintāmaṇi in 702 AC.

1414 Ekākṣara-Mañjuśrī-dhāraṇī
Nj. 334, T. 1182, K300, translated by I-tsing in 703 AC.

1416 Dvādaśa-buddhaka-sūtra
Nj. 335, T. 1348, K301, translated by Jñānagupta in 587 AC.

1420 Dvādaśa-buddhaka-sūtra
Nj. 336, T. 1349, K302, translated by I-tsing in 711 AC.

1421 Puṣpakūṭa-dhāraṇī
Nj. 337, T. 1356, K344, translated by Chih-ch'ien during 222-228 AC.

1424 Puṣpakūṭa-dhāraṇī
Nj. 338, T. 1357, K340, anonymous translation done sometimes in 317-420 AC.
It is not the Kanjur title 81: Siṁha-paripṛcchā.

1425 Puṣpakūṭa-dhāraṇī
Nj. 339, T. 1358, K339, anonymous translation done sometimes in 317-420 AC.

1427 Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā-mantra
Nj. 340, T. 1044, K341, anonymous translation done sometimes in 317-420 AC.

1437 Saḍakṣara-vidyā-mantra
Nj. 341, T. 1045[a], K345, anonymous translation done sometimes in 502-557 AC.

1442 Cundī-devī-dhāraṇī
Nj. 344, T. 1077, K314, translated by Divākara in 685 AC.

1443 Cundī-devī-dhāraṇī
Nj. 345, T. 1078, K315, translated by Vajrabodhi in 723 AC.

1452 Cundī-devī-dhāraṇī
Nj. 346, T. 1076, K1338, translated by Amoghavajra during 720-774 AC.

1474 Collection of 23 dhāraṇīs
Nj. 347, T. 1337, K318, translated by Jñānagupta during 561-578 AC.

1493 Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī
Nj. 348, T. 967, K321, translated by Buddhapāli in 683 AC.

1494 Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī
Nj. 350, T. 971, K323, translated by I-tsing in 710 AC.

1495 Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī
Nj. 352, T. 969, K320, translated by Divākara in 682 AC.

1496 Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī
Nj. 351, T. 970, K322, translated a second time by Divākara during 676-688 AC (it is a fuller version than the following).

1498 Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī
Nj. 352, T. 969, K320, first translated by Divākara in 682 AC.

1499 Anantamukha-sādhaka-dhāraṇī
Nj. 353, T. 1016, K329, Toh. 140=525=914, translated by Saṅghavarman in 506 AC.

The Chinese title literally means Śāriputra-dhāraṇī

1500 Anantamukha-sādhaka-dhāraṇī

Nj. 354, T. 1014, K326, translated by Kung Te-chih in 462 AC.

1509 Anantamukha-sādhaka-dhāraṇī

Nj. 357, T. 1015, K328, translated by Buddhaśānta during 525-539 AC.

1510 Anantamukha-sādhaka-dhāraṇī

Nj. 359, T. 1017, K330, translated by Jñānagupta in 586 or 595 AC.

1511 Anantamukha-sādhaka-dhāraṇī

Nj. 360, T. 1018, K331, translated by Chih-yen in 721 AC.

1512 Dhvajāgra-keyūrā-dhāraṇī

Nj. 361, T. 1363, K332, translated by Hsüan-tsang in 654 AC.

Correct the Sanskrit title in Nj.

1515 Dhvajāgra-keyūrā-dhāraṇī

Nj. 362, T. 1364, K333, translated by Śikṣānanda between 695-704 AC.

Correct the Sanskrit title in Nj.

1518 Dhāraṇī-samuccaya

Nj. 363, T. 901, K308, translated by Atikūṭa in 654 AC.

The 75 dhāraṇīs in this collection are listed by Maurice Courant, *Catalogue des livres chinois, coréens, japonais*, etc., Paris 1910, p. 488-500 no. 6209.

1847 Agra-pradīpa-dhāraṇī

Nj. 364, T. 1351, K347, translated by Chih-ch'ien between 223-253 AC.

The Sanskrit title is from Toh. 528=858. Correct the Sanskrit title in Nj.

1850 Agra-pradīpa-dhāraṇī

Nj. 365, T. 1352, K348, translated by Chu T'an-wu-lan betwen 381-395 AC.

1851 Agra-pradīpa-dhāraṇī

Nj. 366, T. 1353, K350, translated by Jñānagupta between 585-600 AC.

Correct the Sanskrit title in Nj.

1868 Sapta-buddhaka-sūtra

Nj. 367, T. 1334, K338, translated by Jñānagupta in 587 AC.

The Tib. translations of the Chinese titles are literal and do not go back to their counterpart title in the Tibetan Kanjur.

1869 Sapta-buddhaka-sūtra

Nj. 368, T. 1333, K346, anonymous translation done between 502-557 AC.

1886 Sumukha-dhāraṇī

Nj. 369, T. 1137, K342, translator unknown (317-420 AC)

Toh. 614=915 has the appropriate Sanskrit title. Correct it in Nj.

1896 Sumukha-dhāraṇī

Nj. 370, T. 1138[a], K343, translator unknown (317-420 AC).

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1900 Sumukha-dhāraṇī
  Nj. 371, T. 1139, K351, translated by Bodhiruci in 693 AC.
1934 Anantamukha-dhāraṇī (?)
  Nj. 375, T. 1343, K335, translated by Wan T'ien-i in 562-5 AC.
1984 [Daśākuśala-vyavaccheda-sūtra]
  Nj. 376, T. 309, K382, translated by Fo-nien between 365-385 AC.
1988 Raśmi-vimala-viśuddha-prabha-dhāraṇī
  Nj. 380, T. 1024, K352, translated by Mitraśānta (?) of Tukhāra in 704 AC.
  The Sanskrit title is from the Derge Kanjur (Toh. 510=982). Correct it in Nj.
2000 Mahāmāyā-sūtra
  Nj. 382, T. 383, K373, translated by T'an-ching (479-502 AC)
2008 Pañcasahasra-pañcaśata-buddha-nāma
  Nj. 408, T. 443, K394, translated by Jñānagupta in 594 AC. Toh. 262.
2113 Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukh-āvasthita-samādhi-sūtra
  Nj. 421, T. 1339, K397, translated by Fa-chung of Turfan between 402-413 AC.
2123 Mahādharmolkā-dhāraṇī
  Nj. 422, T. 1340, K388, translated by Jñānagupta in 594 AC.

Conclusion. 1. This collection comprises all the dhāraṇīs incorporated in the Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. The word *Kanjur* in its Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan titles is used in a broad signification of the Buddhist Canon and does not refer to the Tib. Mong. Kanjur of the Lamaist tradition. The Chinese characters used to denote the cases containing chüan and the exact correspondence of the sequence of titles confirms this conclusion.

2. In the translation of the Chinese titles into Tibetan and the two other languages, efforts have not been made consistently to find out the exact correspondence in the Tibetan Kanjur or Tanjur, e.g. the title on p. 1988 has a Tibetan counterpart but the redactors translated the Chinese title literally, which does not reflect the original Sanskrit title while the Tib. does.

3. This is the first attempt to collect together all the Chinese transcriptions of Sanskrit dhāraṇī-mantras and other texts sprawling over the Chinese Tripiṭaka. The differing transcriptions of Sanskrit into Chinese from the earliest to the last phase of translation of Indic texts into Chinese were put into a uniform transliteration system and the Sanskrit words were corrected as far as possible from the immeasurable resources of the living tradition of Lamaism and also from the Tibetan transcriptions of dhāraṇīs in the Kanjur. At its root lay the basic conception that only the correct pronunciation of Sanskrit lent efficacy to the mantra.

4. For the first time the different modes of Chinese transcriptions of Sanskrit were discussed and correlated to a new system of correct phonetic equivalences by 1749, the date in the Chinese parts of the collection. More than a century later, Stanislas Julien wrote his *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois*, Paris 1861.

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The scholars of Asia preceded their European colleagues by a century in an encyclopaedic effort to unravel Sino-Sanskrit phonology, and pave the way for the decipherment of historical materials like the Indian place-names in the records of the Chinese travellers Fa-hsien, Hsüan-tsang, I-tsing and others. Julien has made extensive use of the 9th case of the collection entitled *Thong-wen-yun-thong* dealing with the syllabary of various styles of transcription (p. 16).

5. This collection provides a mine of information to evaluate and verify the reconstruction of early Chinese phonology worked out from other sources. It can afford an approximate phonetic value of ideographs in various periods of Chinese speech, in the context of their correct Sanskrit pronunciation being known.

6. This collection can be worked into a corpus of fragments of lost Sanskrit texts, which will aid critical editions of Sanskrit citations in Central Asian, Tibetan, Mongolian, Sino-Japanese, Indonesian and other texts.

7. Nanjio has been the sole source for determining the Sanskrit titles of texts in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Nanjio was able to correct or confirm the Sanskrit titles of the Chinese translations by consulting the analysis of the Kanjur by Kőrősi Csoma. More corrections were effected in the Hōbōgirin, fascicule annexe (Tokyo 1931). This collection enables us to correct quite a number of Sanskrit titles in Nanjio, e.g. Nj. 162, 189, 197, 243, 325, 329, 361, 362, 364, 366, 369, 380, etc. It will aid to trace out and compare Sanskrit and Chinese texts

8. An in-depth study of the collection can solve a number of problems in linguistics, comparative literature and Sanskrit textual exegesis.

9. It was published in 1750 by order of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung (Bibliotheque nationale, nouveau fonds chinois, no.424; Julien 1861:16).

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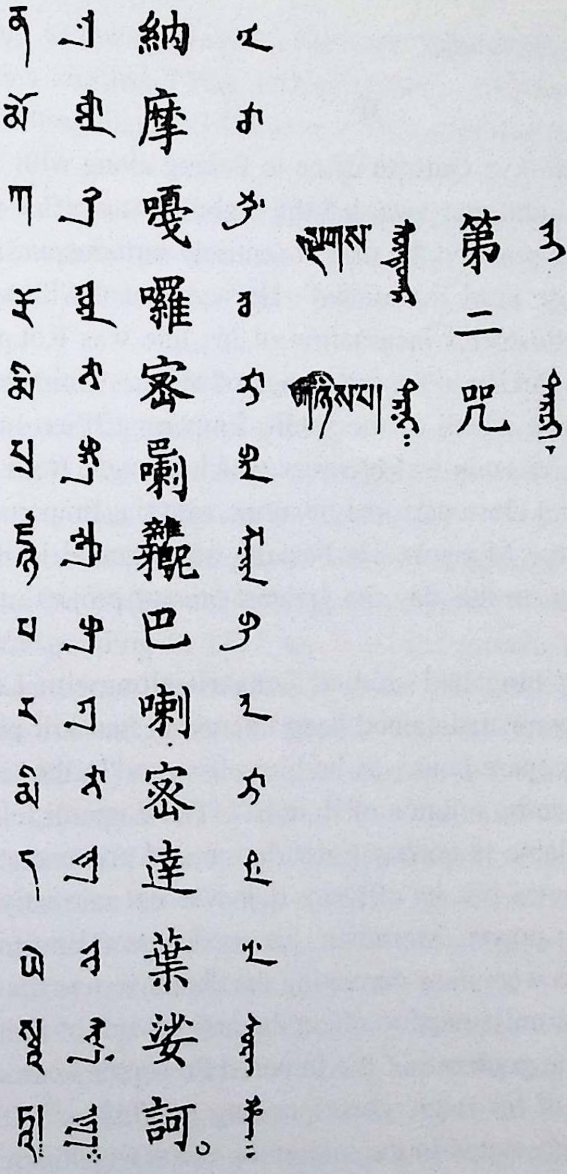
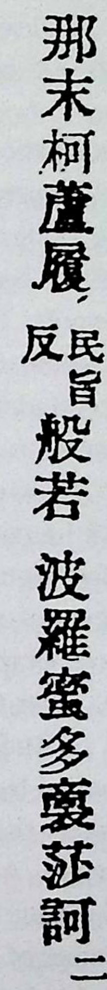

第二咒
納摩嘎囉塞蒯蘢巴喇塞達葉娑訶。

2. New transcription
in the Collection


那末柯盧履（民旨反）般若 波羅蜜多囊莎訶二

1. Earlier transcription
in the Chinese Tripiṭaka

Second sentence of the dhāraṇī in the Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā
translated by Saṅghavara in 518 AC.
This shows the different system in the earlier and new transcriptions.

II

The first incarnation of the Lcaṅ.skya Qutuγtu came to Peking along with Sum.pa.mkhan.po. He attracted the Emperor's attention and was awarded the highest lama office of the Great Jasak Lama in Peking, along with a golden seal and the title of 'entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great Teacher of the State, one whose head is anointed'. He was vested with spiritual sway over the Chahar Mongols. The second illustrious incarnation of his line was Rol.paḥi.rdo.rje (1717-1786) who was fortunate to come to Peking at the tender age of seven. A miracle child, he became the playmate, co-student and intimate friend of the future Emperor Ch'ien-lung. At the age of seventeen, he went on a diplomatic mission to Mgar.thar which brought fresh glory to him. His vast scholarship, immense vision, and close personal relations with the Emperor bore rich fruit in the spiritual and literary world of the Mongols. He became instrumental in the translation and publication of the Mongolian Tanjur, to this day the greatest literary project of the Mongols, the pearl of their devotion and learning.

As a prince, Emperor Ch'ien-lung had studied Sanskrit alongwith Lcaṅ.skya Qutuγtu Rol.paḥi.rdo.rje. Later too, the Emperor maintained deep interest in Sanskrit philological studies, besides a study of Buddhism in his spare hours, as he himself says: "In the leisure hours of my duties I have studied by myself the entire religion of Buddha". The Emperor felt it imperative that the dhāraṇī-mantras should be available in correct transcription and pronunciation in all the four scripts of the realm. A dhāraṇī-mantra lost its efficacy if it was not correctly pronounced. The precise phonetic value alone lent it power. Moreover, his predecessor Emperor Shih-tsung had assembled a number of scholars who were busy correcting the dhāraṇīs over the years. By imperial command several redactors were commissioned to effect the entire work of abstracting, compiling and correcting the dhāraṇīs under the guidance of the Imperial Preceptor Lcaṅ.skya Qutuγtu[1]. The work was started in the 13th year of his reign, corresponding to 1749 AC[2]. Its compilation was completed by 1759 AC, as it is clearly stated in the imperial preface which is reproduced in every volume and bears the date: 4th of the middle summer month of the regnal year (=1759 AC). Its printing took a long time, and it was completed as late as 1773 (Ch'ien-lung era 38).

This encyclopaedic quadrilingual collection of Sanskrit dhāraṇī-mantras is titled in four languages in an intentional sequence of: Manchu the language of the Emperor, Chinese the language of the Empire, Mongol the language of the Imperial Preceptor and editor of the work, and Tibetan the language of dharma (*chos.skad*).

The collection is divided into eight cases (Chin. t'ao, Tib. dum.bu), each of which is further sub-divided into ten fasciculi (Chin. chüan, Tib. bam.po). Besides, there are eight fasciculi of the index corresponding to the eight cases. They are supplemented by six fasciculi of phonetic cum orthographic studies entitled T'ung wên yün t'ung, and an ālikāli or the Sanskrit alphabet in Tibetan, Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese with a discussion of the method of reciting dhāraṇī-mantras.[1]

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[1] Foreword of 1758 to case I fascicule 1.

[2] The Chinese parts are so dated (Heissig 1954:137 n.3).

It is to be noted that the Sanskrit dhāraṇī-mantras are in transcription and they are not translations from Sanskrit into the four languages. The collection comprises 10,402 dhāraṇī-mantras and covers 451 sūtras.[2] It commences with a dhāraṇī from the Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā.

The number of fascicule as 80 is significant. It explains the time lag of about twelve years betwen the completion of the work in 1759 and its publication in 1773. The decision to publish the stupendous 80 fasciculi must have been taken by Emperor Ch'ien-lung to commemorate the 80th birthday of his pious mother, Empress Dowager Hsiao-shêng. This is supported by the Emperor's preface to the phonetic cum orthographic studies appended to the collection that on the 80th birthday (1771 AC) of his mother many religious scriptures were copied. This preface is dated in his regnal year 36 corresponding to 1771 AC. It is understandable that the rejoicings on mother's birthday provided an opportune occasion for the publication of 80 fasciculi which entailed a tremendous effort and vast expenditure. The Emperor showered his mother with pious gifts on her 60th, 70th and 80th birthdays: so we are informed by Hsü Sung in his *Tung-ch'ao ch'ung-yang lu* wherein he lists the gifts received by her[3]. This work deserves to be translated as it would shed valuable light on the art and literature of the Manchu period, and provide chronological landmarks for Mongolian, Manchurian and Tibetan studies. The importance of having a list of the presents received by the Empress Dowager can hardly be overrated, as vast sets of Buddhist statues were sculptured and cast for her birthdays and they are the richest known sources of Buddhist iconography. In chapter 18 of the *Kuo ch'ao kung shih* it is stated that on her sixtieth birthday she received a set of nine Buddhas and a complete set of Amitāyur Buddhas (18.2ab, 10ab)... "Ten years later, on her seventieth birthday, she was presented with more Buddhas: nine sets of Amitāyur Buddhas totalling 900 statues, nine sets of the same totalling 9000 statues, nine Buddhas, nine Amitāyur Buddhas, nine Buddhas, nine Amitāyur Buddhas, nine Bodhisattvas, nine *fo-mu*, eighteen *lo-han*, and nine Buddhas."[4] (18.12b-15a). Unfortunately it does not list the presents she received on her eightieth birthday. In this connection we have to remember that eminent personages were always presented with triple presents reflecting the three planes of *sku* 'body' or

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[1] Heissig (1954:137 n.1) says that the quadrilingual collection is in 16 t'ao and 85 Faltbücher. Nicholas Poppe et al. give 19 fasciculi in no. 61 and 7 fasc. in no. 62. The description is incomplete and does not help us to specify the relation of nos. 61 and 62.

[2] Heissig 1954:137.

[3] Hummel 1943:1.322.

[4] Clark 1937:xii, xiii.

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kāya, *gsuṅs* 'word' or *vāk*, and *thugs* 'spirit' or *citta*. The sacred objects are called *rten.gsum* that is *sku gsuṅs thugs rten* or "supports of the physical, verbal and spiritual plane". The images, statues or paintings, are the *sku* (the body), of that essence. A book is the *gsuṅs.rten*, the voice, the word, the verbal revelation; the *mchod.rten* corresponds to the *thugs* or the spiritual plane."[1] We may venture to think of the Pantheons of 300 and 360 deities and teachers to have been drawn on her 60th and 70th birthdays. According to the Mongolian chronicle *Altan erike* and the Imperial epilogue to volume 226 of the Mongolian Tanjur, the translation of the Tanjur into Mongolian commenced in the lunar month of December-January 1741-1742.[2] It corresponds to the fiftieth birthday of the Empress Mother[3] according to the lunar calendar. Thus myriads of images or paintings were done, thousands of books edited and xylographed and caityas were erected in celebration of the Empress Mother's birthday jubilees. The collection points to a fascinating investigation into the role of the Emperor's mother, during the long reign of her great son Ch'ien-lung, in the efflorescence of the cultural trinity of art, literature, and architecture, emanating the three planes of *kāya*, *vāk* and *citta*.

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[1] Tucci, 1949:815.

[2] Heissig 1954:85.

[3] According to lunar reckoning her birthdays are as follows:

60th birthday	11 January 1752
70th birthday	20 December 1761
80th birthday	30 December 1771 (Hummel 1943:322).

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28. PROF. TAN YUNSHAN AND SINO-INDIAN CULTURAL RELATIONS

Prof. Tan Yunshan was the embodiment of a migrant bird homing down to the earth of Lord Śākyamuni, to a life greater than his own, to gather meaning in the plenitude of the simple and in the scintillation of humane values. Learned in the supreme and sovereign, peerless and paramount values of the Confucian Classics, his mind also touched the indwelling enlightenment of Lord Śākyamuni, as well as the creativity of modern European thought, its astounding expression in the enrichment of human life, and in the blossoming of material needs. Body is the foundation of all values and as such Western modernity captivated the young Yunshan. Centuries and contemporaneity were the synergy of constant renewal, or as Abhinavagupta says:

That it becomes new at every moment
Is just the nature of the beautiful.

My father Prof. RaghuVira was fascinated by the Chinese pilgrim-scholars finding their way through the terror of deserts and mountains to seek the treasures of Dharma in the Western Land of India. What a mysterious energy seeking internal dimensions of Bodhi in words and minds, in Sutras and scholars, and to carry it back home to be rendered into their own diction of Chinese. These pilgrims were in sharp contrast to the constructs of European scholarship, like the Aryan invasion, the conquest of Alexander the Great being the first major event in Indian history, or the formulation of James Mill that India's history was one of invasions and thus British imperialism had a millennarian justification. On the contrary, the Chinese pilgrims were in quest of India's heights of thought, a deep cultural renaissance in the multiformity of Dharma as distinguished from the monocentrism of the Four Classics. Chih-meng who came to India in 404 and returned to Liang-chou in 447 studied the many philosophical systems of Buddhism. T'ang Wu-chieh who started from China in 420 speaks of 'stone honey' *(shih-mi)* or granulated sugar for the first time. He crossed the sea to SriLanka and returned to China by sea via Sumatra. Fa-hsien in 400, Sung-yun and Hui-sheng in 516-523, Hsüan-tsang in 629, I-tsing in 671 and many other intellectuals of China paid loving homage to India the Land of the Buddha, to the sacred Vulture Peak, to the Bodhi tree, and collected sacred scriptures with the wisdom of sages. Prof. Yunshan was a shining jewel of this historic legacy and his presence amongst us was an articulation of the flow of a time when we were a Free people. To the Indians, the dreams and doings of Yunshan were an invigoration of our smiles centuries ago.

The Chinese travelogues and hagiographies, particularly the *Records of the Western Regions* written by Hsüan-tsang, have been primary sources for the history of India. The archaeology of India could not have been initiated without these Records of Hsüan-tsang. He was the constant guide for General Cunningham in his survey of archaeological sites in the 19th century. The coming of Prof. Yunshan and the establishment of the Cheena Bhavan by him was a thrilling experience for Indian academics that long last they would have access to the immense riches of original Chinese texts that shed light on our history.

My father Prof. RaghuVira wanted to translate the Chinese versions of the Rāmāyaṇa in the *Sutra of Six Pāramitās* (Taisho 152) translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by K'ang Seng-hui of Sogdiana in 251 AC. There was another version in the *Ta-pao-tsang-ching* (Taisho 203) translated by Kekaya in 472 AC in collaboration with T'an-yao. Kekaya and T'an-yao played a major role in the planning and excavations of the Yün-kang caves. They introduced colossal images to the Buddhist art of China. My father was astonished that there was no edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka in India, and he had to get the photocopies of the two Chinese versions of the Rāmāyaṇa from Prof. Wogihara of the Imperial University, Tokyo. He got their photocopies, but he requested Prof. Yunshan to get a complete set of the Chinese Tripiṭaka for his International Academy of Indian Culture. Prof. Yunshan responded positively and within three years the Chinese Tripiṭaka arrived by ship, humid with sea breeze and damp with water. Father was ecstatic to have at hand the dedicated labours of a thousand years of transcreating the complexities of Buddhist thought and Sanskrit diction in Chinese. He would refer to Prof. Yunshan as an incarnation of Hsüan-tsang and Kumārajīva the two wonders of Buddhist linguistic creativity. He would often compare Prof. Yunshan's mind with the azure purity of the sky or as said in the *Lalitavistara,* the life of Lord Buddha: "Jinas abide in equanimity – their minds are like the sky."

Prof. Yunshan presented three more sets of the Chinese Tripiṭaka to different institutions in India. It was a historic occasion that Sutras were returning home and that scholars could access the richness of China's Buddhist heritage in institutions all over India. Prof. Yunshan was a Bodhisattva who helped the pursuit and exploration of wisdom. After centuries, he came to bring the Sutras back to India in the altruism of the Path of Bodhisattvas. Living a simple life, values and meditation were one in him. We looked upon him as an incarnation of one of the Sixteen Arhats to whom Śākyamuni had entrusted the task of protecting the Dharma and of rewarding virtue in various manners. The Nandimitrāvadāna translated into Chinese by Hsüan-tsang assigns different geographic regions to each of the Arhats. If Nandimitra had lived in our age he would have assigned Eastern India to Prof. Yunshan as his spiritual domain, to renew the vision of uprooting ignorance, to look deeper and deeper into the true nature of human becoming, and to disseminate the realms of Peace. Prof. Yunshan earned the respect of the noblest souls of India. In the words of a poet of mediaeval India: "What a wonderful lotus it is that blooms in the calyx of the heart." Like a lotus growing in the mire of a pond of becoming but not being stained by it, Prof. Yunshan was of this world but not of it. Living in a materialistic world, he blossomed in a symbolic universe.

Prof. Yunshan's ecstasy was Buddhism, tempered by centuries In the intricate variation of Sutras, in the swish of sacred scrolls, in the wholeness of faith, and as divine light mingled with love it became the great pilgrimage of his life. Beyond the lofty mountain shrine, exuberant sceneries, rivers and ponds of his native Hunan, his poem *Whereabouts* heralds his future course of life:

Beyond the sea at the corner of yonder
Land the old country is beckoning me.

Paying homage to the Buddhist shrine at Heng Mountain, his mind wandered from this world to the Pure-land of Amitābha:

Let our Sahā-lokadhātu metamorphose
Into the Pure-land Paradise.

The lustre of the pearls of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha were his radiation of a new renaissance. The deep underlying faith of Prof. Yunshan became the flowering of the Cheena Bhavan with its rare editions, like the Sung Tripiṭaka. He named his grandson (son of Prof. Tan Chung) Fatian the Chinese equivalent of Brahmā. Brahmā had requested Lord Buddha to convey his Enlightenment to mankind and thus he has been hailed in the Buddhist tradition as supramundane devotion. As Poet Tagore lay in repose in his final moments, Prof. Yunshan sat by his side reciting Sutras for his long life. His name Yun-shan means 'cloud-mountain'. *Dharma-meghā bhūmi* 'Dharma-cloud' is the tenth or highest Bodhisattva stage in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra. *Shan* or mountain is synonymous with a temple or monastery in Chinese. His name reflects intense concentration of mind to produce inner serenity. He was verily a Bodhisattva in his dedication to learning, frugal meals, minimal personal expenses and vegetarianism. In the words of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra he incarnated egolessness in its true significance. At the age of 85 he attained nirvāṇa at Bodhgaya which had drawn him to India and which culminated as the completion of his pilgrimage of life. The-then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi wrote: "it is a befitting close to his life of devotion that he should die at Bodhgaya." He had lived nobly, and passed away into *śūnyatā* nobly.

Prof. Yunshan has been hailed as the "Modern Hsüan-tsang." The success of the pilgrim was assured by Kings like Harṣa Śīlāditya and Kumārarāja of Kāmarūpa. Likewise the Professor was welcomed by the iconic personalities of the time like Poet Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru. The pilgrim carried back home the incense and palmyra, the smell and feel of India. *Pattra* or palmleaves were the holy sutras and *candana* or incense was the atmosphere of Buddhist devotion. Likewise, Prof. Yunshan brought to India the immense Chinese Buddhist literature and created the "Jade Tower with precious rocks" (in the words of poet Lu Wen) at the Cheena Bhavan which await keen young minds of India to search their secrets. A *Hymn to the Eight Great Caityas* by Harṣa Śīlāditya has been preserved in a Chinese transcription by Fa-t'ien done sometimes between 982 and 1001. The Indian emperor pays homage to the stupas in China besides the eight prime stupas in India. In the same vein, we have to renew our exaltation of the literary treasures collected by Prof. Yunshan by unraveling their transcendent wisdom.

The envisioned world of Prof. Yunshan has to be materialised by a careful uncovering. The Governments of the Peoples Republic of China and of the Republic of India have to institute

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a Chair at Santiniketan for Chinese Buddhist Studies. Blessed are the books that have awaited, but for how long? The Governments have to rescue them from the bondage of neglect and invite professors of life to shed light and look for ideas whose heart is the future. One doesn't live in today alone. The herculean efforts of Prof. Yunshan have to be celebrated in dedicated scholarship of coming generations. A resplendent ray of hope has been the great oeuvre of Prof. Tan Chung on the Tun-huang caves, on the history of cultural interflow between our countries for two millennia, and on the life of his great father Prof. Tan Yunshan in true filial piety of the Confucian tradition. Prof. Tan Chung carries gardens within, but does anyone await us on the other bank. Prajñāpāramitā is the passion of passage to the yonder Light in the whirlwind plenitude of the woodprints in the Cheena Bhavan, the heart of ideas, the intoxication of eternity.

Chinese characters

Sutra of Six Pāramitās (T 152) 六度集經
K'ang Seng-hui [康]僧會
Tsa-pao-tsang-ching (T 203) 雜寶藏經
Kekaya 吉迦夜
T'an-yao 曇曜
Lalitavistara (T 186) 普曜經
Nandimitrāvadāna (T 2030) 大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記
Sukhāvatī-vyūha (T 360, 361, 362-364) 無量壽經
Dharmameghā bhūmi 法雲地
Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (T 670) 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經
Harṣa Śīlāditya 西天戒日王
Hymn to the Eight Great Caityas 八大靈塔梵讚
Fa-t'ien 宋三藏法師法賢

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29. SINOCENTRISM AND CHAIRMAN MAO

(written in November 1965)

Chairman Mao sits cocksure in the political, ideological and military cockpit of the People's Republic of China, appropriately designated by its classic name of *Chung hua* or "the Central Kingdom of the Flower". The retention of the name can hardly be an act of chance or accident, anyhow it cannot but conjure grandiose associations in the Chinese mind. The Chinese communists have not been immune to the formative influences of their linguistic expression. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the founder of the Communist Party in China, used to make communism palatable to his people by resorting to the following reassuring formula: hitherto capital had been *ssu yu* (private), henceforth it was to be *kung yu* (public). So one had only to replace the character for *ssu* by that for *kung,* and abracadabra capitalism became communism. Reverting to the name *Chung hua* we may point out that China cannot avoid considering herself the centrum in the scheme of the world *(chung* 'centre, middle') and that implies her ascendance or superiority *(hua* 'flower') over others or 'barbarians' who surround her. She is the 'Bright Moon' among 'twinkling stars' — a perfect picture in a Chinese poem on 'Neighbourliness'. Chairman Mao, though trying to shun classicism or Confucianism as his credo, could not escape from the Collective Consciousness of China, garnered through a highly developed culture. A collection of his poems published in 1957 in the magazine *Poetry* were written in the ancient style derived from the Han dynasty models. Considering the development of China's new culture, he wrote as early as 24 April 1945: "It is wrong to adopt a policy of excluding foreign culture, and we must fully absorb progressive foreign culture as an aid to the development of China's new culture; but it is also wrong to import indiscriminately foreign culture into China for we must proceed from the actual needs of the Chinese people and assimilate it critically. Similarly, we must neither totally exclude nor blindly accept China's ancient culture; we must accept it critically so as to help the development of China's new culture...." In July 1957, one again finds him quoting Lao Tzu while discussing theoretic fundamentals like the correct handling of contradictions: "In short, we must learn to take an all-round view of things, seeing not only the positive side of things but also the negative side. Under specific conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing to bad results. More than two thousand years ago Lao Tzu said: <<It is upon bad fortune that good fortune leans, upon good fortune that bad fortune rests>>. When the Japanese struck into China, they called this a victory. Huge areas of China's territory were seized, and the Chinese called this a defeat. But China's defeat carried within it the seeds of victory, and Japan's victory carried within it the seeds of defeat. Hasn't this been proved by history?"

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To Chairman Mao, as to his people, the enlightenment stemming from her cultural patterns has been as great a reality as her adoption as well as adaptation of communism. It is still a powerful factor in the formation of his character, his aspirations and their expression. When the communes emerged in 1958, Chairman Mao used the Chinese equivalent *kung she.* Here the first character *kung* recalls to the educated Chinese a Golden Age, an image rich in glowing overtones of tradition (W. Franke, Die Rolle der Traditions in heutigen China, in *Moderne Welt* 1961:150). Even the military philosophy of Chairman Mao, which has established him as the architect of a new and successful method of warfare, has had its corroboration in ancient writers of the T'ang dynasty, the Golden Age of her history. In his classic philosophical essay *On Contradiction,* Chairman Mao cites Sun Tzu and Wei Cheng, a statesman and historian who lived from 580-643: <<Discussing military science, Sun Tzu said: "Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles without disaster"; he was referring to the two sides in a battle. Wei Cheng of the T'ang dynasty said: "To hear both sides makes you enlightened, and to hear only one side makes you benighted..."»

Chinese communism has fundamental differences which distinguish it from that of the Soviet Union and Chairman Mao has the pleasure of having created a *Chinese* brand, a Maoism, and not a mere imitation of the 'Red-nose Barbarians', as the Russians were spoken of in popular parlance in the fifties during the heyday of Sino-Soviet friendship. The sinocentrism of Mao's communism has been responsible, to a fair degree, for her independent course in international relations within the communist camp as well as for her domineering attitude in Asia.

History has ever been read as a lesson in universal principles governmg social relations, written by the literary elite in traditional China. In the China of today too, there is a staggering movement, the 'Four Histories Movement' which retains the basic idea of history serving socio-political functions but naturally revolutionised at the grass-root level according to Maoist purposes.

It would be interesting to understand Chinese territorial dynamics in the context of history. As early as the third century BC the first emperor of Ch'in dispatched to the north General Meng Tien with 300,000 men to drive back the Hsiung-nu (Huns), in which he succeeded. The Emperor then ordered that the original northern defensive walls of the states of Chin, Chao and Yen be linked up to form a bulwark resulting in the famous Great Wall. From the Sea at Shanhai-kuan, northeast of Peking, the Great Wall stretches westward along the northern marches into Kansu, about twelve hundred and fifty miles as the crow flies, and, with all its windings, probably over fifteen hundred miles. The First Emperor also conquered the Southern Yueh by dispatching an army of 500,000 men and thus starting the territorial expansion of China.

In the middle of the second century BC Emperor Wu ti (141-186 BC) of the Han dynasty, which has given its name 'Han' to the Chinese people, wrested control of the Kansu Corridor from the Huns. He also annexed Ferghana, leading the boundaries of China far deep into Turkestan. He had a passion for Ferghana thoroughbreds. Requests for these fine steeds having been rejected, he sent an army of one hundred thousand men under General Li Kuang-li in 102 BC to punish Ferghana.

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Between forty and fifty thousand men of this expeditionary force died of hunger, thirst and exhaustion on the 4,000-mile march through mountains and deserts. But, Ferghana was subdued, and the horses sent off to the Emperor. Further, it resulted in bringing under tribute all the minor States in the Tarim Basin. After the collapse of the Hsiung-nu empire in 58 BC the Chinese could impose their authority in Central Asia.

In AD 73 Pan Chao, called 'one of ancient China's greatest diplomats' by communist historians was sent to the Western Regions to complete the expansion started by the Han emperor. Although his entourage consisted of only one assistant and thirty-six civilians and did not include an army escort Pan Chao achieved "considerable diplomatic successes". In the state of Lop-Nor, the first he visited, he had the Hsiung-nu ambassador murdered and restored relations between Lop-Nor and Han. He further succeeded in tightening the Chinese hold over Khotan and Kashgar. In thirty years of activity he established "closest relations" with more than fifty states. Starting with the need of actively containing the Huns, Chinese policy underwent a fundamental change and became a policy of expansion in Turkestan.

China's expansionism continued during the successive dynasties. Emperor Yang-ti of the Sui dynasty (581-617) is credited with the subjugation of Annam and Kokonor. The dominions of the T'ang dynasty (618-907) included the Amur territories, Korea, Russian Turkestan, and Indo-China, i.e. its sway extended over larger areas than that of the present day Chinese Republic.

The consolidation and expansion of Peking began under the Manchu Emperor K'ang-hsi (1683-1722). Between 1690 and 1696 the Emperor actually took part in person against the Mongol prince Galdan who tried to found an independent Mongol kingdom. Galdan was defeated. In 1715, Tsewang Rabdan the Khan of the Western Mongols rose against the Chinese. Wars followed. They extended deep into Turkestan and ended with the final Chinese conquest of the whole of Mongolia and of parts of eastern Turkestan. At this time the Russians were also penetrating into Turkestan and expanding their empire in Asia. In 1650 the Russians established a fort by the Amur River. The Manchus, who regarded the Amur as their territory, destroyed the Russian settlement in 1685. Negotiations followed, resulting in the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689. In 1727, a new treaty was negotiated at Kiakhta (a town in Mongolia) and by this the Russians got permission to set up a legation at Peking, under instructions from the Chinese Foreign Ministry, which was called the "Office for the Regulation of Barbarians". The European notion of a legation clashed with Chinese ideas. For fifteen centuries, beginning with the Hsiung-nu, all the "barbarians" who had to bring tribute had been given houses in the capital, where their envoys could wait until the Emperor would receive them. These fundamental differences in approach were to give rise to political conflicts later on.

The territorial accretions throughout history gave a special frame of mind to the Chinese people and their rulers. China proper was distinguished from the outlying dependencies governed by her (like Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Manchuria — known as the Three Eastern Provinces) as "the Middle Kingdom", which was the sole legitimate ruler of civilised mankind with the others,

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the barbarians, subordinate to her. Centuries of training have bred in them the conviction that the other world should be subject to them, and that these "world-embracing ideals" are as much cultural as political. It has become a fundamental principle leading to a sense of superiority over all other peoples and cultures: "This was not so much a conscious conviction to be argued for, as it was an inbred quality". As recently as 1965, Chinese historians, probing the past under the guidance and dictates of the Communist Party have emphasised that China's historic development presents itself as a *'historical model'* in the 'universal stages' of Marxist historical realism (primitive Communism → slave society → feudalism → capitalism → communism). They further stress that China has developed in its own way.

What is the fate of all these imperialistic expansions under the Peoples Republic of China which professes to be anti-imperialistic? Let us look at the 1958 map of the administrative divisions. The first thing which one notices is three autonomous regions: firstly "Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region" in the extreme south bordering on Vietnam, secondly "Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region" in North and North-East, and thirdly "Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region." Tibet has been divided up into two provinces bearing different names, one 'Tibet' and the other 'Chamdo Area'. The earlier designation 'Tibetan Autonomous Region' has disappeared from the map. The discontinuation of the term 'autonomous region' with regard to Tibet is highly significant. It has preceded the invasion of Lhasa and the occupation of entire Tibet by Chinese armies. The naming of the Eastern part of Tibet as 'Charado Area' is the constituent of a bigger design which had, earlier, named the northern Kokonor province of Tibet as 'Chinghai'. The use of a Chinese name in place of the original name Kokonor is to assert that Chinghai is Han or Chinese proper. The word Chinghai is a compound term, composed of *Ching* meaning 'blue' and *hai* meaning 'lake'. It is a literal translation of the original word Kokonor *(Koko* meaning 'blue' and *nor* meaning 'lake'). Thus the assimilation of Tibet will be (i) through as simple a process as terminological sinification of the northern Kokonor province, (ii) by giving a separate provincial status to Chamdo, and (iii) through military action.

The Northern and North-Western neighbour of Tibet is Eastern Turkistan. But 'Turkistan' will never appear in Chinese maps. Only Sinkiang. The terms Turkistan ("country of the Turks") is tobooed. China is the mother-land, not only of the Hans but of the Turks too. Sinkiang in Chinese is very significant. Sin means 'new', kiang means 'territory'. It is a vast area occupying sixteen lakh square kilometers or six lakhs and a quarter of square miles i.e. half the area of present-day India.

Tibet and Chamdo occupy twelve lakh square kilometers or 4.7 lakh square miles. Add to Chinghai, another three lakh square miles.

Then there is the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, sprawling over the North and North-East. An expanse of another four and a half lakh square miles. In between Chinghai and Inner Mongolia there is the Kansu Corridor, the region of Tibetans, Turks, and Mongols. The extreme North-East, which till recently was inscribed as Manchuria, the land of Manchus, whose Emperors sat on the throne of Peking from 1644 to 1911, is no longer designated by its own name. The word Manchuria brings frowns on the foreheads of the Chinese. It is cut up into three provinces, each having a separate name, Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang. The area of these provinces is more than three lakh square miles. The population has been under high pressure of sinification, and one can hardly meet a person who dare call himself a Manchu.

It will not be out of place to note here that Mongolia and Manchuria have been the spheres of influence of Tibet, of which the greatest single symbol has been their allegiance to Tibetan Lamaism and the cultivation of Tibetan language, as against Chinese Buddhism, Taoism or Confucianism and Chinese language.

When one sums up the total areas of the different regions inhabited by and belonging to peoples other than Han, one finds that almost double the area of India is an annexation. All this is under a heavy pressure of 'total sinification' by active administrative control. It is going on ruthlessly in all possible directions. The use of the Chinese language is being intensified and, within a short period every school-going child will be speaking Chinese. Dress and food, housing and recreation, social habits and even courtesies and general manners are being cast in the Chinese mould.

Throughout her history, the expansion of China had moved into Central Asia and regions beyond her northern frontiers. In modern times, Soviet interests have been consolidated in both these directions and the question of territorial expansion herein had to be treated as delimited, if not closed, for the Soviet Union was the mentor. Yet China's determination to consolidate her historic rights has always been firm. In the autumn of 1952 Chou En-lai went to Moscow and succeeded in getting the Manchurian railway system transferred to his administration, with an extension of Soviet rights to use Port Arthur. Half share in the Manchurian railway network and the right to use Port Arthur as a naval port had been ceded to Stalin at Yalta in 1945, at the expense of a week China. Red China persisted and in 1954 a Soviet delegation to the fifth anniversary of the Peoples Republic of China headed by Khrushchev and Bulganin was obliged to meet Chinese wishes. In December 1954 the Soviet Union sold its shares in the companies and guaranteed the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Port Arthur by 31 May 1955.

With her influence on the increase, China wanted to extend her Great Leap policy from home to international affairs. In November 1957, speaking to students in Moscow, Chairman Mao said that the east wind was now stronger than the west wind, when Mao's sinocentric tones were openly articulated. Mao's relentless Great Leap forward was a temptation to hasten up the economic tempo. When Krushchev expressed that Moscow and Peking should synchronise their watches, the Chinese ominously asked "which is to be the master watch?" *(Peking Review,* 15 March 1963).

The Chinese have taken the utmost advantage of presenting themselves as brothers to Asian and African peoples as against the Soviet Union who cannot rid themselves of their being Europeans or of their imperialist past. The Chinese have tried to drive the Soviet Union to the bay.

The militant spirit of China is not dead nor is her patriotic fervor abated. The donning of communism has whetted her appetites of domination not only of territories contiguous to her, but of the entire world. She dreams of a Chinese world revolution. The Soviet Union has been put on the ideological defensive and China can turn her attention to military adventures.

The conquest of Tibet was accompanied by large-scale fraternisation with India leading up to the foredoomed Pancashila. The ultimate goal of Tibet's conquest was however quite different. It has been openly expressed by Chinese officials in Lhasa, and it has been summarised by Venerable Ngawang Thubtob of the Tashilhumpo Monastery (the seat of the Panchen Lama) as follows: "We are sure of the ultimate victory because there are many Communists in all parts of the world. India is nothing but a 'paper tiger'. Our plan is, first of all, to conquer India. From India, we can obtain all the materials we need for our military supplies. We have conquered Tibet but Tibet does not have sufficient supplies for our army. Tibet, however, has become very useful to us as a springboard for our attack on India. Because Tibet is a strategic country, we are going to guard the Indo-Tibetan border securely. Thereafter, the conquest of India is an easy affair. For this reason, it is necessary to increase the food production for the Chinese army and to support the army wholeheartedly".

While overtly India and China continued to be friends, China has surreptitiously carried on annoying border incidents. In October 1962 the Chinese launched a massive attack on the northern frontiers of India on their own, and in true mandarin style the Chinese withdrew with a sinister smile. India lay humbled. China had vindicated her position as the dominant military power in Asia. In the meantime China's determination to extend her influence throughout Southeast Asia was apparent ever since the communist advent in 1949, and the effectiveness of her impact went on steadily increasing with her growing power, political dynamism and military might. Since the premiership of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in 1956, Ceylon has veered to a non-aligned position. Already in 1949 the Burmese had warned that "our tiny nation cannot have the effrontery to quarrel with any power" (Prime Minister U Nu on 11 December 1949). The trend in Indonesia has shifted from a pro-Chinese policy to one of antagonism in recent months. Cambodia has been drawn into the ambit of China by the conviction of Prince Norodom Sihanouk that his weak country's survival demands China's hand of friendship: "It would be absurd to suppose that a tiny country like mine, geographically situated as it is, would risk provoking the Chinese and Soviet colossi now that planes fly so fast and rockets so far..... Our neutrality has been imposed on us by necessity..... By practising genuine neutrality which eliminates any pretext for aggression we have a chance of not bringing down storm on our heads; and a storm can be dangerous where there is no lightning conductor" (July 1958). In Laos, the Pathet Lao movement has the moral support of Peking and Hanoi and can be a potential pressure or threat at the discretion of Peking. Peking has tried to foster 'creeping neutralism' among the committed countries of Asia: Thailand, Philippines, and Malaysia, by trade missions, visits of influential individuals, etc. But these moves have not been able to corrode the anti-Peking attitude of these countries. The centrifugalism of Asian politics has been responsible for the absence of a collective security system or even a Common Asian Market as a precedent step for the amelioration of Asia's economic conditions or her defences against the yellow peril. Asian states stand divided in purpose and blissfully unmindful of the disturbing possibilities of Chinese expansionism.

China is availing advantages conferred by the Sinic Kulturkreis. China has been extending her influence in Vietnam, the only SE Asian area which basically belongs to the Sinic fold: their culture is a blend of indigenous and Chinese elements. Even Moscow has acquisced into it: Moscow did not recognise Ho Chi Minh's government until Peking had done it. Peking gave recognition on 18 January 1950, and Moscow followed suit on 31 January 1950. The pro-Peking faction in Vietnam which believes that they have no alternative but to lean heavily on their powerful neighbour *(China Quarterly* 1962), wields more power than the nationalist faction in North Vietnam which looks toward Moscow, for only Moscow can save them from becoming a province of Red China. Chairman Mao has been proved right in regarding North Vietnam as a valuable base for expanding their influence, in pursuance of their historic dictum *i i chi i* "to use barbarians to control barbarians". He has found it expedient to leave the initiative in North Vietnamese hands while giving its full backing to their moves. The astounding success of this coordinated strategy may be gauged in the arguments of the carrier diplomat George F. Kennan who is one of the architects of America's postwar policy of communist containment in Europe: "Any total rooting out of the Viet Cong could be achieved, if at all, only at the cost of a degree of damage to civilian life for which I would not like to see this country responsible. To attempt to crush North Vietnamese strength to a point where Hanoi could no longer give any support for Viet Cong political activity in the South would almost certainly have the effect of bringing in Chinese forces, thus involving us in a military conflict with Communist China in one of the most unfavourable theaters of hostility that we could possibly choose".

Chairman Mao wants to use to the full his being an Asian. He has tried to change Marxism from a European to an Asian form. On 8 November 1956 Soong Ching-ling spoke that the classic type of revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is the Chinese revolution. In March 1963, *Peking Review* implied that the absurd theory of 'Europe as the center of the world' must be destroyed, and further added that the great victory of the Chinese revolution had a strong and widespread influence in Asia.... By encouraging europo-fugal tendencies, Chairman Mao can ensure a vacuum wherein he may step in. Europe (America included) cannot but feel a distance from Asians. In this connection I may once again quote Mr. George F. Kennan: "Our country should not be asked, and should not ask of itself, to shoulder the main burden of determining the political realities in any other country, and particularly not in one remote from our shores, from our culture and from the experience of our people. This is not only not our business, but I don't think we can do it successfully."

Morton H. Halperin *(China and the Bomb,* London, 1965) puts this question in our mouths: "Asian states will begin to ask themselves whether the defense of Assam, or of Burma or even perhaps of Japan is worth the risk to the U.S. of unspecified millions of casualties". It all goes to exemplify Chairman Mao's famous thesis "all reactionaries are paper tigers", which he regards a fundamental strategic concept for revolutionary people. To understand the nature of China's threat to Asia and the relation it bears to the war in Vietnam it may be wise to recall the words of Chairman Mao in his classic work *Yu Chi Chan:* «There are some militarists who say: "We are not interested in politics but only in the profession of arms." It is vital that these simple-minded militarists be made to realize the relationship that exists between politics and military affairs. Military action is a method used to attain a political goal. While military affairs and political affairs are not identical, it is impossible to isolate one from the other».

China has also proved successful in awakening the europocentric sentiments in France which place the interests of Europe above Asia. Since October 1963 De Gaulle has consistently advocated neutralisation, to begin with in Vietnam. In 1965, Jean Chauvel of France has gone further still and has put forth the neutralisation of the whole SE Asian region, of course with guarantees. He has conveniently overlooked the machinery that would ensure the honouring of these guarantees. This would suit Chairman Mao for whom neutralisation would be a prelude to his ambitions. Even in West German circles one finds the questioning of the wisdom of 'greater' involvement in Asian affairs, which may ultimately be at the cost of Europe. With the softening of the Western will and determination, the attainment of prestige and surely greater power through the development of nuclear arms, the vantages accruing by virtue of being an Asian power, China can aspire to assert her hegemony over Asia, as a prerequisite to a world Maoist revolution, which has been reaffirmed in Lin Piao's thesis, published on 3 September 1965 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the "Victory in the Chinese Peoples' War of Resistance against Japan". With all its false assumptions, subjective interpretation of experience, the thwarting factor of nationalism, it is a significant restatement of Chairman Mao's designs at a time when the great might of the United States has been put into a questioning mood. While the 'war by proxy' wins Chairman Mao prestige, the renewed statement by Lin Pao on the ideological front, consolidates Chairman Mao's home position in his own ideological pattern: "We advocate an active ideological struggle, because it is the weapon for achieving solidarity within the Party and the revolutionary organisations and making them fit to fight" (Chairman Mao). The indomitable spirit which Chairman Mao is trying to inculcate as a corner-stone of his expansionist designs cannot be brushed aside. This brings to mind a painting "The Spirit of 1776", beloved by generations of Americans, depicting a legend of the American Revolution: "In 1776 the year of the Declaration of Independence, General George Washington's ragged, ill-equipped militiamen were frequently defeated, yet indomitable in spirit. British troops, the story goes, threatened a key position. But the boy, the old man, the wounded soldier and a handful of followers marched so bravely, with fife and drums and flag, that the British withdrew in the face of what they thought was a superior American force."

Chairman Mao is determined to see that the last vestiges of American as well as European presence in Asia are done away with and U.S. influence reduced in the Pacific. The political-cum-military mechanics of Chairman Mao have not been in vain. For instance the influential *Sydney Morning Herald* editorialised: "Most serious and most challenging is the need to re-adjust Australian policy to keep pace with the huge shift of power caused by the rise of Communist China as a nuclear and industrial power and by the slow withdrawal of Great Britain from S.E. Asia". Some Australian leaders have started to think of a Tokyo-Delhi-Canberra or a yet more broad-based Asian defence organization. The US has started to think of the remote possibility of a Chinese involvement though fully aware of their present incapability to deal such a blow: "Indeed, if the Chinese do turn inward and succeed in organizing the vast resources of their country, they could eventually pose an immense threat. To do so, however, they would first have to close the scientific-technological gap between themselves and the U.S. — a feat which, as the Soviets proved, is not totally beyond the realm of possibility." This is a trend which endows Chairman Mao with a secret inner strength. He can camouflage his serious threat to Asia under the cloak of worldwide domination: *sheng tung, chi hsi* "thunder in the East, strike in the West", an important principle of distraction on one hand and concentration on the other.

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30. जापान में पुष्पित भारत

१९७० में जापान की प्रथम यात्रा की। अद्भुत संस्कृति और विलक्षण विज्ञान के साक्षात्कार हुए और अनायास मन में योग के मूलभूत सिद्धान्त अभ्युदय और निःश्रेयस का ध्यान आया। संस्कार और कर्मयोग के समन्वय का चमत्कार था। जापान में ममकार और श्रम की वरेण्यता के कारण कल्पनातीत विकास हुआ है। यहां शब्द शूद्र हैं और कर्म ब्रह्मण्य है। यदि भारत में भी कभी ऐसा हो जाए ... । जापान सन् ५५० तक सभ्यता-विहीन देश था। ५५२ में कोरिया के कुदारा राज्य के नरेश ने सुवर्ण-मण्डित भगवान् बुद्ध की प्रतिमा, धर्मग्रन्थ और भिक्षु जापान भेजे। सुवर्ण मूर्ति, सूत्र और श्रमण नए युग का सूत्रपात बने। इन तीन को जापान में त्रि-निधि कहते हैं। बौद्धधर्म के प्रवेश से लिखना-पढ़ना, व्यवस्थित प्रशासन, वस्त्र-वयन, धातुकर्म, वास्तुकला, कालगणना, आदि अनेक लोक-हितकारी विज्ञानों का प्रारम्भ हुआ। जब कभी जापानी विद्वानों और विचारकों से गहन चर्चा होती है, कहते हैं — "प्राचीन भारत हमारे लिए आदरणीय है"। छठी शताब्दी के राजकुमार शोतोकु ताइशी ने नए साहित्य, चिन्तन, स्थापत्य आदि को पूर्णतः आत्मसात् किया। जापानी भाषा में सुवर्णभासोत्तम-सूत्र, श्रीमालादेवी-सिंहनाद-सूत्र और विमलकीर्ति-निर्देश की जापानी टीकाएं लिख कर जापानी साहित्य का श्रीगणेश किया। राज्य की व्यवस्था नए चिन्तन के अनुरूप बनाने के लिए जापान का सर्वप्रथम संविधान लिखा। इस में पहली बार बहुजनहिताय बहुजनसुखाय को चरितार्थ करने के लिए प्रावधान किए। यह १७ धाराओं का संविधान होर्यूजी मन्दिर में आज भी सुरक्षित है। लागू करने से पूर्व इसे "उष्णीषविजया-धारणी" से सन् ६०४ में अभिमन्त्रित किया गया था। यह संस्कृत ताडपत्र आज तक सुरक्षित है और जापानी सरकार ने इसे राष्ट्रीय निधि घोषित किया है। शोतोकु ताइशी जापानी सभ्यता के आदि-प्रवर्तक हैं, उसके प्रवर निर्माता हैं। नए युग के अभिनन्दन के लिए उन्होंने ओसाका नगर के पास शितेन्नोजी मन्दिर की स्थापना की। इसमें चतुर्महाराजिक की चार मूर्तियां देश की सतत रक्षा के लिए विराजमान हैं। भारत का सिद्धान्त, शास्त्रादपि शस्त्रादपि, जापान में मूर्तिमान है। कहते हैं — केन् ज़ेन इचि 'खड्ग (केन्) और ध्यान (ज़ेन्) एक हैं'। जापान देश की रक्षा संस्कृत से अनूदित सूत्रों और देवप्रतिमाओं से होती रही है। पचास वर्षों के भीतर शोतोकु ताइशी ने जापान को उस युग के विकसिततम राष्ट्र चीन के समकक्ष बना दिया था। शोतोकु ताइशी का प्रासाद आज होर्यूजी मन्दिर के रूप में विराजमान है — संसार के प्राचीनतम लकड़ी के भवन। केसर रंग की मंगलमयी आभा और भित्तिचित्र आज भी अजन्ता के भव्य युगों की स्मृतियां उजागर करते हैं। शोतोकु ताइशी ने काताओका गांव में रहने वाले एक भारतीय योगी पर कविता लिखी। जो आश्चर्य जापान ने छठी शती में किया था, वही १९वीं शती में किया। मेइजी काल में पचास वर्षों में जापान योरोप के समकक्ष हो गया।

सन् ६५१ में भारतीय आचार्य धर्मबोधि चीन से होते हुए जापान पहुंचे। होक्केज़ान् नगर में रहे और तत्कालीन सम्राट् की चिकित्सा की। सहस्रभुज अवलोकितेश्वर (जापानी में — सेन्जू कान्नोन्) के भक्त थे। सहस्र हाथ और उनकी हथेलियों पर सहस्र आंखें हैं। सहस्र आंखें सतत उजागर हैं और जो भी देखती हैं उन्हें सहस्र हाथ क्रियान्वित करते हैं। जापान जो भी देखता है, उसे समझता है, और करता है — यही उसके आधुनिक विकास का रहस्य है।

सन् ७५२ में तोदाइजी बिहार में जापान की एकता को सुदृढ करने के लिए सम्राट् ने रोचन तथागत की विराट् प्रतिमा का स्थापना की। इसकी प्राणप्रतिष्ठा भारतीय आचार्य बोधिसेन ने की। चम्पा (वीतनाम) से एक और भारतीय आचार्य आए।

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इस अवसर पर भारतीय संगीत और नाटकों का अभिनय किया गया। ये आज भी सुरक्षित हैं। राजप्रासाद में विशेष अवसरों पर अभिनय किया जाता हैं।

सन् ७५४ में चीन से भिक्षु गान्जिन् जापान आए। अपने साथ भारत के चमड़े के जूते, काच-पात्र, और आयुर्वेद लाए। महिलाओं को धार्मिक जीवन में विशेष स्थान दिलवाया। इस समय की जड़ी बूटियों के नमूने शोसोइन् में आज उपलब्ध हैं। इन दिनों नारा राजधानी के राजमार्गों पर भारतीय वेषभूषा सामान्य घटना थी।

जापान में सन् ७६६ में मिकावा प्रान्त के समुद्रतट पर भारतीय युवक ने शरण ली। तन पर छोटा सा कच्छा और घास का उत्तरीय ही बचा था। साथ में कपास के बीज थे। नारा राजधानी के कावादेरा मन्दिर में रहने लगा और कपास की खेती आरम्भ की। कपास के लिए जापानी शब्द 'वाता' अथवा 'हाता' संस्कृत 'पट' का अपभ्रंश है। जापानी इतिहास निहोन्कोकी और रुइजू-कोकुशी में स्पष्ट लिखा है कि सूती कपड़े भारत की देन हैं।

जापानी वर्णमाला का प्रारम्भ है — आ इ उ ए ओ । का कि कु के को ... आदि। यह वर्णमाला संस्कृत पर आधारित है। कोबो दाइशी ने इसका प्रवर्तन किया था कि सर्वहारा शिक्षित हो सके। कोबो दाइशी ने मन्त्रयान का प्रवर्तन किया। इसमें प्रत्येक प्राणी बुद्धांकुर है अर्थात् सब बोधि प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। परन्तु समकालीन समाज में केवल सामन्त परिवारों के बच्चे ही चीनी अक्षरों की शिक्षा पा सकते थे। सर्वव्यापक बनाने के लिए 'काना' वर्णमाला का आविष्कार किया। कोबो दाइशी ने जापान में संस्कृत मन्त्रों का प्रसार किया और इनको लिखने के लिए सिद्धंनागरी का प्रयोग किया। आज तक 'सिद्धम्' में मन्त्र लिखे जाते हैं।

सत्रहवीं शताब्दी में अवतंसक-सूत्रों के विद्वान् होतान् समुद्र के पानी में पैर धोकर ही संतोष करते थे कि उनकी भारत की तीर्थयात्रा हो गई, क्योंकि सागर का जल भारत के पावन तटों को छूता होगा।

क्योतो नगर में बालू और पत्थरों का उपवन है। इसे 'कारे सान्सुइ' अथवा 'शुष्क सागर' कहते हैं। भवसागर का प्रतीक है।

५०० भारतीय आचार्यों की प्रतिमाओं का मन्दिर तोक्यो राजधानी में है। इसे गोह्याकु राकान् कहते हैं। संकटों से देश की रक्षा करने का लिए बना था।

कोयासान् के पर्वतीय नगर पर गणेशजी की प्रतिमा एक दुकान में मंगलार्थ पड़ी थी। ताकाओसान् में गणेश जी का सहस्त्र वर्ष पूर्व का मन्दिर है। जापान में संस्कृत मन्त्रों से होम होता है। ध्यान/जेन् मौन में लगाया जाता है — इसका जापानी मानस पर इतना गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा कि यन्त्र ध्वनिरहित बनते हैं। जापानी कवि प्रायः बौद्ध भिक्षु थे — यथा, हाइकु के प्रवर्तक कवि बाशो।

जापान में श्रम और सूक्ष्मता बौद्ध धर्म की देन है। भिक्षु सब प्रकार का परिश्रम करते थे — विद्या, वर्षा, तडाग, रोगोपचार, आदि। बौद्ध धर्मग्रन्थ कठिन कांजि (चीनी अक्षरों) में लिखे हैं — इन्हें लिखने से सूक्ष्मता का स्वभाव पड़ता है। आधुनिक विज्ञान में सतत अध्यवसाय और उद्योग में निरन्तर कर्मयोग के मूलाधार का सूत्रपात जापान में बौद्ध धर्म के प्रवेश से हुआ और १५०० वर्षों से चल रहा है॥

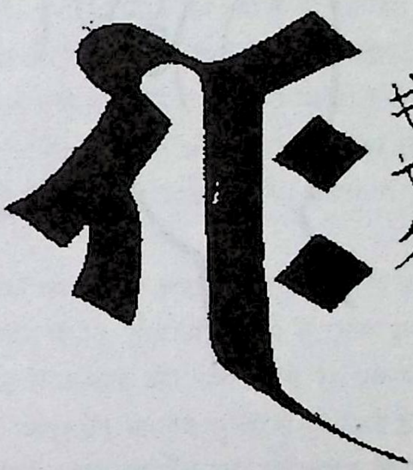
जापान के कण-कण में, हृदयों के अन्तस्तम में भारत की छायाएं झलकती हैं। जापानी बच्चे वर्णमाला प्रारम्भ करते हैं — आ इ उ ए ओ, का कि कु के को .... आदि। जैसे हमारे यहां बाराखड़ी है वहां पांचखड़ी है — पांच स्वर हैं। जापान का राष्ट्रगान किमिगायो एक हजार वर्ष पुराना है जिसमें राष्ट्र के उन्नत होने की कामना है। यह इच्छा उन पाषाणों के समान पावन और अटल है जिनसे विराट् प्रतिमाएं बनती हैं —

> देव, महाराज, राज्य करते रहो, जब तक छोटे छोटे पत्थर
> कालान्तर में, विराट् शैल बन जाएं।

जापान का आर्थिक विकास और वैज्ञानिक उन्नति इसी संकल्प का परिणाम है — शिलाएं शैल बन गई हैं।

सन् ५५२ में जापान में बौद्ध ग्रन्थ, प्रतिमाएं और श्रमण पहुंचे। जनजातीय जीवन से जापान साम्राज्य बना। जापान के अशोक, राजन्य शोतोकु ने प्रथम संविधान बनाया, जिसमें १७ धाराएं थीं। इसमें प्रथम बार लोक-हित की झलक थी — 'बहुजनहिताय बहुजनसुखाय' राज्य का कर्तव्य बना। प्रथम विहार होर्यूजी की स्थापना हुई। होर्यूजी का अर्थ 'धम-वर्धन-विहार' है। इसके भित्ति चित्र अजन्ता की शैली के हैं। संविधान की प्रतिष्ठा करने के लिए उष्णीषविजया-धारणी का पाठ किया गया था। यह गुप्तकालीन हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ है जो भारत से जापान गया था। यह आज भी 'राष्ट्र-निधि' के रूप में सुरक्षित है। यह केवल शासन की अनुमति से वर्ष में एक बार पूजा के लिए निकाला जाता है।

आठवीं शताब्दी में कोबो दाइशी ने जापान में मन्त्रमान का प्रवेश किया। इस में पूजा संस्कृत मन्त्रों से होती है, सैंकड़ों मुद्राएं प्रयोग की जातीं है और होम (जापानी में 'गोमा') भी किया जाता है। होम आज भी होता है और इसके लिए आस्ट्रेलिया से शुद्ध घी मंगवाते हैं। जब मैंने कहा कि आप घी भारत से मंगवाएं, अधिक पुण्य मिलेगा, जापानी भिक्षु मुस्करा दिए। कोबो दाइशी ने शिक्षा सब को सुलभ की। पहिले केवल सामन्त-परिवारों के बच्चे ही पढ़ते थे। परन्तु अब जन्मगत भेदभाव किए बिना सब को शिक्षा दी जाने लगी। मन्त्रों को लिखने के लिए सिद्धम् लिपि का प्रयोग किया जाने लगा जो आज तक प्रचलित है। यह लिपि कोबो दाइशी ने कश्मीरी पण्डित प्राज्ञ से सीखी थी। देवनागरी से मिलती है। गणेशजी का बीजाक्षर 'ग:' सिद्धम् लिपि में —



जापान में गणेश जी, सरस्वती, लक्ष्मी, आदि अनेक देवों की मुद्राएं उपलब्ध हैं। इनका विनियोग पूजा में है। अगले पृष्ठ पर गणेशजी और श्रीमहादेवी लक्ष्मी की मुद्राएं दी जा रही हैं।

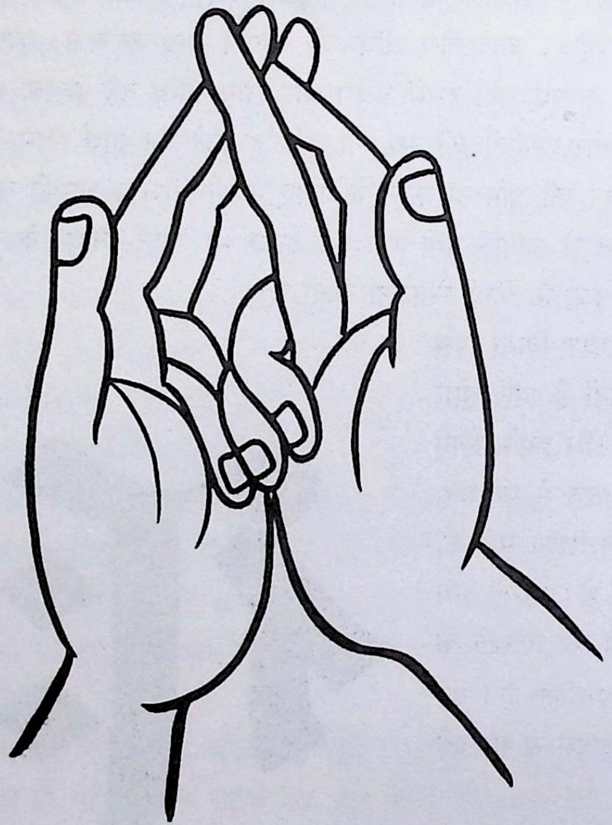
जापान में संस्कृत संगीत. १९७२ वर्ष की कड़कड़ाती ठण्ड में जापान में लेखक-सम्मेलन के लिए निमन्त्रित था। निमन्त्रण देने वाले नोबल पुरस्कार विजेता श्री कावाबाता, 'सात सोई सुन्दरियां' लिख कर स्वयं सो गए थे। हाराकिरी कर ली कि मैं वृद्ध हो गया, शरीर व्यर्थ हो गया और फिर से सुप्त-सुन्दरियों के समकक्ष अनुभव और कृति असम्भव हो गई। क्योतो में पहुंचा, तो कावाबाता के निधन में वातावरण क्षुब्ध पाया। मन्दिरों की घण्टियों के सान्ध्य स्वर वायु में लुप्त होते सुनाई देते — अनित्यता का अनुपम उदाहरण। सम्मेलन पूर्ण होने पर पर्वतांचलों के मौन में विराजमान कोयासान गया। यहां कई सौ मन्दिर हैं, प्राचीन स्मृति-चैत्य हैं और यह मन्त्रयान का मुख्य केन्द्र है। शून्य से ४० अंश नीचे का हड्डियां चीरकर घुसता हुआ शीत था। सायं बिजली के मेज़ के चारों ओर यामामोतो परिवार के साथ बैठकर पूछ रहा था कि ऐसे वातावरण में मूर्तियां कैसे शिल्पित की जा सकती हैं और पटचित्रों का आलेखन कैसे सम्भव है? मिलने आए हुए थे — भिक्षु कोजुन् आराइ। आराइ बोले — मैं आपको संस्कृत संगीत सुनाऊंगा और शीत भाग जाएगा। पूछा — कौनसा संस्कृत संगीत? बोले — सुनिए । गाने लगे, ऊंचे स्वर में, ध्यान में विलीन, शाताब्दियों के भावों में मग्न। यह मंगलाष्टक का पहिला पद्य था —

यन्मंगलं तुषित-विमान-गर्भाद्
आसीद् इहावतरतो जगतो हिताय।
सेन्द्रैः सुरैरनुगतस्य तथागतस्य
तन्मंगलं भवतु शान्तिकरं तवाद्य॥

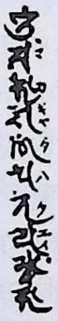
Funding by IKS-MoE

毘（び）那（な）夜（や）迦（か）

गणेशजी की मुद्रा। सिद्धं लिपि में मन्त्र लिखा है — ॐ महागणपतये स्वाहा ॥

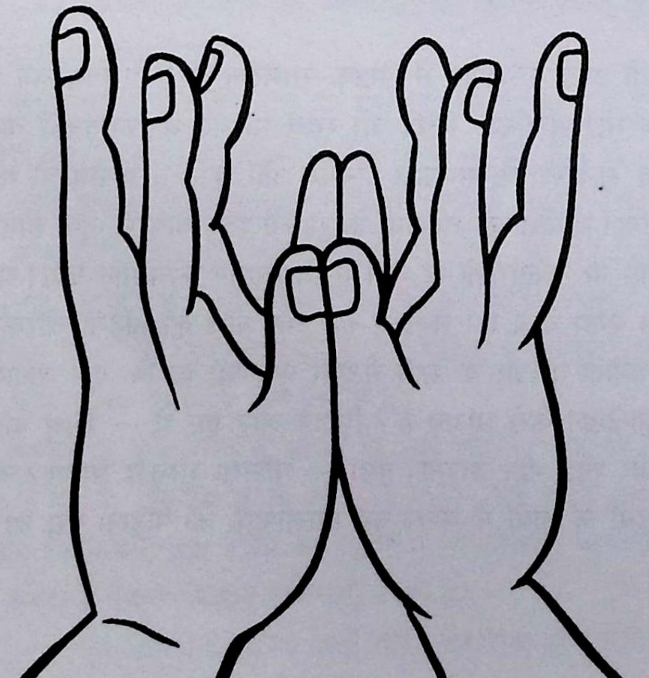


二小指二無名指を以て鉤して内に向け二中指を相竪して交え、二風を各々中指に付け、二大指を頭指の側に近づけ、五処を加持する。真言は、

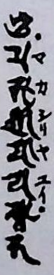


吉（きち）祥（じょう）天（てん）

श्रीदेवी लक्ष्मी की मुद्रा। नीचे मन्त्र दिया है — ॐ महाश्रियायै स्वाहा ॥



八葉の印。二手虚心合掌し、二頭指二中指二無名指を開き、屈して蓮花の形の如くにする。二大指二小指を立合す。口伝では、八葉の上に宝珠ありと観ずる。吉祥天身印として説かれる。真言は、



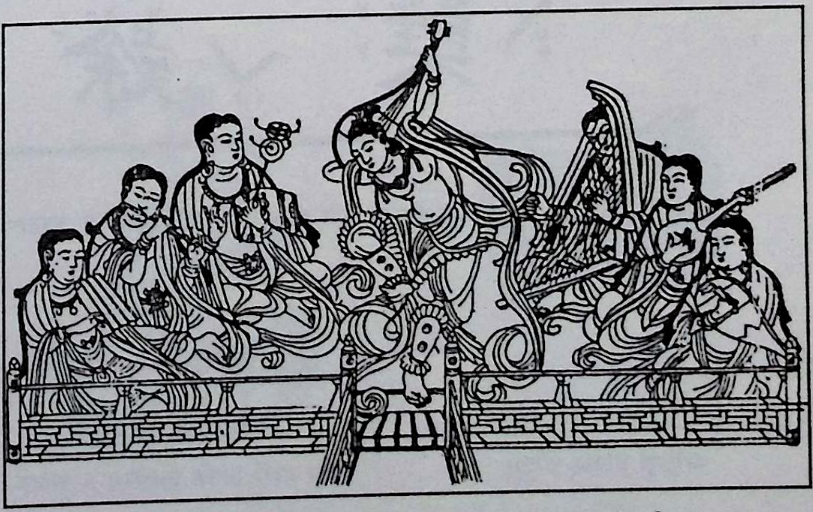
Funding by IKS-MoE

जापानी गायन-ग्रन्थ से मंगलगाथा की संस्कृत, स्वरों के चीनी आलाप, विस्तार, उतार-चढ़ाव, उनके पुष्पित-पल्लवित होने में आधा घण्टा लगा। मैं अस्थिवेधी शीत भूल गया और सोचने लगा कि क्या गा रहे हैं। संस्कृत का उच्चारण जापानी बन गया था और शब्दों को पहिचानना असम्भव था। भिक्षु आराइ ने सिद्धंनागरी में पूरा पद्य लिखा। यह नागरी का सातवीं शताब्दी का रूप है। पढ़ा और संस्कृत की प्रतीति होने लगी। पूछा — क्या मुझे लिख कर दे सकते हैं। अगले दिन पूर्ण गायन लिख कर ले आए — चीनी अक्षरों में संस्कृत, सिद्धंनागरी में संस्कृत और प्राचीन स्वरांकन। भिक्षु जी से पूछा कि आपको इसमें कैसे रुचि हुई। बोले — मैं सड़कों की इंजीनियरिंग पढ़ा था, पर सोचा जनहित के लिए यान, मन्त्रमान, अधिक आवश्यक है। सड़क-निर्माण छोड़ कर लोगों की आत्माओं का निर्माण करने में लग गया। इसके लिए संस्कृत संगीत सीखा और आगे भी सीख रहा हूं। दुःख से बोले — यह विद्या हमारे देश से लुप्त हो रही है। कितना अच्छा होता कि हम भोगवाद की ओर अग्रसर न होते, और यह विद्या न खोई जाती। धन की अपेक्षा आत्मा का विकास मानव के लिए अधिक श्रेयस्कर है। यदि जापान आर्थिक दृष्टि से कम सम्पन्न होता, तो हमारी आध्यात्मिक चेतना अधिक परिपुष्ट होती। विचारों की सरणि को खण्डित करते हुए मैंने कहा — भिक्षुजी, मुझे आपके सम्पूर्ण संस्कृत गेय-पद, उनका चीनी और सिद्धंनागरी मूल, तथा स्वरांकन चाहिए। आप इनको संगीतबद्ध करेंगे और मैं भरूंगा। दस दिन में ५०, ६० पृष्ठ में कुछ संकलन लाए और मैंने उनके यन्त्र पर ही संगीत भर लिया। बीस वर्ष से यदाकदा कुछ न कुछ भेजते रहते हैं और विपुल संग्रह हो गया है। सब पद्यों की संस्कृत ठीक कर ली है। इसके एक पृष्ठ का चित्र पहिले दिया है। ये संस्कृत गीतबद्ध पद्य चीन होते हुए कोरिया और जापान पहुंचे। जापान में इनको बोम्बाइ अथवा शोम्यो कहते हैं।

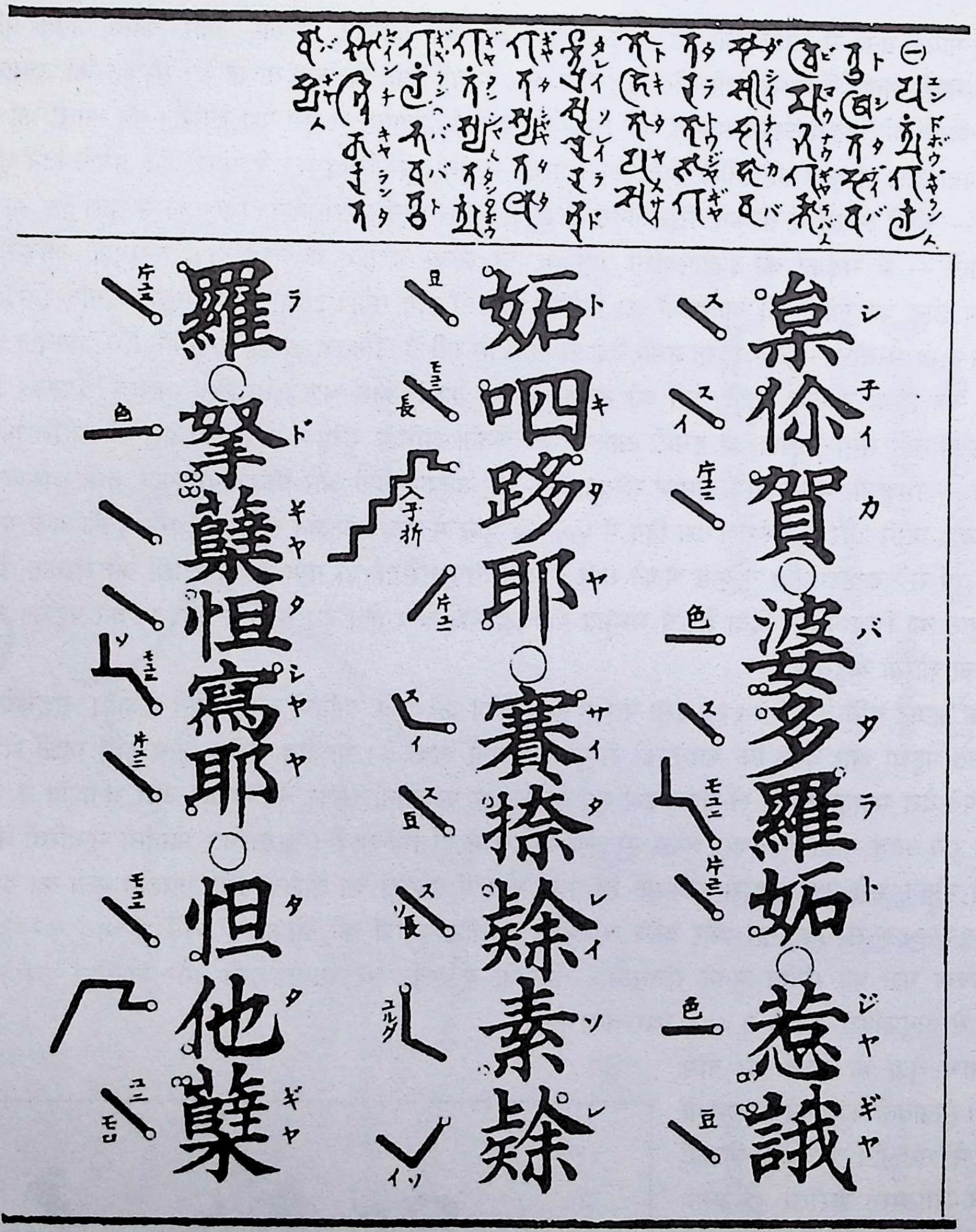
चीन के सम्राट् वुति ने १३८-१२६ ईसा पूर्व में चाङ्छ्येन् को बर्बर जातियों को खोजने भेजा । चाङ्छ्येन् मध्य एशिया होते हुए भारत पहुंचा और देखा कि भारत की संस्कृति कितनी ऊंची है। भारतीय संगीत, नृत्य और वाद्यों से इतना प्रभावित हुआ कि अपने देश महातुषार राग ले गया। इस राग के आधार पर चीनी सम्राट् के जामाता और सेनापति ने २८ प्रयाण-गीत लिखे। तुषार राग आज भारत में केवल सिख गुरुग्रन्थ साहिब में ही मिलता है। चाङ्छ्येन भारतीय सुन्दरियों के उड़ते उत्तरीय और उमड़ती यौवन-भरी नृत्यकला से अभिभूत हो गये। चीन में लकड़ी का ढोलक और भारतीय नृत्य का प्रारम्भ किया।

सन् १९२-२३२ में राजकुमार और कवि त्साओची ने बौद्ध स्तोत्रों को लोकप्रिय स्वरों में बांध कर जनजन में व्याप्त किया। पञ्चिक यक्ष का संगीत सुनने राजकुमार चीन के यू-पर्वत पर जाया करते और लौटकर स्वर-रचनाएं करते। दिव्य प्रेरणा से अनुप्राणित उन्होंने ३,००० स्वर बन्ध किए।

अमिताभ बुद्ध के स्वर्ग का नाम सुखावती है। सुखावती का गगन अप्सराओं और वाद्यों से भरा है। ये व्योम-बालाएं सुखावती के सप्तरत्न सरोवर में स्नान करती हैं, मांस और मदिरा का उपयोग न कर फूलों से मधु-संचय करती हैं, और आकाश से पुष्प-वर्षा करती हैं। जगत् को सुरभित और संगीतमय बनाती हैं। कटि के ऊपर दिगम्बर, गगन में प्रवहमान उत्तरीयों में उड़ती रहती हैं। कुमारजीव ने सद्धर्मपुण्डरीक-सूत्र का सन् ४१६ में चीनी भाषा में अनुवाद किया था। इसमें लिखा है



सुखावती में अप्सरा वीणा लिए निरुत्तरीय नृत्य करती हुई


संस्कृत
枲伱賀○婆多羅姤○惹議
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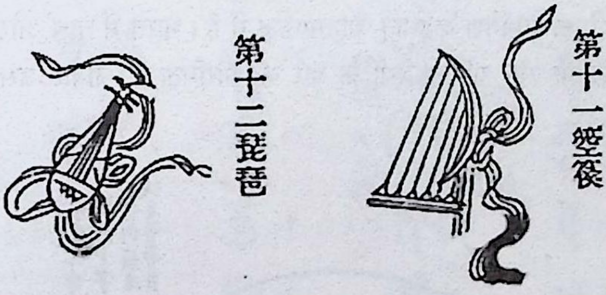
चीनी लिप्यन्तर और पार्श्व में जापानी काना में उच्चारण। बाईं ओर स्वरांकन

कि जब भगवान् बुद्ध ने अपने अग्रणी शिष्य शारिपुत्र को अनुत्तरा सम्यक-संबोधि कर वर दिया, तब उपस्थित देव, गन्धर्व, आदि हर्षोन्मत्त नाचने लगे। अपने उत्तरीय उतारकर भगवान् को दे दिए। इसलिए अप्सराएं उत्तरीय-हीन ऊपर दिगम्बरियां हैं। चीनी समाज में महिलाएं अत्यधिक वस्त्र पहिनती थीं। भारत की कला का जब चीन में प्रचार होने लगा तब अनाकृत वक्षःस्थल की व्याख्या चाहिए थी। सवृर्म पुण्डरीकसूत्र ने इसकी पूर्ति की।

सन् ५६८ में कूचा राज्य से राजकुमार सुजीव चीन गए। वंशी-वादन में पारंगत थे। चीन में सप्त-स्वरीय संगीत प्रारम्भ किया। ये वीणा बजाते थे और इनके कारण चीन और जापान में वीणा का प्रवेश हुआ। सुजीव के सात स्वरों के नाम चीनी इतिहासों में संस्कृत में दिए हैं — साधारित, कौशिक, षड्ज, षड्जग्राम, षाडव, पञ्चम, वृषभ।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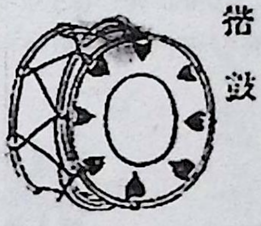
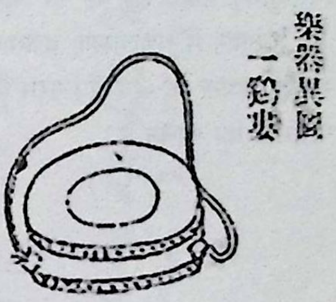
लहराते अंशुक वाली वीणा और शाङ् अनाहत नाद के प्रतीक स्वरूप आकाश में

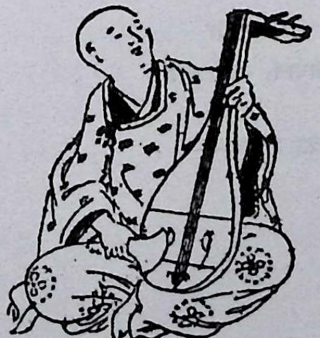


दुन्दुभि

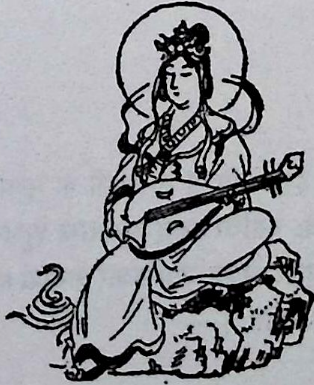


मंजीरे

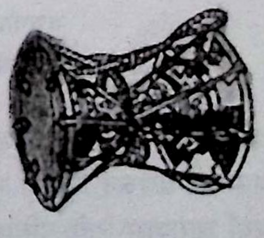
भारतीय संगीत चीन से कोरिया होता हुआ जापान पहुंचा। आठवीं शताब्दी में जापान के सम्राट् शोमु (७२४-७४८) के काल में जापान में भारतीय संगीत और नृत्य का प्रचार हुआ। आज भी राजप्रासाद में इनमें से तीन अभिनय सुरक्षित हैं। आचार्य बुद्धस्थिर और भारद्वाज गोत्र के बोधिसेन ने दाइआन्जी विहार में अवतंसक, संस्कृत और संगीत की शिक्षा दी। जापान के संगीतमय नृत्यों में ऋग्वेद के अश्वराज अहिहन् पेदु, भैरव और अम्बा, सहस्रशरदानन्द, आदि अभिनय हैं।



प्रज्ञाचक्षु गायक



बेन्तेन् / सरस्वती वीणा लिए हुए



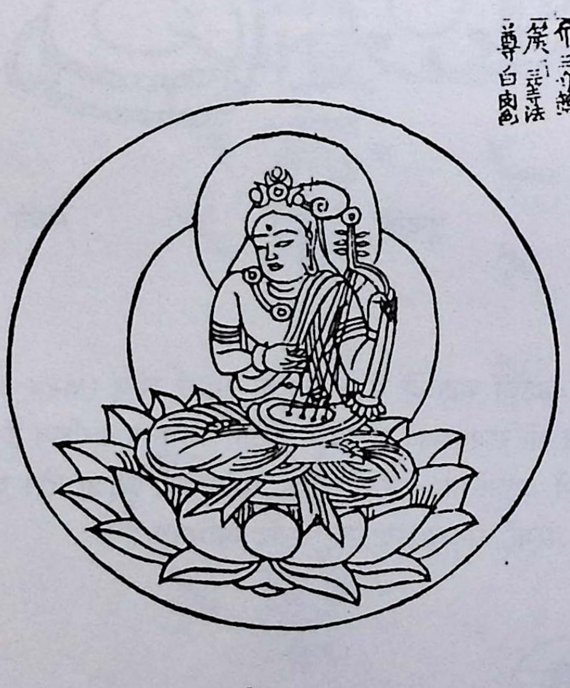
तुदुमि अर्थात् दुन्दुभि

Funding by IKS-MoE

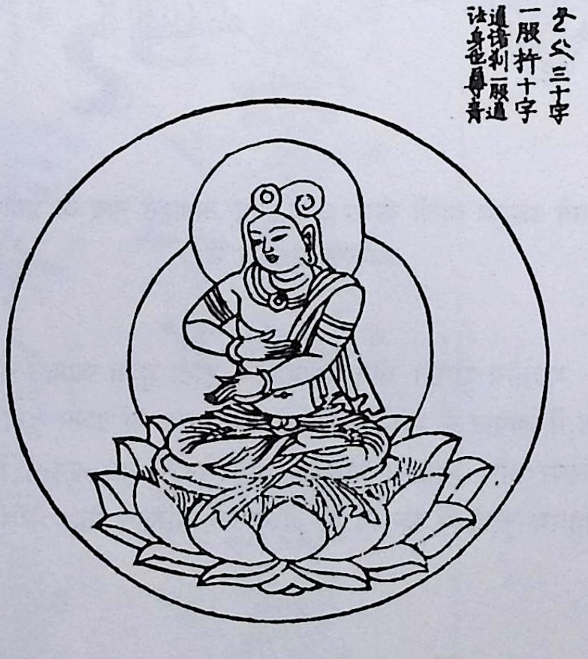
जापान में संगीत की गुरु-शिष्य परम्पराएं मैंने इकट्ठी कीं। इनमें एक परम्परा सन् ६५० से लेकर आज तक की है। कांची के आचार्य नागार्जुन से आरम्भ होती है जो ६५० के लगभग कांची में तन्त्रों के महान् आचार्य थे। यह भारतीय संगीत के इतिहास में प्राचीनतम निरन्तर अविच्छिन्न परम्परा है।

जापान में वीणा को बीवा कहते है। इसमें चार तार होते हैं। अंगुलि से बजाते हैं। जब बाहर खींचते हैं तो 'बी' ध्वनि और 'वा' ध्वनि जब अन्दर की ओर। इसलिए नाम बीवा है। वाद्य में स्वर्ग, पृथिवी और मनुष्य की त्रिवेणी है। इसके पञ्चांग पांच गुणों के प्रतीक हैं और इसके चार तार चार ऋतुओं के द्योतक हैं। बीवा गुणों का निधान है। ऋतुओं के सामंजस्य से शरीर की स्वस्थता, और स्वरमाधुर्य से स्वर्ग को धरती पर लाती है। जापान के शोसोइन् भाण्डागार में सन् ७५७ की बीवा सुरक्षित है। सौ वर्ष पूर्व, प्रज्ञाचक्षु गायक, जापान के पथों पर वीणा के मधुर स्वरों से स्तोत्र गाते थे। जापान में दुन्दुभि को "तदुमि" (त्सुजुमि) कहते हैं। यह भी भारत से गया है। शब्द भी संस्कृत का रूपान्तर है।

जापान में वज्रलास्या, वज्रमाला, वज्रगीता और वज्रनृत्या देवियों का समावेश वज्रधातु-महामण्डल में है। भारत में नृत्य और संगीत साधना के अंग हैं। परम कैवल्य आनन्द है, स्वरों की मूर्छनाओं और गतिलहरियों के पार की पारमिता है। संगीत उस पारमिता का साधन है।



वज्रगीता
(जापान, ९वीं शती)

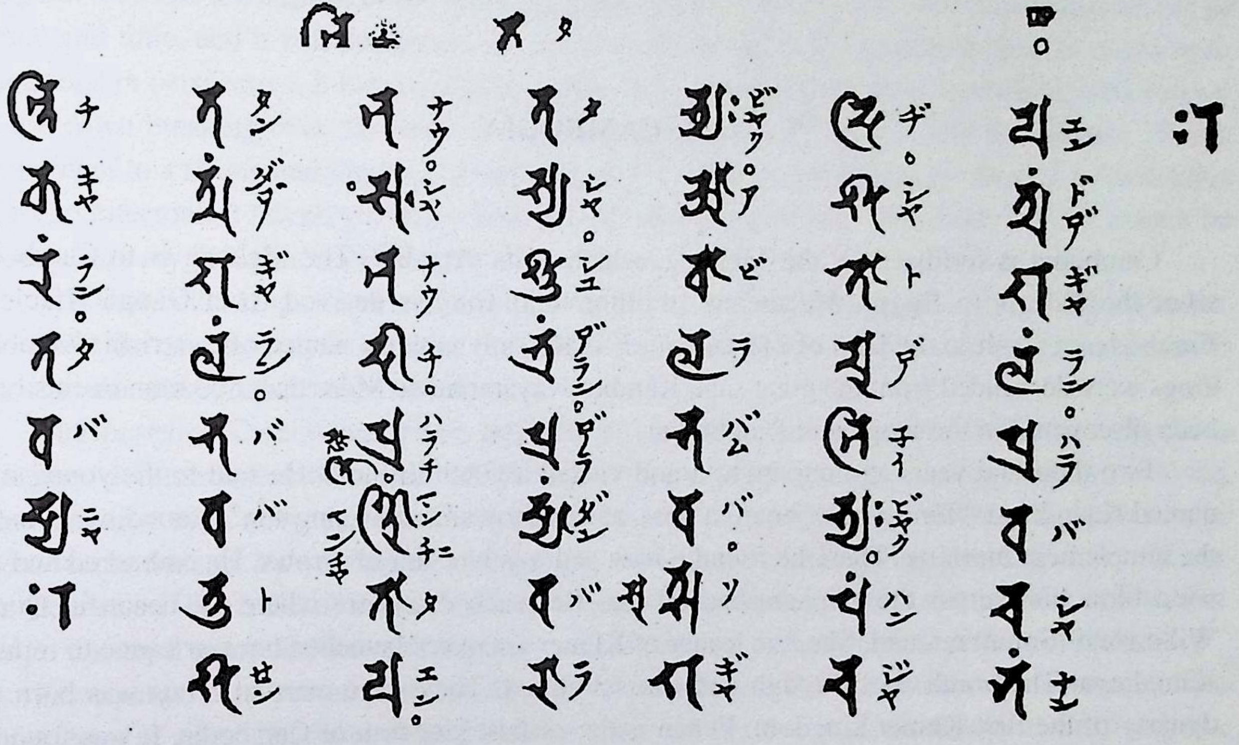


वज्रनृत्या
(जापान, नवीं शती)

दो सौ वर्ष पूर्व जापानी विद्वान् शिंगेन् की हस्तलिपि से वाराणसी के पुण्य-मंगल का श्लोक—

यन्मंगलं प्रवचनं दिशतो मुनिभ्यः पंचभ्यः आविरभवत् सुगतस्य शुभ्रम्।
पुर्यां वाराणस-नदी-प्रतिमण्डितायां तन्मंगलं भवतु शान्तिकरं तवाद्य॥

यह अगले पृष्ठ पर जापानी काष्ठलिपि से उद्धृत है —



सिद्धंनागरी और उसका जापानी लिपि में उच्चारण

जापान की गहन मानसिकता में उसके नव-प्रभात का रहस्य बसा है। इस गहनता का मूल, श्रमणों के संस्कृत सूत्रों की चेतना है जो कभी कभी और कहीं कहीं संस्कृत पद्यों के गायन में फूट पड़ती है। युवा किग्यो मियाजिमा के शब्दों में यह देवता-योग है। वे भारत आकर मनुस्मृति का जीवन व्यतीत करना चाहते हैं, अदरक खाकर भी। मुझे अदरक खाते देखा और सोचा भारत में अदरक खाने का बहुत प्रचार है।

31. CAMBODIA

Cambodia is fertilised by the Mekong, which is its very life. The Mekong is to Cambodia what the Nile is to Egypt. *Me* means 'mother' and *kong* is derived from Gaṅgā (Leclere, *Cambodge*, p.2). It is the land of *Mā Gaṅgā*. It is the only country named after a rishi: Kambuja kings were descended from the great sage Kambu Svāyambhuva. More than 800 monuments have been discovered in the jungles of Cambodia.

Two thousand years ago one night a god visited a youth in India. He said to the young man named Kauṇḍinya: "Find a bow, board a boat, and sail towards the rising sun". Kauṇḍinya went to the temple next morning. There he found a bow and a quiver full of arrows. He embarked and the wind blew him across the elephant-backed sea. He reached a shore where the beautiful Queen Willowleaf (Somā) reigned. She, the leader of Khmer amazons, launched her war canoe to repulse Kauṇḍinya. The youth shot through and she submitted. They were married. Thus was born the dynasty of the first Khmer kingdom. Funan is the earliest kingdom of Cambodia. It was founded by sage Kauṇḍinya, who had married the Nāgī princess Somā. This kingdom is referred to in Chinese texts from the third to the seventh century. Sanskrit was the official language of the Funan realm from the third century onwards. It continued till the fifteenth century.

Jayavarman II came to the throne in the ninth century. He liberated Cambodia from Javanese vassalage. There is an unbroken line of rulers from him to modern times. He founded Angkor around the fertile area of the Great Lake of Tonle Sap which is inundated by the Mekong. Angkor flourished for six hundred years. The city was captured in 1431 by the Thais, and a curtain of darkness descended upon Angkor and the entire Cambodian civilisation. The word Angkor is the Cambodian pronunciation of Sanskrit *nagara*. The Cambodians believe that Angkor was built by Indra who moulded the city in clay, poured over it a sort of icing whereby it solidified. Great Indra looked upon his favourite land of the Khmers, noted that its King and Queen were childless. He gave a son to the Queen and showed the child glories of his Tāvatiṁsa paradise. The son ruled over the Khmers and copied the heavenly realm at Angkor. Great Indra visited the earth for the coronation of his son, to give to his child's realm its name of Kambuja, and to give the Sacred Sword which is the Lightning of Indra. It is kept to this day in the royal palace.

In 1937 a Cambodian, in obedience to a dream, began to dig in the lake west of Angkor Wat and came upon a large bronze head. Later more fragments of the legs, arms, and bust were recovered. It is a most imposing statue of reclining Viṣṇu, the central deity of Angkor Wat. The great, grave divine head is very celestial and timeless. Special scissors three feet long were used to cut the roots covering the upper storey of Angkor Wat. The regal majesty and calm repose of

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Angkor Wat, has the imprint of the touching beauty of the Khmer mind. It was constructed out of space and time, and it still dominates the one and defies the other. Unsurpassable in magnitude, enormous in perspective, it has a symbolic power and undying glory in its immobility and repose, in the dawn breaking over the forest, the sun's rays piercing the clouds, and the silence... It is a monument to a strong and vigorous people, worthy to confront their destiny. Exquisite harmonies of its architectonics: "Eyes, you may close, for this charming creation will never for one instant be absent from my thoughts" (a Cambodian inscription).

The Cambodia kings transferred their capital to Phnom Penh, then called Chadomuk. With the advent of the new dynasty in the 15th century, the construction of temples and writing of Sanskrit inscriptions ceased, as the elite had been wiped out.

The poses of Cambodian dance begin with the añjali or great salutation which signifies homage, deference and admiration. Slow movements of the dance, waving fingers, swaying figures, vague eyes, noble gestures, intricate symbolism immaterialise the motives and passions of men, seeing through an enchanted mist, ageless and placeless. Rāmāyaṇa provides many themes for the dances. The ritual of instruction is the same in the humble dance troops of the countryside and in the royal court. Before each day's lessons, salutation to teacher and gods is performed.

Rites purge us of presumption, pride and pre-judgement. The Cambodian cannot neglect the importance of rites. Thursday is an auspicious day for most things. Its colour is deep saffron, gamboge yellow, joyous and divine. It is picked for most ceremonies. The graduation ceremony for dance is held preferably in the month of *phalkun* (march) or *pisak* (may). A white cloth is put up. On it are placed the dancer's masks and headgear. In the centre is the mask of sage Muk Eysey. There are the four-faced yellow mask of Brahmā, the green visage of Indra and Rāma, the golden face of Lakṣmaṇa, the red mask of Bharata. Candles and incense-sticks are lit. The flickering amber light, rippling liquid music, wisps of blue incense-smoke curling in the air, and the girls dance. A cotton thread steeped in holy water is tied on to every girl, as the guru blesses them for success in life.

Cambodian is full of Sanskrit and Pali words: *krut* for garuḍa, *mkot* for mukuṭa. The pronunciation is compressed and clipped. The Supreme Court is *Sala Vinichchang* (Sanskrit: Viniścayaśālā). The monastery to the south of the Palace is Vot Botum Votdel (Padmāvatī).

Modern Cambodian literature begins with the poetry of King Ang-Duong (ruled 1841-1859), and the verses of Mahāsaṅgharāja. There is Gati-loka on didactics. Reamker, the dramatised version of the Rāmāyaṇa, towers over literature. Fairy-stories are wide-spread with yakṣiṇīs, Indra's paradise, kings and queens, which are spun into long dramas with the water-music of the bamboo xylophones. The folk songs of Cambodia are of poignant beauty, living and so changing:

I plunge into the forest thickets
Searching my beloved.
And then suddenly I see her
Drawing water from the spring...

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But it is not she, it is not she,
It is the morning star
Drinking on the edge of the misty sky.

In the month of *asoch* (November-December) the waters begin to flow down the Mekong main-stream. On an auspicious day the King takes up residence in his floating Royal Barge. He is purified in lustral water and its inhabitants are purified of sins. The barge flies the royal standard of Cambodia, the stylised trident. The ceremony of the First Furrow is held in the month of *passak* on a date determined by the *hora* or astrologers of the Court. The First Furrow is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. The *hora* play an important role in the life of the land. They decide which days are auspicious and which not. The cutting of the tuft is essentially the same for the child of the peasant or of the royal house. The coronation ceremonies are events of great pomp. The King is robed in the colour of the day (purple if it is a Tuesday). He is received in the palace by the Grand Master of the Order of the Baku, carrying an image of god Viṣṇu. The royal feet are washed in coconut juice and perfumed essences by the Prea Reaea Reachea Thippedi (rāma-rājya-adhipati). The Grand Master hands the statues of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the right and left hands of the King. When he hands over the Sacred Sword, he proclaims the formula: "Take, for thou art the Lightning of Indra".

Innumerable parallels and analogies and echoes between us and Cambodia.

* * *

The name of the country in inscriptions is Kambuja 'descendants of Kambu', the legendary founder of their race. From about the second century in the south-east of the Peninsula flourished a state which, by the third century, had swelled to an empire. This realm was known by the Chinese as Funan. Funan represents the Cambodian word *vnam* which is the archaic form of the modern *phnom* or 'hill'. Some scholars have called the Funan rulers the 'Kings of the Mountain'. The Empire of Funan was of Indian culture. Sanskrit was its official language. Following Kauṇḍinya, Indians were slowly filtering into Funan. The title *fan* applied to the kings of Funan is a Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit *varman*. The account of Funan in the Chinese dynastic annals earlier than the middle of the third century is probably derived from the accounts of K'ang-t'ai and Chu Ying. It relates that Funan had libraries and books written in a language which resembled that of India. The capital of Funan bore the Indian name of Vyādhapura. Its site lies near the present-day village of Pre-krabas in Takeo, some forty miles south of PhnomPenh.

It is interesting to note that the first embassy from Funan to China offered musicians as a present. The Chinese were fond of foreign music, and among the seven great orchestras at the Imperial Court of China in the seventh century one was of Indian inspiration. The Chinese traveller I-tsing wrote that the people of Funan first adored the *devas* or Hindu gods and that, later on, the Dharma of the Buddha spread among them.

About the middle of the seventh century, Funan was overrun by the Khmers. In the following century Funan ceased to exist as a separate state. The Khmer land of Chenla, whose feudatories struggled to gain independence and then to domination of their masters, had its capital at Śreṣṭhapura which lay near the modern settlement of Vat Phu, over 250 miles to the north of PhnomPenh. The French scholar Barth praises the inscriptions of the Chenla period as models of regularity, finish, and elegance. Those of Funan, as well as the early inscriptions of Champa, are nearly all in Sanskrit. The inscriptions of Chenla are Śaiva. Most of them commemorate the erection of Liṅgas, under various designations: Śambhu, Tryambaka, Tribhuvaneśvara. The worship of Liṅga was probably introduced or systematised by the second Kauṇḍinya, who introduced the customs of India.

Some inscriptions show that from the beginning, Chenla received instruction in the sacred books of India. The inscription of Prasat Ba An, near the village of Veal Kantel in the province of Tonle Repou, relates the erection of an image of Tribhuvaneśvara (Śiva) accompanied by an icon of the Sun. The donation was made by a brahmin savant, named Somaśarmā, husband of the royal sister. Among the gifts made to the temple were complete copies of the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, and Purāṇas. Somaśarmā instituted daily reading of these works in a sanctuary, promised benedictions to those who participated in these readings, and pronounced imprecations against those who damaged any of the precious volumes.

The Angkor period extended from 802 to its capture by the Thais in 1431 and the definitive removal of the capital to the southeastern part of the kingdom in 1432. During this period, Angkor was the national capital region. It was the classical period of a far-flung empire, of marvellous works of architecture and art, and of wonderful Sanskrit inscriptions. Northwestern angle of the gallery on the second storey of Angkor Wat depicts two thousand life-size reliefs of *apsaras,* ranged like a celestial *corps de ballet,* sporting gorgeous raiments and unbelievable headdresses: no two are alike. The cold stone is infused with pulsating life. Are they *parthenos* or virgins symbolising victory like the Greek Parthenon? Do they celebrate the martial successes of their builder Suryavarman II.

Entrance porch to the centre of the Banteay Srei (967 AC). As the sun rises on the loveliness of the pink little Banteay Srei, it radiates extraordinary beauty and exquisite charm. Two of its tower-temples are dedicated to Śiva and one to Viṣṇu. Two libraries are included in its central enclosure. Scenes of Indra, Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma; battle between Bāli and Sugrīva, and other legends decorate its pediments.

Angkor Wat's reflections in the pool. It is the largest and the best proportioned of all the temples at Angkor. Hundreds of yards long galleries depict scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Tremendous expression in stone of the human will to live beyond itself. Each stone comes alive in the pink and gold sunset. It was built as the divine essence of the King, his body was the mere human envelope. When its French curator Groslier had to leave, he died of pangs of separation. He was one of those who eat, sleep, live, love and dream only of Angkor.

The crowned tower of Bayon on the south gate of the city wall of Angkor Thom. These towers are sculpted with four faces of Lokeśvara (the fourth face looks inward), each face 23 feet high. Silent and timeless faces, with knowing eyes, smiling mouth, characteristic of the Khmer people to this day, a beautiful people, humorous and earthy, gentle and intensely brave. Out of the flux and re-flux of cultures, these monuments are prodigious memory in stone of centuries of power and glory. We are here back in history during the great days of Bayon, a work of sculpture not architecture. The eyes of Bayon keep the world in equilibrium. The faces are of the great King Jayavarman VII whose eyes multiplied many times to look to the welfare of his people beyond death.

The capital city of Phnom Penh is: "The Capital of the Four Faces, Happy Mistress of all Kambuja, Fortunate, Noble Town of Indraprastha, Frontier of the Kingdom". Such is the imposing title King Ponhea Yat gave to the new metropolis he founded it in 1434. It was the royal residence from 1434 to 1439. It is only since 1867 that the city has been the national capital. It is obviously an auspicious place. It lies at the intersection of four navigable streams, the socalled Tonle Chado-Mukh or 'River of the Four Faces', that is Four Arms. Its early name was the 'Four-Faced City' — a most favourable designation (for an appellation is magic) recalling the Hindu deity Brahmā, the Lord of the Earth (*Sahāṁpatiḥ*). It was destined to be an auspicious seat for the sacred sovereign with whose personal welfare was bound up the prosperity of the realm.

Till the 1940s, upto the age of seven to ten years, Cambodian children had their heads shaven except for a tuft (*chuk*) at the top of the crown, which tuft was tressed and, at times, plaited with a fillet of white flowers. The tuft had to be cut upon an auspicious day fixed by the *horas* or astrologers, and the rite was essentially the same, whether executed around the child of a peasant or a prince of the Royal House. In the Cambodian tradition, Lord Śiva shaved the tuft of his son Prea-Eyso when he was aged eleven in his paradise on the summit of Mount Kailāsa. Mount Kailāsa is represented in the ceremony by an artificial mound.

The message of Dharma and its art was conveyed with immense majesty to the uttermost East. One of the pre-Angkor sculptures in the PhnomPenh Museum is an upright and slightly slewed Buddha, clad in 'wet-fold' clinging draperies, recalling the sculptures of the Gupta period. The statues of the Angkor Period (from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries) are not always as skilfully executed as those of former times. But towards the end of the Angkor period, as the twilight of the Khmers was darkening into night, the art of statuary revived by contact with the vivifying breath of the subtle Mahāyāna doctrines. It was a fleeting flash whose light can often be caught in the Buddhist images with half-closed eyes, with a vague elusive smile and an ineffably compassionate expression.

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32. THE MARINE SILK ROUTE AND THE LIGHT-HOUSE OF KING MŪLAVARMAN

1. Cirebon shipwreck. The present colloquium is an outcome of the fantastic shipwreck off the Cirebon port on Java's north coast while travelling from the Śrīvijaya kingdom to eastern Java. Cirebon was among the first destinations reached by Muslim traders in the 12th century. A cave located at Cirebon is believed to be the secret corridor through which Arjuna is said to have brought the esoteric knowledge of the Quran to Indonesia. The cave is a holy place now. As many as 250,000 treasures have been salvaged from this 10th century Cirebon shipwreck. Besides ceramics and other Chinese wares, it has glass ornaments with Arabic inscriptions, has a fragment of a Persian pottery and the ship itself is an Arabian style dhow.

2. Chinese references to navigation in the 3rd century BC. The role of watercraft has been discussed in Chinese historical texts since ancient times: the mission of ships, how much cargo and how many passengers are to be carried, the cruising radius in terms of days and distance. Naval architecture was constantly being shared by Indian, Roman, Arabian, Indonesian and Chinese technologies. Ocean voyages have been made for thousands of years in human civilisations for raw materials and manufactured goods. Astronomical observations were used to find the direction. In Homer, the goddess bids Odysseus to keep the Great Bear on his left hand when he crosses the sea after leaving Calypso's island.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien refers four times to sea-captains sent out in the late 3rd century BC to islands in the Eastern Ocean to obtain drug-plants giving longevity or immortality. In his *Shih chi*, the oldest Chinese dynastic history completed in 90 BC, he says that people were sent out into the ocean to search for the islands where the drugs of immortality were supposed to be found, during the time of Chih, Wei (378-343 BC), Hsüan (342-324 BC) and Yen State (311-279 BC, Ne[1] 551). In 219 BC Ch'in Shih-huang-ti sent several thousand young men and maidens across the oceans to look for the immortals under the leadership of Hsü Fu.

3. Inscribed Chinese pottery of Former Han in Sumatra (45 BC). A piece of Chinese pottery of the Former Han, bearing an inscription dated 45 BC has been found in Sumatra (Ne 445). Some stone sculptures of Sumatra are similar to those of the Han. The *Ch'ien Han-shu* describes Han trade with the south seas, going by boat for five months, for pearls, glass, strange gems and

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[1] NE = Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol.4(3), 1971.

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exotic products. Merchant ships of the barbarians may transport them home. The voyage to the farthest country required over twelve months. Mortimer Wheeler[1] finds it interesting to think that Chinese merchant officials walked with Roman citizens on the quays of Arikamedu in south India.

4. Chinese embassy to Kanci (1-6 AC). Pan Ku describes Han trade with the south seas in the *Ch'ien Han-shu* (Ne 442) which goes back to the time of Han Wu Ti (1st cent BC). It required a voyage of over twelve months.

In the Yuan-shih period (1-6 AC) the minister Wang Mang (Ne 444) sent presents to the King of Huang-chih requesting him to send an embassy with a rhinoceros. Huang-chih has been identified as Kanci the capital of the Pallava State. It is Conjeevaram near Chennai (Madras)[2].

This tribute of the rhinoceros was repeated in 84 and 94 AC and continued as late as the T'ang[3].

5. Wave-subduing admirals and Dongson drums. In 33 AC a Han fleet of thousands of ships including 'castled ships' destroyed the navy of Kungsun Shu who tried to set up an independent kingdom in Szechuan. In 43 AC Ma Yuan led a large fleet of two thousand 'castled ships' (*lou ch'uan*) against Tongking.[4] These war-boats of 'Wave-subduing Admirals' like Ma Yuan are represented in a stylized manner in the Dongson drums of the first and second centuries AC (Ne 447). The earliest of these drums are contemporary with the Chinese conquest of 111 BC. Even the gold seal presented to the King of Tien by the Chinese emperor Han Wu Ti in 109 BC has been recovered.

The Greek word *kolandiophonta* in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (written around 110 AC) for large ocean-going ships of south-east Asia has been recognised as a corrupted form of K'u-lun po (Ne 460).

6. Chinese merchants in Tamilnadu. The presence of Chinese merchants in south India is attested by 838 Chinese coins found in the Tanjore district of Tamilnadu in 1944, dating from the Yuan-ch'u period of the Han dynasty (114-119) to the Hsien-hsun period of the Sung dynasty (1265-1275).[5]

7. Cham ships with superstructures. Naval fights between the Chinese and people of Champa (Lin-i, mod. Annam) are recorded for the years 248, 359 and 407 AC. In 431 AC more than a hundred Cham ships with superstructures ravaged the Tongking province but were finally beaten off (Ne 442).

8. Yüeh-chih horses to Cambodia. In 250 AC the King of Cambodia sent Ambassador Su Wu to a kingdom in India to fetch horses. He returned with four fine Yüeh-chih horses.[6]

Sailing windward in large vessels by the Chinese in the 2nd and 3rd centuries was due to their contact with SE Asia. The Chinese lug-sail arose from the Indonesian canted square-sail.

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9. Oceanic navigation in the Jātakamālā (4th cent.). The 4th century Sanskrit text of the Jātakamālā sums up the navigation knowhow of the famous pilot Supāraga: "he knew the courses of the stars and could always readily orient himself. He also had a good knowledge of the signs of good and bad weather. He distinguished the regions of the ocean by the fish, by the color of the water,... by the birds, the mountains, and other indications." The Jātakamālā was translated into Chinese before 434 AC (Ne 555). These observations of the prevailing winds, landmarks, fauna and tides were a significant beginning in oceanic navigation.

10. K'un-lun: etymology and locus. The Chinese toponym K'un-lun has been used in many senses and its etymology has been uncertain. Pelliot[7] thinks that it represents Old Khmer *kuruṅ* 'king, regent'. The *Nan-shih* quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing Yü Lan* (ch.788) states that the kingdom of Tun-sun is a dependency of Fu-nan. Its king is called K'un-lun (Wheatley 1961:17).

Ma Tuan-lin's *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao* (ch.33) says: "The kingdom of P'an-pan entered into relations with China during the Liang dynasty (502-557).... In the country are numerous brahmins come from India in search of wealth. They are in high favour with the king. His chief ministers are called respectively Po-lang-so-lan, K'un-lun-ti-yeh, K'un-lun-po-ho, K'un-lun-po-ti-so-kan." Three of the four principal ministers have the prefix K'un-lun which seems to be their family name. The passage goes on to say that this kingdom sent envoys to the Sung court in 424-53, 454-6 and 457-64. In 527, 530, and 536, the king sent to China a tooth relic of the Buddha, stupas, perfumes and other items. During the Sui dynasty the king sent an envoy in the Ta-yeh period (605-17). There were regular sailings from Southeast Asia to China.[8]

In the Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon compiled by Li-yen, a monk from Kucha, in the 8th century, K'un-lun is given as the synonym of Dvīpāntara. Dvīpāntara is the name of the region of Malaysia, Indonesia and other islands. It occurs several times in Sanskrit works like the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa, and the early Tamil Vaiṣṇava hagiographies.[9]

The seven yūpa-inscriptions of King Mūlavarman, dated to about 400 AC on palaeographic grounds, record his donations to brahmins for performing yajñas. The fifth inscription gives his genealogy: King Narendra of Kuṇḍuṅga, his son Aśvavarman the founder of the dynasty and Mūlavarman the eldest of the three sons of Aśvavarman. The inscription was found in Borneo. The first King Narendra hails from Kuṇḍuṅga. Kuṇḍuṅga seems to be Kuṇḍuṅgal in Malabar, Kozhikode.[10] Kuṇḍuṅga became the name of the new state founded by Aśvavarman. It became a powerful and prosperous kingdom because of its mighty cavalry which could vanquish the clan chieftains and give rise to a large state with an organised administration. Kuṇ-ḍuṅ-[ga] became K'un-lun in Chinese transcription. Later on, it became the designation of the whole region.

Annen wrote the Siddham–kośa in 880 AC in which he speaks of Emperor Wu-ti of Liang and the Dhyāna-master Mandra who says: "The K'un-lun people in the remote sea area... studied under the influence of tīrthikas". Mandra was a śramaṇa from Funan who brought a lot of Indian texts and presented them to the Liang Emperor. He translated three texts with Saṅghavarman (worked on translation in 506-520 AC). The *Old T'ang Annals* say: "Living to the south of the country of Li yi (Champa) the people are black and with curly hair on their heads. They all are called the K'un-lun". I-tsing says in his travel account that "these people of K'un-lun have curly hair and black skin, the other countries are not different from China."[11] The geographic name K'un-lun comes after 400 AC which confirms that it is the Chinese form of Kuṇḍuṅga.

11. Light-house (ākāśadīpa) of King Mūlavarman (ca 400 AC). How did the K'un-lun kingdom become the most outstanding. The answer to it may be found in the seventh yūpa-inscription of King Mūlavarman, who constructed an *ākāśadīpa* or light-house at his capital (*svake pure*). The light-house must have been unique in the South Seas that gave unprecedented safety to navigation. It could have been inspired by the light-house of Alexandria, the Pharos, built in 270 BC by Sostratus for Ptolemy Philadelphus, to a height of 150 feet and was still standing in the 13th century. Chao Ju-kua has described the Pharos in 1225 AC as 200 feet high. It must have been well-known to Indian navigation as an important savior of mariners. From the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AC trade with the Red Sea dominated Indo-Roman commercial navigation, as ascertained on the basis of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, and archaeological finds. The abundance of Roman pottery in Tamilnadu reveals an active Western colony in the early first century. A Tamil poem attests the presence of a Yavana colony at port on the mouth of the Kaveri river to the south of Arikamedu. The Arthaśāstra 2.2.42 refers to coral as *Alakandaka* which means an object coming from Alexandria.[12] The importance of the Pharos as a conspicuous monument and a landmark for shipping needs to be highlighted. It was dedicated to the "gods saving the mariners" by Ptolemaios Soter about 280 BC. It is shown on the coins of Alexandria from 95-190 AC. Ibn al-Shaikh lived in Alexandria in 1165 and wrote its detailed description including the dimensions. Fires were burnt in the night so that it was visible to sailors "at a distance of 300 stadia (some 48 km)". The light-house of Boulogne was built by Caligula in 46 AC to commemorate his victory, from which lights shone at night to guide the course of ships, as from Pharos. In 82 AC Emperor Claudius constructed the Ostia light-house after the model of the Pharos of Alexandria to be lighted at night and guide the course of ships. It is confirmed by archaeology. Many light-houses followed in the 1st century AC during the reign of Emperor Trajan. The Pharos of Alexandria became synonymous with a light-house. Solinus 32.43 says: "Hence one calls buildings erected in harbours to illuminate the approaches pharus". Likewise, Isidore of Seville 15.3 declares: "A pharos is a very high tower which the Greeks and Romans, because by its flames it is visible at great distances to mariners, call after Pharos which Ptolemy erected at Alexandria at the cost of 800 talents. Its aim is to give fire-signals to the nightly course of ships, to mark shallows and harbor-entrances so that the ships surprised by the dark do not run into cliffs."[13]

It stands to reason that the Kuṇḍuṅga dynasty of merchant-princes dealing in horses under Aśvavarman became mighty kings in the third generation of Mūlavarman and great patrons of technological advances. Mūlavarman must have realised the economic value of the *ākāśadīpa* or high-rise tower of light (*dīpa*) touching the sky (*ākāśa*) and providing safety to large mercantile

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ships rowing at night. These light-houses were an advance on the earlier temples to deities on many capes and premonteries along the ancient Mediterranean coast. These templed headland premonteries with their permanent fires burning all night were replaced by the oldest known light-house in the world, the Pharos of Alexandria. King Mūlavarman who had contacts with the Greeks and Romans in the Uttarāpatha for high steeds of Ferghana (ancient Kamboja) was surely aware of the towering Pharos, a miracle in size and engineering, in safety and efficiency. The *ākāśadīpa* of Mūlavarman was in sharp contrast to the existing systems like the Liu-ho stupa on the Ch'ien-t'ang River equipped with a permanent light from early Sung onwards to guide ships seeking anchorage. This mighty monarch who raised a strong cavalry, constructed waterworks to promote agriculture, brought affluence and culture to the people, erected a light-house to attract trans-oceanic trade and left the imprint of his glory in the Chinese name for the south-eastern region as K'un-lun, a transcription of his dynastic appellation Kuṇḍuṅga.

12. Shift of the trade route in the 5th cent. Prof. Tansen Sen says that by the end of the fifth century, the trade route from India to East Asia shifted to the Straits of Malacca with the rise of the maritime state of Śrīvijaya. Excavations in Kampung Sungai Emas, a village in Kota Kuala Muda, by the archaeological department of Malaysia, have revealed the ruins of seven Buddhist temples, beads, ceramics and stonewares. This discovery of a new port will shed further light on the maritime trade between India, SE Asia and China.[15]

13. Fa-hsien: trade winds and the capacity of the ship. The famous Chinese scholar-pilgrim Fa-hsien returned to China in 414 AC by sea. He waited three times for a big merchant-ship for his return voyage:

from Tāmralipti to SriLanka
from SriLanka to Sumatra
from Sumatra to China

Two of these ships had a capacity of 200 passengers on board. From Sumatra to Ching-chou 青州 in China, Fa-hsien reported that they loaded 50 days' supplies for 200 passengers. The bodily weight of 200 persons plus the weight of 50 days' food and drinking water, would be a weight of 30 barrels, without the weight of the ship itself. Prof. Dieter Schlingloff pointed out in 1987, that the ocean-going ships taken by Fa-hsien are comparable to contemporary Roman merchant-ships with regard to cargo and passenger capacity.

Prof. Geng Yizeng 耿引曾 of the Peking University has pointed out that Fa-hsien's two records of hsin-feng 信風 (trade winds) are their first mention in Chinese literature: from Tāmralipti to SriLanka, and from SriLanka to Sumatra.[16]

14. Buddhist monks across the seas. Saṅghavarman's life in Sêng-yu's *Ch'u-san-ts'ang-chi-chi* 'Collection of the Records of the Translation of the Tripiṭaka' says that Saṅghavarman came to

China in 433 AC through Central Asia. He translated five texts. He wanted to travel around to preach the Dharma. He did not stay at a place for a long time. He left for a foreign country on the boat of a merchant from the Western Region sometimes in 424-453 AC.[17]

Saṅghapāla (?) came to China from Funan (that is ancient Cambodia) on a boat. In 506 AC the Liang Emperor invited him to translate the sutras. He translated eleven texts until 518 AC. All the texts translated by him were brought from Funan by Mandra who had arrived at Jiankang the capital of Liang in 503 AC. Funan was the largest country in SE Asia and its contacts with China had commenced around the 3rd century AC.[18]

Guṇavarman was of a collateral family of the King of Kashmir. When the King passed away without an heir, people wanted to put him on the throne. But he wanted to spread the Dharma, and went to far-away SriLanka. Thence he went to Java, where the King built a monastery for him as the royal preceptor. Emperor Wen-ti (424-453) of Sung sent an envoy to bring him to China. He reached the Sung capital in 431 AC. He translated texts and passed away at the age of sixty-five years.[19]

Guṇabhadra was a brāhmaṇa of central India. He travelled to SriLanka to spread the Dharma. With an intense desire to go to China, he sailed across the seas. On the way, the wind ceased, drinking water was exhausted, the passengers became worried. He advised them to chant the name of Avalokiteśvara. Soon a wind blew from the north-east, it rained, and all were saved. He reached Kuang-chou in 435 AC. He translated the sutras till his death in 468 AC.[20] The usual sea-route from India to China was via SriLanka.

15. Ocean-going ships in Buddhist reliefs. An ocean-going Buddhist ship is sculptured in a relief on a stone stele of the Liang period (6th century) or of the Liu Sung dynasty (5th century) from the Wan-fo Ssu Monastery at Ch'êng-tu. A similar ship can be seen in another Buddhist relief of the Liu Ch'ao period found at the same monastery and now in the Ch'êng-tu Municipal Museum.[21]

Yang Su constructed ships with five decks and more than a hundred feet in height, around 587 AC, as stated in the Sui Dynastic Annals. These were the Wu-ya hsien battle-ships. They carried 800 marines besides the seamen (Ne 451n).

16. Ships in the Tun-huang murals. Many small ships in all kinds of contexts are painted in the murals of the Tun-huang Caves. The largest ship in cave 55 is the Buddhist ship of Dharma sailing from the shores of illusion in the foreground to the paradise of Amitābha. Its square-ended bow and stern is very Chinese of the early T'ang (7th century), but the bellying square-sails and the quarter steering-paddles resemble the *malar panshi* of Bengal, shown in a sketch in H.Warrington Smyth, *Mast and Sail in Europe and Asia* (Edinburgh 1906). The monk artist may have journeyed overland, and thus having never seen an ocean-going ship, he was remembering the ships of Bengal (Ne 455-56 fig. 969 of a Bengal ship).

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17. Fresco of a ship in Ajanta Caves: ever-improving technology. A fresco painting of a ship in the Ajanta caves may be the ship bringing Pesian ambassadors to the court of Pulakeśin II, just before 628 AC. Its artist, or rather ever-improving technology, seems to combine characteristics from a number of sea-going ships. The sail at the bow is like the Roman *artemon*, the hull has a SriLankan air, the quarter steering-paddles resemble Egyptian, the galleries at bow and stern are rather Chinese, and the straight set of the sails betray the Chinese mat-and-batten system. This very practical sharing of technologies shows a vibrant trans-oceanic trade for over two thousand years, in the voyaging of stimuli and continued inventions (Ne 454, 602).

18. K'un-lun ships in Hui-lin (7th cent.). Hui-lin enlarged the work of Hsüan-ying (flourished around 649 AC) in his commentary on the Vinaya entitled *I-ch'ieh Ching Yin-i* 'Sounds and Meanings of Words in all the Sutras' (T2128, K1498). Therein he has described the sea-going ships of the Southern Seas as: "These lie 6 or 7 ft deep in water. They are fast and can transport more than 1,000 men, apart from cargo. They are also called K'un-lun ships. Many of those who form the crews and technicians of these ships are Ku-lun people". More details follow. As stated earlier, K'un-lun represents the Kuṇḍuṅga people who created the magnificent *ākāśadīpa* or light-house during the reign of King Mūlavarman, and were of dark complexion hailing from south India. The word K'un-lun occurs for the first time in the Chinese 'Lives of Eminent Monks' (*Kao Sêng Chuan*) written by Hui-chiao about 530 AC. In it monk Tao-an (312-385) is called *K'un-lun tzu* 'Little Darkie' by his antagonists, on account of his complexion (Ne 459). The theory of the transference of K'un-lun from Central Asia to SE Asia arose because the word *Kuṇḍuṅga* in the inscription of Mūlavarman was mis-understood as the name of the king; and not of the dynasty. Its origin in a toponym of, south India did not strike any one. The geographic location of K'un-lun continued to be elusive.

19. I-tsing : the seasonal rhythm of wind systems. I-tsing sailed from Canton and arrived in Śrīvijaya by the end of 671 AC. Six months later he sailed to Malayu. Two months later he completed his voyage upto Kedah. Early in 673 AC, he set sail across the Indian Ocean, reached the Nicobar Islands, and after a fortnight he was in Tāmralipti. After twelve years, he returned to Śrīvijaya in 685 AC. The route was dependent on the seasonal rhythm of wind systems:

(i) Tāmralipti to Kedah in two months sailing towards the south-east.
(ii) Stayed in Kedah until winter, when the ships arrived from Śrīvijaya.
(iii) Reached Malayu in the first or second month. Stayed until mid-summer.
(iv) Sailed to the north and reached Canton in a month.

The voyage was completed by the end of the first half of the year.

20. Buddhist monks and high frequency of oceanic travel. I-tsing's *Lives of Sixty Monks* who went to India in search of Dharma is an eloquent testimony to the frequent use of the marine route. Out of the sixty monks, thirtyeight travelled the sea-route to or from India inspite of the seasonal changes of the wind systems which occasioned change of route or a long waiting for favourable conditions.

8,9 The two monks from Korea: Ch'ang-an → South Sea → Śrīvijaya →P'o-lu-shih

13 Ch'ang-min: Ho-ling → Malayu →sank in the sea due to a typhoon

21 Cintādeva: South China → Chiao-chih→K'o-lung →Siṁhala → south India

22 I-lang: Wu-lei (near Canton) → Funan → Laṅkā[sukha] → SriLanka → India

25 Hui-ning: South Sea → K'o-ling → India

26 Yün-ch'i: South Sea (K'un-lun) → Śrīvijaya

28 K'uei-ch'ung: South Sea → SriLanka → western India → mid-India

29 Hui-yen: reached SriLanka

31 Prajñādeva: South Sea → west India

32 Ta-ch'eng-teng: sailed for Dvāravatī (Thailand) → South Sea → SriLanka → south India → eastern India → Tāmralipti

33 Saṅghavarman of Sogdiana

34,35 Pi-an and Chih-an of Turfan: died on the ship

36 T'an-jun: South Sea → Chiao Chih → K'o-ling → Po-p'en (on the south coast of Borneo where he died)

37 I-hui: Laṅkā[sukha] where he died

42 Tao-lin: South Sea → Laṅkā[sukha] → Ho-ling → Luo-kuo → Tāmralipti

43 T'an-kuang: south China → west India → Harikela (east India)

45 Hui-ming: Champā → Ma-yuan → went back to China

47 Shan-hsing: Śrīvijaya → China

48 Ling-yün: South Sea → India

49 Seng-che: sailed to India → SriLanka

50 Hsüan-yu: accompanied his teacher Seng-che to SriLanka

51 Chih-hung: sailed from He-p'u → Śrīvijaya → India

52 Wu-hsing: Śrīvijaya → Malayu → Kedah → Nāgapattana → SriLanka → Harikela → Nalanda

53-55 Fa-chen and friends: K'e-ling → Kedah (Fa-chen died here)

56 Ta-chin: South Sea (in 663 AC) → Śrīvijaya → China (665 AC)

57 Chen-ku: Canton → Fan-yu → Champā → Śrīvijaya

58 Hsüan-yeh: Śrīvijaya
59 Tao-hung: Kuang-fu → South Sea → Śrīvijaya
60 Fa-lang: Śrīvijaya → K'o-ling (died here)

The frequent voyages of Chinese monks across the Marine Silk Route on merchant ships are an indication of the steady development from the days of the Former Han to the T'ang and its apogee under the Southern Sung.

21. Ferry-boat carrying images belonging to Emperor Aśoka. A large sailing boat is painted in cave 45 of Tun-huang around the 8-9th century. Another painting in cave 323 shows a ferry-boat carrying Buddhist images belonging to Emperor Aśoka. This legend probably relates to the two statues of Vipaśyin and Kāśyapa of the time of Aśoka found by a fisherman in 313 AC. A boat carrying a pavilion of Buddhist relics occurs in cave 468 dating from the 8th century (Ne 456).

22. Vajrabodhi on a flotilla of Persian ships. Vajrabodhi (671-741) is one of the founders of Esoteric Buddhism in China, whence it went to Japan and found its full development. Vajrabodhi boarded a commercial vessel at the port of Pocili that formed a part of a flotilla of thirty-five Persian ships and arrived at Śrīvijaya after a month. After a stay of five months, he sailed to China. A terrific tempest sunk thirty ships, but his ship arrived in China in 719 AC.

I-hsing (683-727) is a patriarch of Esoteric Buddhism. He was a disciple of Śubhākarasiṁha, wrote twenty works on Mantrayāna and was well-versed in mathematics, astronomy and calendrical studies. His merdian arc survey teams took altitude measurements from Indo-China to Mongolia, covering more than 2500 km (Ne 567).

23. Ships of SriLanka are the largest. The *T'ang Yü Lin* 'Miscellanea of the T'ang dynasty' says that foreign sea-going ships come every year to Canton and An-i. "Those from SriLanka are the largest, the companion-ways alone being several tens of feet high." (Ne 453).

24. Ships on the Borobudur. Seven ships are sculptured on the walls of the great monument of Borobudur, dated to 800 AC or just before. Five of them are of the same type, purely Indonesian in character, vessels in which the colonisation of Madagascar must have been effected. An entirely different type of craft with numerous crew, has a "rigid Chinese lug-sail" (Ne 458). It is the earliest representation of a Chinese sea-going ship. Java has been known to the Chinese since the fifth century. The astronomical expedition of Ta-hsing and Yuan-t'ai to the South Seas in 724 to chart the constellations of the southern hemisphere may have visited Java and Sumatra. The great Chinese astronomer I-hsing (683-727) was the disciple of Śubhākarasiṁha who came to China in 716 AC and laid the foundations of the esoteric school of Mantrayāna. Vajrabodhi another patriarch of

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Mantrayāna arrived at Canton in 719 via SriLanka and Malayu. In Ch'ang-an he met I-hsing. Their presence in the Chinese capital makes it likely that the Chinese astronomical expedition covered the South-east Asian islands. The multi-masted ships of the Borobudur show mutual influence between Chinese and South-east Asian ship-building methods.

A large ship has been represented in cave 45 of Tun-huang in the 8th or 9th century which has better proportions and is also well preserved (Ne 456).

25. Chinese ceramic sherds in south India and SriLanka. Prof. Noboru Karashima has done a survey of Chinese ceramic sherds in south India and SriLanka. The export of Chinese ceramics started in the 9th century and increased greatly from the 13th century. They were highly appreciated by people in SriLanka, India, and other countries. The excavations in Mantai (in SriLanka) have yielded a large number of Chinese ceramic sherds of the 9th to the 11th century and of good quality. This led to extraordinary development of nautical technology on the Marine Silk Route and to economic ethics of assuring fair treatment to foreign merchants as specifically mentioned in the stone pillar inscription in the Vīrabhadrasvāmin temple in Motupalli. Prof. Noboru Karashima's book entitled *In Search of Chinese Ceramic-sherds in South India and SriLanka* (Taisho University Press, 2004) discusses the contacts of China with south India, where early Chinese sherds have been discovered in Arikamedu.

26. Nanhai no.1 ship-wreck of the Sung dynasty. The Nanhai No.1 ship-wreck was discovered in 1987 off the coast of Canton at a depth of thirty metres. It is a merchant ship, 30 x 9 metres, built in the latter part of the Sung dynasty (960-1279). It is the oldest, largest and most complete Chinese ocean-going ship ever recovered. Scientists have taken out four thousand containers of gold, silver and porcelain and six thousand copper coins of the Sung dynasty. Majority of the finds are porcelains of over thirty varieties. Objects of daily life like copper mirrors and ornaments like gold bracelets and gold waistbands are of significance. The rapid development of naval technology in the Sung and Yüan periods, equipped with advanced navigation instruments like compasses, invites ocean archaeologists to discover more sunken ships. Like the overland Silk Route via Central Asia, the marine route linked the eastern and western civilisations in equally abundant measure (*News from China*, New Delhi, Jan 2008: 25-27).

27. Four Cola missions to China. Four Cola missions visited China with goods in the 11th century. The first mission was sent by Rājarāja I (985-1014) on 16th October 1015 with 52 persons. Starting from Nagapattinam, they passed through SriLanka, Jambi?, Burma?, Java?, Langkawi islands,... Śrīvijaya, Pāṇḍuraṅga in Champā, ... and reached Canton after a voyage of 1150 days. They presented 800 kg of pearls, 60 pieces of ivory, 60 pounds of incense, and 3300 pounds of perfumes to the Emperor.

The second Cola mission reached China on 29th Feb 1020, where the chief envoy died, and the members of the mission were given return presents. They had carried perfumes, rhinoceros horn, cloves, borax, camphor, pearls, opaque glass, etc.

The third Cola mission arrived in China on the 15th Nov 1033. It was sent by Rājendra I (1012-1044). They carried elephant tusks and pearls.

The fourth mission was sent by Kulottuṅga which reached China on 26th June 1077. They carried rose-water, perfumes, rhinoceros horn, elephant tusks, cloves, pearls, borax, camphor, opaque glass, and brocade.

Tamil merchants were present in southern China. Two hundred Hindu relics have been found in the Ch'uan-chou city, like statues of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣna, Hanumān, Lingam and mythic scenes. A bilingual inscription in Tamil and Chinese from this city dated April 1281 records the installation of a Śaiva image, naturally in a Hindu temple.

28. Chinese pagoda at Nāgapaṭṭinam (1267 AC). A Chinese pagoda was built at the Cola port of Nāgapaṭṭinam in 1267 AC as recorded by Wang Ta-yuan in his work *Tao-yi chih lueh* 'Brief Account of the Barbarian Isles' written in 1350 AC.

29. King of Śrīvijaya donates for the repairs of a Taoist temple. A Śrīvijayan inscription in a Taoist temple in Canton dated 1079 AC, records the donation of the Lord of Śrīvijaya for the repairs of the Taoist temple. The envoy from Śrīvijaya was Ti-hua-kia-lo or Divākara who came to the Chinese court between 1077 and 1088 (see details in Tansen Sen, *Maritime Contacts between China and the Cola Kingdom*, 850-1279 AC).

30. Magnetic compass and maritime charts. The Chinese ushered in a great revolution by employing a magnetic compass at sea, attested by 1090 AC, a century before its appearance in the West. Joseph Needham (563) guesses that mariners compass came into use sometimes in the 9th or 10th century, because these centuries show refined measurements of magnetic declination which could have been made only by a compass. Chu Yü, whose father had been Superintendent of Merchant Shipping at Canton, wrote in 1119 AC about the use of magnetic compass around 1086 AC (Ne 462).

Maritime charts are implicit in many Chinese texts, and a superb map on a scale of 100 li to the division could be produced in 1137 AC. The map of Chia Tan on a similar scale in 801 AC could have been equally good (Ne 568).

31. Ships of the south are like houses. Chou Ch'ü-fei wrote on the sea-going ships of the south in 1178 AC in his *Ling Wai Tai Ta* 'Information on what is beyond the Passes' (Ne 464):

> "The ships which sail the southern sea and south of it are like houses. When their sails are spread they are like great clouds in the sky. Their rudders (*t'o*) are several tens of feet long.

> A single ship carries several hundred men, and has in the stores a year's supply of grain. Pigs are fed and wine fermented on board. There is no account of dead or living, no going back to the mainland when once the people have set forth upon the caerulean sea. At daybreak, when the gong sounds aboard the ship, the animals can drink their fill, and crew and passengers alike forget all dangers. To those on board everything is hidden and lost in space, mountains, land-marks, and the countries of foreigners. .. ...."

He speaks of Java (*Shê-po*) and the Great Eastern Ocean beyond (Ne 549-50). He was struck by the great ships of the Arabs that visited Mu-lan-p'i, which were the biggest of all. "A single ship carries a thousand men. On board there are stores of wines and provisions, looms and shuttles (for weaving) and a market-place .... If one speaks of big ships, there are none as large as those of Mu-lan-p'i." (Ne 475).

32. Chinese ship on a wall of Angkor Thom. Cambodian artists carved a Chinese ship on the walls of the royal city of Angkor Thom in 1185 AC. Many features of the ship are certainly Chinese (Ne 648).

33. Marco Polo. Marco Polo was in China from 1275 to 1292 for 17 years and he wrote his account in 1295 after return to Italy. His admiration for Chinese ships of all kinds was unbounded. He described the wealth of the cities of Yangiu and Siugiu frequented by 'marvellous great shipping'. He was impressed by their freight capacity (4000 to 12000 quintals of cargo). The great ships in which merchants go and come into India through the Indian Sea have 60 or more small cabins. According to size, they need 150, 200 or 300 sailors. They carry ten or less boats and when necessary they put them in water. Marco Polo attests cabins, rudders, multiple masts and bulkhead-built hulls in Chinese ships. When he left China the Great Khan put 600 men and provision for two years in every ship (Ne 466-69).

34. Ibn Battutah: Canton is the largest port. The Arab traveler to China, Ibn Battutah, wrote in 1347 AC: "People sail on the China Seas only in Chinese ships. They are worked by 1000 men, 600 sailors and 400 marines. They are made nowhere except in Zayton or Canton." Zayton is the largest of all ports he saw: 100 large junks, with innumerable small vessels (Ne 469).

35. Running down the latitude (1400 AC). The *Hsi-yang Ch'ao Kung Tien Lu* speaks of a voyage from Bengal to Male in the Maldive Islands by way of SriLanka. The polar elevations are given for every stage of the journey. By 1400 AC the Chinese knew the method of running down the latitude (Ne 567).

Wu Pei Chih gives pilot's directions between SriLanka and Sumatra in navigational diagrams (Ne 565).

The Marine Silk Route has been referred to in Sanskrit, Tamil, Greek, Latin and Chinese literature. The Rāmāyaṇa, Jātakas, Kathā-sarit-sāgara refer to shipwrecks. The Kathā-sarit-sāgara relates the shipwreck of Princess Guṇavatī on the coast of Suvarṇadvīpa on her way from Kaṭāha (Kedah) to India. Indian sailors were visiting the shores of SE Asia in very remote times and Indonesian traders, seafarers *par excellence*, frequented Indian coasts. With the advent of China it became the highly frequented trans-oceanic route richly recorded in Chinese histories, encyclopaedias, travels and topographies. This presentation is just a glimpse into the limitless caverns of the history of navigation on the Marine Silk Route.

36. Early Indian shipping. Indian shipping has a long and brilliant history covering over five millennia from the very dawn of her civilisation. Literature, archaeology, numismatics and foreign travelers attest to teeming ports and harbors of ancient India, maritime regulations, the paramount part played by shipping in India's historic exports and a developed indigenous craft of ship-building. The oldest evidence is supplied by the Ṛgveda, which contains several references to sea voyages for commercial and other purposes. A passage speaks of a ship wrecked by a storm, from which the passengers are rescued by the Aśvins in their hundred-oared galley. India thus began her sea-faring from the beginning of recorded time, aided by her fine geographical position in the heart of the Orient. The earliest representations of a boat and a ship are found on seals unearthed at Mohen-jo-daro, dated to about 3000 BC. A deck cabin and a mast are clearly visible, reminding us of the intimate intercourse with distant lands. Malabar teak at Ur of the Chaldees (3000 BC) points to a sea-borne traffic. The famous Indian epic Rāmāyaṇa speaks of sea journeys to distant islands of Java and Sumatra, it hints at preparations for a naval fight, and it mentions merchants who trafficked beyond the seas. The other epic Mahābhārata refers to "a tempest-tossed and damaged vessel in a wide ocean". It has an interesting passage where the Pāṇḍava brothers escape in a large ship provided with machinery and all kinds of weapons of war. In the Mosaic period (1491-1450 BC) Indian ships carried precious stones to West Asia. Rich merchandise of ivory, garments, spices and peacocks had its starting point in the seaports of the Deccan in the days of Solomon (about 1015 BC). The vast corpus of Buddhist stories known as Jātakas, describe several perilous adventures by sea around the fifth century BC. The Supāraga Jātaka records a sea venture by a company of seven hundred merchants, attesting to a developed shipbuilding industry. According to the Rājavalliya Chronicle of SriLanka, the ship in which Prince Vijaya came from India was so huge as to accommodate full seven hundred passengers. The date of Vijaya's landing in SriLanka is the day on which Buddha attained Nirvāṇa (544 BC). Some early representations of sea vessels at Sanchi date to the second century BC. The depiction of a fanciful prow confirms to a description in the Sanskrit work Yukti-kalpataru. The most ancient dharmasūtras attest to frequent sea voyages and even lay down rules for marine insurance. The War Office of Emperor Candragupta (321-297 BC) had a Board of Admiralty. The contemporary work of Kauṭalya gives details of the Naval Department which throws

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welcome light on India's navigation in the glorious age of the Mauryas. The export of sugarcane, pepper, cinnamon, perfumes, unguents, personal ornaments, textiles from calicos to muslins, and dyes to the Roman Empire gave a unique impetus to Indian shipping in the early centuries preceding the Christian Era. The flow of Roman gold into India was a cause of alarm and regret to Pliny. In the Kanheri Caves of the second century AC the sculptures represent a ship wreck on the sea. The early Indians used the mariner's compass or *matsya-yantra*. It was an iron fish that floated in a vessel of oil and pointed to the North. Remarkable numismatic evidence from the Andhra coast points to the high development in shipcraft. These Andhra coins belonging to the 2nd-3rd century AC depict two-masted ships of large size. The astronomical works attest a flourishing condition of Indian shipping. The Brhat-saṁhitā of the 6th century has several passages bearing on stellar influences effecting the fortunes of seagoing traders, physicians, shippers and others. In the beginning of the fifth century AC an Indian vessel touched the shores of Java after three month's continuous sail with 200 passengers on board including the famed pilgrim Fa-hsien. It is remarkable that astern of it was a smaller ship in case the larger vessel wrecked during the voyage. Javanese chronicles relate that about 603 AC a king of Gujarat, forewarned of the coming destruction of his kingdom, started his son with 5000 cultivators, artisans, warriors, physicians and scholars for Java in six large and hundred small vessels. They laid the foundations of a civilisation that has given to the world the splendid sculptures of Borobudur. These reliefs show ships in full sail, "magnificent in design and movement" (Havell). The world-famous Ajanta caves too furnish paintings of a sea-going vessel with high stem and stern, with three oblong sails attached to as many upright masts. Bhoja has summed up available information on ship-building in his Yukti-kalpataru which is a sort of treatise on this art. Indian shipping ever continued to develop and as late as 1799 AC. F. Baltazar Solvyns speaks of it in admiration: "In ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels, and the present Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe — so much so that the English, attentive to everything that relates to naval architecture, have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adopted with success to their own shipping...."

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33. CHAMPA IN THE GLOBAL VISION OF CLASSICAL INDIA

The foundation and flourishing of Champa on the major marine trade route from Kanchi to Canton, or from the SE Asian isles to Canton, was part of a new historic phenomenon of the fast emergence of cultural kingdoms from tribal orders. The new paradigm was the empowerment of the dormant energy of the non-alphabetic tribes by enriching them with a writing system and thinking patterns; establishing kingdoms with a king, ministers, nobility and state functionaries; setting up palaces and temples; the rise of an intellectual class and priestly orders. Emperor Aśoka sought the substitution of war drums by the drums of Dharma, *bherighoṣa* became *dhammaghoṣa*. He initiated this process of culturation by sending his son Mahendra and his daughter Saṅghamitrā to SriLanka, by deputing his ministers to Khotan and crowning his son as the first "King of Khotan", by planning his son Kuṇāla to be the King of Kucha, and so on. This sowing of intellectual seeds in the immensity of the regions was the rise of a new order of a spiritual culture and secular civilisation in the whole of Asia. The theodiversity, pluralism of life styles, alongwith an organised state, economy and strategic systems of India became the dawn of a new age in the SE Asian region upto mainland China. Indian savants, princes and merchants envisioned Suvarṇadvīpa in their quest of affluence of life. Suvarṇadvīpa was a general term for Eutopian lands in SE Asia. Kauṇḍinya's voyage to Cambodia, his victory over the Nāgī queen and marrying her to found the new kingdom, or the exciting find of a first century ceramic sherd with Kharosthi characters from the coastal region of Bangkah in Bali, and other happenings evidence the continuous acculturation of the region as well as the development of trade.

International marine trade remained intrinsic to the economic, cultural and technological development of India. The names of the Gupta emperors Śrīgupta, Candragupta and Samudragupta indicate a flourishing trans-oceanic trade. In Śrīgupta, Śrī is affluence which resulted from trade with China. I-tsing points out that he constructed a Cīna-vihāra for Chinese monks who accompanied the ocean-going merchants to pray for a safe journey. Candra in Candragupta refers to the turbulence on the seas due to the rising of the moon on a full-moon day. I have personally experienced the havoc of the full-moon during a month long journey from Bombay to Naples via the Cape of Good Hope, when the sea became so rough that the utensils were flying in the cabin, faced constant vomitting and had to be tied to the sleeping couch to avoid being hurt. In the name Candragupta the word candra refers to the oceans, by semantic extension to 'marine trade', and the means adopted to ensure safety. Under Candragupta I the Gupta dynasty rose into prominence because of the expanding international commerce. His son and successor Samudragupta (r.335-375) is a clear reference to the Gupta dominance (*gupta*) over the seas (*samudra*).

The Chaulukya kings of Gujarat built the celebrated Somanātha Temple on the coast of Kathiawar. It was dedicated to Lord Śiva as the Lord (nātha) of the Moon (Soma) to guard the trans-oceanic merchants. The waxing and waning of the moon has "fatal" effects on the waves of the oceans which toss the ships in deadly turbulence. Śiva as Somanātha was to mitigate the tumult and turbulence, the *Sturm und Drang*, caused by Soma or the Moon. The large number of Śiva-temples lining the coastline of Champa were divine blessings to ensure safety across the seas. Champa enshrines the shining memories of India when she ruled the waves. Champa is the 'Jaya Somanatha' of history.

The Chinese Emperor sent an embassy to the King of Kanchi in 1-6 AC to request for a rhinoceros. Its horns are powdered and considered most efficacious as tonic in China. A pair of its horns symbolise happiness and they are one of the eight treasures.[1] The "tribute" of the rhinoceros was repeated in 84 and 94 AC, and it continued as late as T'ang. Breathing tubes made of a rhinoceros horn are mentioned in a passage of the Pao-p'u-tzu (about 320 AC) which enabled to breathe in water (Needham 673). Mêng-ch'ung or ships with their backs and roofs armoured over with rhinoceros hide were used to swoop suddenly on an unprepared enemy. Thus rhinoceros had magico-medical qualities, as well as was adapted for high mobility in strategic operations (Needham IV.3:686). Because of the developing trade with China, India realised the importance of inhabiting the long coastal line of Vietnam from Kanchi to Canton. The earliest Chinese reference to Linyu or Champa dates to 190-193[3] AC. Linyu 林邑 means the "kingdom of forests".

Around the same time the Māra dynasty was ruling Champa, as evidenced by the Vo-chanh Rock Inscription dated to the second century AC on paleographic grounds (*māra ... rājakula, māra ... kula-nandana*)[4]. The poet Nakkirar addresses the Pandyan prince Nan-Maran as "O Mara, whose sword is ever victorious, spend thou thy days in peace and joy, drinking daily out of golden cups ... the wine brought by the Yavanas in their good ships". (Pillay, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, ch.iii). The Māra dynasty of the Vo-chanh Inscription may have been an offshoot of this Pandyan royal family. The Pandyan bride of Prince Vijaya was brought over to SriLanka in a large ship which carried more than 800 passengers on board[5]. The Pandyans were conscious of advantages of maintaining international contacts. In 20 BC a Pandyan king sent an embassy to Rome (ibid.96). The Pandyan kingdom had extensive commercial relations with overseas countries. Megasthenes had heard of it in the fourth century BC. The Sanskrit grammarian Kātyāyana (4th cent. BC) mentions the Pandyas. It was known to Pliny (1st cent.) as a flourishing kingdom, also to the Periplus (c. 80 AC) and to Ptolemy (c.140 AC).

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[1] Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, IV.3:444.

[2] B. Laufer, *Chinese Clay Figures Pt.I, Prolegomena to the History of Defensive Armour*, Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago) Publications, 13 no.2 (177), 1914:80.

[3] Kenneth H Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*, Honolulu, 1985:179f.

[4] R.C. Majumdar, *Champa*, Lahore, 1927:21.

[5] Radha Kumud Mookerji, *A History of Indian Shipping*, Calcutta, Orient Longmans Pvt. Ltd., 1957:20, 48-49

The local tribes of the forests must have felt threatened by the newly arrived Indians and skirmishes must have been a frequent occurence. To preempt them, the Indianised kings were obliged to import the tall and swift steeds of Central Asian Kambuja (i.e. Ferghana). The role of these steeds has been highlighted in the Kāraṇḍavyūha in the Siṁhalāvadāna chapter. K'ang-t'ai who travelled to SE Asia around 260 AC says that the Kings used to get horses from the Yüeh-chih. A decade earlier (c. 250 AC) the King of Cambodia got four fine Yüeh-chih horses[6]. The Yüeh-chih horses, called *balāhaka* in Sanskrit, were a crucial factor in the grand game of acculturation, political transformation and economic development of the areas that were adopting India's spiritual culture and material civilisation, under Indian kings who married locally and merged with the indigenous people in the first generation.

A lost third century Chinese work (quoted in later works) referes to the Tun-sun kingdom whose king was named K'un-lun 王名崑崙 . Five hundred families and more than a thousand brahmins had come here from India. The local people followed the doctrine of India and gave their daughters in marriage to the Indians.[7] The Chinese K'un-lun is a transcription of Kuṇḍuṅga the place whence Narendra the grandfather of King Mūlavarman had come. The son of Narendra was Aśvavarman who laid the foundations of the dynasty. It seems that originally they came for trading horses and in course of time assumed royal power. I have detailed the Kuṇḍuṅga dynasty in the *Cultural Horizons of India* 7.221-230 in a discussion of their seven inscriptions. The Kuṇḍuṅga dynasty gave its name to the whole region and to the people of the South Seas in Chinese as K'un-lun. Even Masudī speaks of the Sea of Kundrang[8]. The toponym Kuṇḍuṅga in the inscription of Mūlavarman refers to Kuṇḍuṅgal. The Centenary Edition of the *Post and Telegraph Guide* (Part II.385) issued in Oct 1954 mentions Kuṇḍuṅgal as a sub-postoffice of Kazhikode in Malabar. Malabar was the source of teakwood which was used for building ships. The Arab writer ibn Khurdādhbih Bullin mentions the Southern Malabar port called Kūlam Malī (Quilon) where Arab ships paid toll of a thousand dirhams, and skirted south of SriLanka → Nicobar Islands → Kedah → Malacca Strait, and cutting across they stopped at the ports in Champa (Arabic Ṣanf) → Gulf of Tongking → Hanoi → and finally to Canton (George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton, 1951:70-72). The Arabs took a good supply of water, food and other necessities for the long run to China (Hourani 1951:70).

It was natural that Indian transnational merchants of Malabar sailed to the SE Asian islands and founded the Kuṇḍuṅga dynasty with their fast steeds. King Mūlavarman of this dynasty conquered chieftains of the surrounding areas, assumed imperial powers, and established the first light-house in the region which triggered multinational trade to the heights of safety and left the imprint of his dynastic glory in the Chinese toponym K'un-lun for the SE Asian region. The light-house may have been modelled after that of Alexandria which was constructed in 270 BC.

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[6] Paul Pelliot, Le Fou-nan, *BEFEO* 1903:3.57; Needham IV.3:449.

[7] Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, 1961:17.

[8] Wheatley 1961:228.

All these developments were enhancing the role of Champa in international trade, with its long coast line. Even naval battles took place between the Chinese and the people of Champa in 248 AC, again in 359, and in 407. In 431 AC more than a hundred ships of Champa, with superstructures, attacked the province of Tongking[9], but had to retreat due to the fleet of "castled ships." Champa was a powerful state with a large fleet of ships, and advanced technology for naval defence. In 284 AC Champa sent the first embassy to China. As mentioned earlier, the name of Samudragupta suggests domination of the sea lanes during his long reign of thirty years (335-375) and contacts with Champa may have existed. Champa's naval attack in 359 AC on Tongking falls during his rule.

In the mid-fourth century, King Bhadravarman erected the palladium temple consecrated to the Śiva-liṅga Bhadreśvara. He commenced the tradition of prefixing the name of the reigning king to Īśvara or Śiva. As maritime trade was the major source of the affluence of the state of Champa, Lord Śiva was invoked to bless the safety of the sea lanes. By 758, Champa developed major commercial centres at Kauṭhāra (mod. Nha-trang) and Pāṇḍuraṅga (mod. Phan-rang).

Śambhuvarman succeeded his father Rudravarman, restored the temple of Bhadreśvara, and sent embassies to China in 568 and 572 AC, stopped the customary tribute for some years but renewed it in 595 AC. The Chinese invaded Champa by land and sea, defeated the Champa forces, King Śambhuvarman fled from the battlefield, and reached the capital in 605. The Chinese general took musicians to the Imperial court of China, the golden tablets of 18 Kings who ruled before Śambhuvarman and immense booty that impressed the Chinese with the fabulous wealth of Champa. But above all, he took 1350 Buddhist works. Champa became the main entrepot to service the shipping and sailors travelling between the Malay world and Canton.

The maritime route was safer than the Central Asian Silk Route to India. So Buddhist pilgrims journeyed to India by sea. In 424, Guṇavarman of Kashmir reached China via Champa. In the Lives of Sixty Monks who pilgrimaged to India in the seventh century, I-tsing mentions that 37 of them travelled by sea. Monk Chen-ku took the route from Canton to Fan-yu to Champa to Śrīvijaya.

Champa with its vibrant Sanskrit culture as can be visualised in the elaborate metres of her inscriptions, with its rich holdings of Sanskrit texts, its advanced technology of navigation, controlled the shipping from Kanchi to Canton. It was the "look east" policy of ancient India as the cultural superpower of the Asian world in those times.

Emperor Shōmu of Japan raised the national temple of Todaiji to symbolise the power of the state, and national solidarity of all classes of the population. Its consecration ceremony was held on 9 April 752. It was accompanied by grand musical performances by Buddhasthira who hailed from Champa (Jap. Rinyu). He performed eight dances with music from Champa for the consecration of the Daibutsu of Roshana or Colossal Image of Rocana, the like of which did not exist even in China. The eight Champa performances were:

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[9] Needham IV/3.442. Details in G. Ferrand, Le K'ouen-Louen et les Anciennes Navigations Interocéaniques dans les Mers du Sud, *JA*.1991:13.239, 431, 14.5, 201.

1. Bodhisattva dance
2. Pedu dance of killing the dragon
3. Kalaviṅka dance
4. Dance of the triumphant march of Bhairava (tāṇḍava)
5. Dance of Ambā (lāsya)
6. Joy of a Thousand Autumns
7. Dance of Nāgarāja Sagara
8. Dance of a drunken Hu (Sogdian)

The first five dances were purely Indian. The second dance represents the Ṛgvedic legend of Pedu who was a protégé of the Aśvins. They gave him a horse called Paidva who killed demons (*ahihan*). This swift, strong, white, incomparable, dragon-slaying steed, impelled by Indra, won Pedu unbounded spoils (RV.1.116.6 etc. in Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p.52). In 1874, during the Meiji Restoration to Modern Japan, twenty musicals were fixed for court ceremonies. Three of the Champa ceremonies of Pedu (2), Kalaviṅka (3) and Nāgarāja Sagara (7) were retained. They are the only Champa ceremonies performed in our times.

Buddhasthira of Champa, along with Bodhisena of India, taught Sanskrit to the Japanese for the first time. Sanskrit words like *sara* (Skt. śarāva) for a plate, *osewa* (Skt. sevā) for an automat enshrine their memory.

The most important inscriptions from Champa number 128. Majority of them invoke Śaiva deities: 92 Śaiva deities, 21 no deity, 7 Buddha, 5 Brahmā, 3 Viṣṇu. Śiva was the government of the beyond, and his consort became Bhagavatī Kauṭhāreśvarī as the Palladium of the State (Skt. Kauṭhāra is mod Nha-trang, Cham: Yatran). The Chams still remember her as Pō Nagar 'the Sovereign of the Realm' when everything has been destroyed by the cruel hand of history. Cham village women in Central Vietnam continue to recount the exploits of *Yan In* that is God Indra with his strength and weaknesses. The golden centuries of Champa, profound in *Hoch Kultur* or High Culture, can be glimpsed in the inscription of King Śrī Parameśvara where the goddess of Nha-trang is identified with Umā. How well the Chams expressed themselves in Sanskrit in 1050 AC in the subtle alliteration of the kāvyas exercises our ingenuity even to comprehend:

भूताभूतेशभूता भुवि भव-विभवोद्भाव-भावात्मभावा

In the remarkably brilliant translation of Bergaigne, who could unfold the wonder of words in the challenging diction of sragdharā and śārdūlavikrīḍita; the inscription means: "Pertaining to him who is the lord of what is and what is not, having as real nature the quality of being the origin of the development of existence on earth ... being one with the being and the non-being that exists in the world, primordial potentiality of the being and the non-being, having as body the half of the body of Śiva who has the moon as diadem, having a beautiful body, Oh you who are part of the

Lord ... Oh Blessed One, be as it were, by your magic power, the vanquisher of us who are prostrate before you".

Champa was the efflorescence of a process of the appearance of kingdoms from tribal chieftans, by the acceptance of Indic religions, construction of Hindu-Buddhist temples and the use of Sanskrit in inscriptions. Champa lay on two major marine routes from India to China and from the Indonesian world to China. To this end Śiva sancta dotted the coastline of Champa, with Lord Śiva blessing the sea-going vessels against the turbulence of the waves that tore the hearts of voyagers, or as Āryaśūra says in the Jātakamālā (ed. Kern p.89) **नौरभ्यधिकं चकम्पे विषादयन्ती हृदयानि तेषाम्।** The language of the Chams is related to Indonesian and Malay.

Champa breathes centuries of history in the glittering silence of her mind, and whispers in our ears:

I am also a drop of nectar
With tomorrows inside.

The tomorrows have to be the creative leap of India in the dawning years.

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34. LIFE AND TRANSCENDENCE

Some echoes from different levels of existence and consciousness. Transistors or transcendence, computers or contemplation: where lies the chaotic surface and where is the powerful vitality, where is the conflagration or where is compassion *(karuṇā)?* Perhaps 'and' instead of 'or' would be appropriate: computers and contemplation. Wherein lie the saps and sinews of the culture of Man? Where lies sensitivity, the horizon permeated with reverence for life and love for creatures: is the lonely pine my brother? I am entangled in the mountain mists, the utter silence of grey void, the drifting billows of vapour, for somewhere therein is the throbbing substance of life and meta-life. The four-dimensional logic of objective existence is but an essence of unfathomed universes of thought. Secret links of man and nature are the purest, primordial beauty.

Man and his environment are woven together in a fragrant heritage: the whole of nature, those frontiers of the real, gusts of wind or pollen from the infinite primaeval forests of India's unknown time: they were our Āraṇyakas preceding the flights of the Upaniṣads. Nature planted her heart in the mind of India. Out of it, out of the *araṇis* came the fire, the Agni, that was decisive in its timelessness. Poesy and history, time and man intertwined: *paśya devasya kāvyaṁ yo na mamāra na jīryati.* India's earth held the voices of her eternal poet's deep within. They were the coming together of man and creation, wonder and awe, the *camatkāra.* The word *camatkāra* refers to the 18th chapter of the Yajurveda, the remarkable *camaka* hymn. It is an affirmation of life, the substantiality of existence, which is to be attained by every me. The me is echoed by every twin phrase of Sanskrit *ca me ca me:* strivings and weavings, songs and poems, light and enlightenment must my exertions gain for me. Stony wastes, clayey plains, hills and dales, vast sands and dense forests: must my exertions gain for me. *aśmā ca me, mṛttikā ca me, girayaś ca me, parvatāś ca me, sikatāś ca me, tanasyatayaś ca me.*

The Ṛgveda begins with the word Agni, the mother of civilisation and culture. Homage to Agni *(Agnim īḍe purohitaṁ...*) became an intellectual reality of human evolution. The Prometheus complex is the Oedipus complex of the life of the intellect. Reverie by the fireside, the *yajña* and homa, had axes that were philosophical. The conquest of the superfluous gives man greater spiritual excitement than the conquest of the necessary. The *yajña* was a pyrotechnical perception of the depths of the universe in continuity of thought and thaumaturgy. The pyromenon or the phenomenon of fire became active in light, the symbol of transcendence. Fire's movement or its repose became conducive to hymns: the havoc of fire inspired the destiny of Ṛgvedic man.

It linked the small to the great, the hearth to the volcano. Fire was not a separable datum of experience. It was linked by analogy to other aspects of experience.

The Ṛgveda speaks of *dyauṣ pitā pṛthivī mātā* 'sky the father and earth the mother'. Man and nature are the breath of the imperishable, most alive and beautiful in myth. The myth has been the synchronicity of the sublime and the secular in India. It has been the light and lyricism that has lived on and yet lives in our life. *Zhivyot rodina mat* "long live the motherland" electrified the mind of Russia from the age-long patina of her own folklore and changed the outcome of the Second World War. This sentence breathes the atmosphere of the Ṛgveda in its vibrating words: *rodina* is Vedic *rodas, mat* is *mātā* and *zhivyot* is *jīvyāt.* Ancient rhythms opening the doors of contemporary to wed aspirations with actions.

The civilisation of ancient Greece was nurtured within city walls. The word 'civilisation' itself derives from Latin *civitas* 'city', *civis* 'citizen', a word which is cognate to Sanskrit *Śiva,* according to Webster's New International Dictionary (p.492a). However, in India Man's spirit and the spirit of the Universe are one. Man and the world are one great Truth. How can we divide the bud and the blossom. The literature of India was the purest voice of her deeps, the dream of her reason, born of leaves soaked in the dew of dawns since the days of the Ṛgveda.

Our primal poem, our ādi-kāvya, the Rāmāyaṇa welled forth at the grievous sight of the death of a love-lorn avian couple shot by a hunter. A new metrical form surged forth in all spontaneity from the agony of the bird falling dead. The ephemeral *śoka* of Vālmīki became the perennial *śloka* of Indian literature. Primal pain was a perennial poem. The leaves, the bird, the air, the falling, the forlorn forest had opened up inside the whole being of a nation. Ever since, Rāmāyaṇa has become the lyric of men of Asia from Siberia to Indonesia.

The Japanese monk Enku sculpted a hundred thousand statues. They are 'Chip Buddhas' where the transitions of planes are sharp and they reveal the encounter of the tool with the surface. Enku's attitude in carving was spontaneous. Was the *śloka* not born in spontaneity? Is the human not conceived in the abandon of joy? Enku carved the heart of creation. Tall oaks and cherry trees entwined with wisteria vines now stand at the spot where Enku attained nirvāṇa. People living in the village say that these vines will bleed if anyone cuts them. They are the creative touch of the rarity of life: *mā niṣāda pratiṣṭhāṁ tvam agamaḥ śāśvatīḥ samāḥ,* Hunt not, hearken to the unseen in the kingdom of the revealed heart. Let time dawn, pristine, empty, in whose flowering heart I once was.

Creativity may not exist without mystery. The link between the creative experience and mystery is consistent in diverse cultures. Out of chaos order was born. Order out of non-order, ever new forms out of the formless is implicit in the classic meaning of creativity. The scientific analogue is that the earth evolved from nebulous clouds of particles which were floating about in space. To employ the words of the Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra: *śūnyatā eva rūpam.* The empirical-positivistic philosophies, which developed in the 17th through the 19th centuries, refused to consider the possibility of 'pre-existent' or innate truth. Modern science is based on them. Man was viewed as a *tabula rasa* or blank slate at birth and he acquired everything through his senses. The creativity of science tended to the continually expanding discovery of the secrets of nature. Based on exterior discovery, the notions of progressive control of nature have brought life to the brink of extinction. This has prompted modern trends of 'humanistic psychology' to a direction that is consistent with much of Indian thought. India's visualisation has become a model for deeper understanding of the human being, wherein the amazingly complex universe of consciousness, becomes the concern of creativity. This may lead the coming decades to a transcending process in which we open ourselves to the universal order of which we are a harmonious part, to *ṛtaṁ ca satyaṁ ca* of the Ṛgveda. In these new creative moments the modern man feels a sense of unity between himself and the universe. The French have tended to consider many of our technical innovations as 'inventive', or 'clever', or 'resourceful'. However, they reserve the term 'creative' for more spiritual 'innovations', such as great art and philosophy, painting and poetry. It is the immutable and eternal reality from which the flux of the world appears. It is the *ātman* which consists of interior light *(antar-jyoti).* It is the light with which the *sādhaka* wishes to merge himself: *tamaso mā jyotir gamaya.*

The multi-faceted richness of the structures of India's consciousness are multiple patterns of the divine. Polytheism alone can move meaningfully through a pluralistic universe. Pluralism is a homage to the meaning of the Cosmos in its seeming anarchy or infinite order. The whole process of India's creativity was purified, perfected and ennobled in the marvelous art and capacity for creating gods and goddesses. It was the power to create for himself new and individual eyes, always newer and more individualised. It was the constant trans-valuation of meaning and being, of knowing and communicating. In India we always discovered variousness and many-sidedness in the flow of the Perennial. The structures of meaning and being became enshrined in the stories of the endless pantheons of gods and goddesses in the Purāṇas. They were beyond measure; as immense as life: *prāṇo vai virāṭ.*

For creating the meaning of life in all its richness one has to be able to say with Goethe: "as an artist I am a polytheist, as a naturalist I am a pantheist". That is why we, who had a word for everything, have no word for religion. So did the Greeks have no word for religion. A polytheistic world of inherited metaphors, concepts and categories of thought became poetic and humane distillations. Each of us has his or her secretly potent pantheon of dreams: new potencies, new realities of expression. Every new turn is a touch with fresh depths, a return to the deeps of the Perennial to infuse new life with new symbols. The Eternal is Value and the New is Meaning. We have to realise that the centre of India was, is, and will be not only everywhere, but also in *all* time. India is the only country in the world which uses the Sṛṣṭi Saṁvat or Era of Creation that runs to two billion years. This staggering immensity of time pollinated the meta-consciousness that creates a sense of oneness with the universe. With the pre-eminence of scientific and technological

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advance, acquisitive materialism has become the dominant cultural value. It threatens the very existence of life itself. A new paradigm has to emerge to assert the original, greater and all-important reality of life, nature and the Divine. Emergent civilisation has to find its clue in a unified flow of cosmic power in making up a single (uni) verse of the Uni-verse: Life.

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35. CULTURAL SOVEREIGNTY

The twentieth century was wrapped in gold plundered from a thousand flowers. It was consumerism at its height. It clothed the mind with physicality. This century seeks inner steppes, immense and pristine. We have to work out a journey to the innermost substances of Being. Peoples of Asia have to enshrine their visions and values in ever-creating, all-irradiating forms. We have to avoid the tragedy of becoming non-descript and monocentric beings, deprived of roots. The poetry of our deeps has to be the presence of the perennial in the present and the ferment of a "Living We" of our futures. No hatred events or blood-stained spikes of dogmas. Romain Rolland, the great French writer had said: "Teach us to understand all things, Asia, teach us your knowledge of life. And learn of us action, achievement." This is possible only when distinctive spirits are respected. Asian nations have to make the journey together with many nations, sharing and at the same time varying. Substantive voices have to come from our own beyonds and withins, our own forms and movements, our own dreams and spaces. The raptures of our roots have to live in the kinetics of tomorrows, close to fire without kissing its flames.

The 20th century is done, but its 'global universal' is a depersonalising hegemony, wherein 'Creative Consistence' and 'Autonomy of Cultures' are victims. A new morphology of cultural reciprocity, a heartwork of variations, has to be resurrected. The multiple dream-spaces of life and joy are being ripped by the hegemony of globalism and dialogue.

The concepts of globalisation and dialogue are contemporary softening up of the triumphalist terms of the 19th and early 20th century when thinkers like Max Weber spoke of the uniqueness and universal importance of the special 'Western' culture and civilisation. They saw their direction of development as of universal importance and validity, and as a chain of factors that led to cultural events in the West. The plurality of cultures was an idealized presentation of the non-European ways and institutions as a critical counter-image, as backward stages of Western development. Plurality was neither owned nor honoured, but merely provided a clarity to the formulation of European culture as the only "regular and scientific" progress. All foreign cultures were backward as they lacked the socio-historical roots of a dynamic force to bring forth science and technology. Western thinkers posit their cultural value systems as special in that they enabled Western rationality to lead to a creative understanding of the world. Achievements, destructions and crises were the threefold dynamics of change. Crises were not regressions, but catalytic forces. The traditional non-Western social structures and values have been derogated and brought down so that non-Western thinkers are compelled to channel their ideas in the Western mould. The lack of perceptible human purpose and the threatening ecological crisis introduces a fleeting era of Western self-doubt. Is the Western Faustian man with his eternal striving the carcinogen? "There is a cancer in this world; and it is a man" complain the ecologists. Yet the West cannot accept a diminution of its values, which are the driving forces of its civilisation.

Prof. Kaneko Masaru is outspoken in his book *Anti-globalism*: "Is this greedy, survival-of-the-fittest capitalism really what we want.. .. We must not forget issues like Japanese tradition and cultural identity." The fall of communism was a victory for human rights, and the demise of globalism will be a victory for Values. Globalisation provides confrontation and hereby new opportunities to assess our traditions. In the words of Emmanuel Todd of Paris, traditions are the heart of a culture. Family system stubbornly resists globalisation and thus helps cultures preserve their individuality. Prof. Yamazaki Masakazu of the University of East Asia's Graduate School has pointed out that **"values common to all humanity are an illusion".**

Civilisation had swept Japan after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 with the slogan "Civilisation and Enlightenment". After the Second World War, 'civilisation' was replaced by 'culture', and the phrase "culture nation" *(bunka kokka)* emerged as a national slogan. The "Huntington shock" has led to a further realisation that cultures wield power. Asian cultures are aesthetic contemplation, an appreciation of beauty and charm, nobility and fervour. The concept of culture as power has made the Japanese reflect on self-awareness, and to nurture the "search for our roots." Their perception is "we should accept what we are, namely, a distinctly minor civilisation that operates best on a scale commensurate with its own physical size".

As silence gives new voices to historic symbols, the Japanese have noted the importance of 'linguistic sovereignty'. Dr. Takashina Shuji, Director General of the National Museum of Western Art, writes: "Preserving it is absolutely essential not only to safeguard the Japanese language but also to contribute to the world through the Japanese language and Japanese culture". The famed novelist Natsume Soseki taught his students that the correct Japanese translation for "I love you" is *Tsuki ga tottemo aoi naa* "the moon is so blue tonight". This emotional expression has to work within the Japanese cultural framework.

Prof. Kawakatsu Heita of the Waseda University says: "Culture emerged from our involvement with the land. The word *culture* comes from a word meaning 'to till the soil', which was eventually applied to cultivation of the spirit... We are suffering from... a cultural crisis.. We have to return to the land again".

A new self-awareness is emerging. All the varied cultures cannot be measured by a single yardstick. "Heavyweight" cultures have to acknowledge the existence of "lightweight" cultures that possess a mysterious charm, refinement and unique flavour of belonging. It is the difference between a "house" and a "home", an expression of inner identity, alive within, the cultural flowering of a dwelling. The West seeks to submerge non-European identities into **an** industrial civilisation, that exaggerates the value of human rationality, and repudiates the transcendental which can give life meaning. As humans are not completely comfortable with modern industrial consumerism, the clash becomes internalised and spiritual. It is easy to be nihilistic and pronounce tradition and religion, symbols and significance, history and national identity as dead. To deny them is to deny ourselves. Human society is a system of symbols. Symbolic meaning holds sway in the realm of life. It preserves continuity and unity. Mass culture is being projected as a counterpoint to break up the dignity of higher symbols and their vitality of spontaneous development. Artistic genres, traditional rituals and conventions, that is Forms, are suffering from ignorance and contempt. Form is the very foundation and main stay of culture. Today there is a 'crisis of Form', whereby contemporary society demonstrates spiritual and cultural shallowness.

Secularisation and cultural denigration undermines the institutions of Asian nations. The stronger this drive becomes, the greater is peoples' identification with their own culture. Prof. Kawakatsu speaks of "an encounter between a Japan of beauty and a West of strength... Beauty is not always something that wilts before might." The Meiji government let this spirit and virtue fall by the wayside in its headlong dash to build a wealthy state and strong army, with disastrous results. In his policy speech on 7 August 1998 Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo spoke of *fukoku yutoku* 'a country of wealth and virtue'. Prof. Nakanishi Terumasa elaborates the Japanese sense of values, along with accomplishing economic vitality, under three national goals "freedom and vitality, revival of history and tradition, and independence". Mr. Nishibe Susumu has been forthright in his comments: "the spread of 'globalism' is nothing more or less than the 'Americanisation of the world'... let us make the twentyfirst century the century of de-Americanisation."

We will have to move away from glorifying consumerism, sex and violence through the omnipresent and omnipotent electronic media. The West cannot stain the mind of humanity. The sky looks blue but does not leave its stains on the wings of a bird. To avoid tensions and reprisals, clashes and crushings, the disinherited of the earth will have to be respected and owned. The roots of humanity as a whole, and of the West in particular, must go deep down into the universal and infinite. The Upaniṣadic seers having become men-in-the-universe, were inspired by the mighty living cathedrals of nature, and felt that the same serene depths of the mind pulsate in every living being, and called upon us to strive for a profound reverence for life:

Everything has sprung from immortal life
And is vibrating with life.
Life is immense.

Technosphere has to be an auxiliary of the biosphere. It has not to intrude into the functions of the biosphere, with all its *sukha* and *duhkha,* its happiness and gloom. High-tech will have to be harmonised with the needs of life. Life includes human life, animal life, and stationary life (plants). Flora, fauna and humanity have to co-exist. Spiritualisation of the image of the future in its creativity through pure science and applied technology provides a new structure for the continuing process of human development. In a world where science has become cannibalistic and humanity has become edible, will technology devour the significance of human existence. As the Īśa-

Upaniṣad says: "You should therefore only take what is really necessary for yourself, which is set aside for you. You should not take anything else, because you know to whom it belongs". The world will have to be "the land of duty, not the land of enjoyment" (Mahatma Gandhi).

The real fulfillment of the human spirit is the values of the inner life to mitigate the acid rain of unbridled pursuit of material wealth. The mad cow disease, for instance, has been a warning. Continued industrial exploitation will invite massive retaliation by nature. Man is to give up the illusion of being the supreme creation, whose mission is a struggle against the forces of nature. He is to be a gentle disciple of life, for the stiff and unbending is the disciple of death. He is to celebrate the green plants that are tender and filled with sap. As Lao-tze wisely put it:

A man is born gentle and meak.
At his death he is hard and stiff.

Dialogue was between teachers and their disciples, and the neophyte occupied a position of submission to the teacher. In the 19th century when Western countries were dominant, both politically and economically, dialogue involved Christians and non-Christians. Dialogue is seldom between equal partners. The new emphasis on dialogue is a subtler and more insidious form of missionary apologetics. Dialogue has become a prerogative of Western thought. To quote Prof. Wilhelm Halbfass of the University of Pennsylvania: "The medium, the framework of any 'dialogue' seems to be irreducibly Western one... the global openness of modernity is still a parochially Western, European horizon". Further on he says: "The meeting and 'dialogue' of the cultures and religions of this world coincides with their trivialisation". Where will this trivialisation lead to? Prof. Halbfass is again blunt: "The Europeanisation of the earth continues to be inescapable and irreversible".

We have to re-define dialogue as the emergence of a catalyst that breaks through its territorial, civilisational, and cultural entrapments. It has to free us to function in a universal ambience. It is the opening up of constantly emerging "illusions" that go on fading out so that the future lives in cultural autonomy and scientific freedom.

SOME ASIAN PARADIGMS

1. The European theory of cultures and civilisations is a structuring of a mind that has seen phenomenal advances during the last millennium. The Western mind is seeking room to move meaningfully in a pluralistic universe, while it is rooted in the meaning and being of its own thinking and understanding. It has to seek a re-valuation or trans-valuation of its *bodhicitta* in the rich structures of consciousness of Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Taoism, Confucianism, Shintoism, and nature-religions.

2. A uni-dimensional norm of humanity is against the deep reality of existence. We have to discover freedom to acknowledge variousness. All the centuries, climates, lands, languages can not be articulated according to a single symbol system. The 'new science' is bringing in indeterminism, plural logical systems, quarks without substance, irrational numbers, and soon. They compel us to

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a polycentric world, to a new sensibility of multicentric consciousness. The new paradigms will have to be many-splendored, with a liveliness of sharing. Values do not exist in a vacuum. They have a history of centuries, exegeses of hundreds of minds, the faith of millions, and now the dreadful power of technology. So concepts like 'cultural commonality' and 'universalism' are counter-productive rather than creative. Asians have to accept and respect differences, the beauty of many forms, the eternality of various values. We have to mesh the many in the harmony of divergence rather than in that of convergence.

3. Universalistic hegemony, 'standards of life', promiscuity, the glorification of violence, the denial of roots in an unprincipalled universalism, the destruction of nature and the mad race for consumerism, have to be replaced. For normalisation of life, for the renewal of our inner space, and to avoid deracination in multipolar societies, we need to give up un-necessary acquisitions, to inculcate a vision of values as the supreme quest of life, to bring about a world wherein the state of Being overrides the plenty of possessions. This has to be a 'Century of Life' that will preserve the inside against the outside. 'Creative Coexistence' and 'Autonomy of Will' have to become the absorption of the human mind and action. 'Spiritual ideals of reciprocity' have to shape the heartwork of culture.

4. From a focus on politics and economics to an emphasis on civilisation and culture.

5. The ability to unite the people culturally will be as important as political, military and economic might.

6. A new paradigm of glocalism, to bring together globalism and localism.

7. Confucianism teaches that we are not born human but *become* human.

8. People are part of nature, not its rulers. In former times Japanese farmers used to plant three beans in one hole: one to be eaten by the insects in the ground, another by birds in the sky, and the last sprouts to be eaten by the people.

9. Mr. Kawachi Takashi of the Mainichi Shimbun points out the core Asian values as: "restraint of individual desires and ambitions, harmony with nature, and concert between the group and individual". Freedom and fairness have to go together.

10. The vocabulary of post-structuralism, with words prefixed by inter (internet, interactive, intersexuality) is a paradigm shift to relationality. The Chinese ideogram *ren* 仁 combines the elements for 亻 'person' and 二 'two'. It focuses on the individual and his surrounds acting in unison.

11. Re-valorisation of the distinguishing features of Asian cultures which are neither fixed nor absolute. In the domestic architecture of Japan and Korea, the interior and exterior are separated by a single thin sheet of paper. The *shoji* or 'paper homes' are to welcome the sounds and breezes, the lovely chirping of birds and insects. It is an open culture as contradistinguished from West's culture of walls. It encourages openness.

12. The wave of modernisation is being replaced in Japan by a new but opposite wave of *datsu-O nyu-A* "get away from Europe *(O)* and unite with Asia *(A)*".

13. Respect for the cultures, civilisations and religions of each other, and no interference or conversions by a subtle psychological agenda, should be the values of our century.

14. 'True universality' can only be rich diversity, with no single meaning. The various lines, the many realities will be lived in everyone's deepest feelings. Religions, in the plural, will be global in the sense that they will be rooted in human consciousness as the vision and faith of fellow beings, whatsoever their demographic numbers. Universality of culture and civilisation, rather than a universal culture and civilisation, will seek civil behavior in the affirmation of diversity. Such a culture and civilisation will be multiple and their centre will be everywhere.

15. Love of one's land is to value the rights of humans to be sculptors of themselves. Some mysterious flow of energy and resolve invests territory. The Territorial Imperative is a genetically determined form of behavior, as amply attested by the biological sciences.

16. Love of history. Millenia of time are the subtle and profound 'living space' of men. History is the deeper ground of our existence.

17. Sacredness of all life, and the divinity of nature. Awakened awareness, no ideology but ideas, so that tiny pebbles gathered on the shoreline of life become fine like pearls. When we carry these pebbles back home to our hearts, intertwined with them will be the Sea of Consciousness in our sleeves.

18. Human values of divergence are the deepest core of the humanum. We will have to inhabit the spiritual universe as a continuing relationship between 'inside' and 'outside'. There is no 'inside' without an 'outside'. It has to be a continuing realisation in the dream-space of humans. Without diminution of religious autonomies, we will have to own the 'other'. Alterity or otherness will be integral to humanity. No universal mission as a management of the world, but the acceptance of pluralism as well as respect for multiplicity. We have to pass from de facto plurality to pluralism. It has to be an authentic human plenitude of various strands, held together by mutual respect.

Prof. Lee O-young, a former Minister of Culture and Sports of the Republic of Korea, says: "At length we will hear, wafting in from the once-forgotten Asian steppe, a song that transcends the spiritual, emotional discord."

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36. VALUES AND ACTION

What ails us today?

The century gone brings to mind the scribbling of an unknown Chinese poet on a wall of Beijing: "The thunderclap has been loud, the raindrops small". He stopped breathless and did not sign this immortal line, even though Mao had proclaimed: "Let a hundred flowers bloom". The night would have sucked him into Nothingness.

The present with its vibrant aberrations recalls the Luperci of the Roman State. The State, Law and Polity as we practice them today have evolved from Roman perceptions, practices and institutions. The two major elements of the Roman State were the essence of the *regnum* and of the *flamonium.* These correspond to *rājanya* राजन्य and *brahmanya* ब्रह्मण्य of India. **Governance has to be conditioned by Values.** These twin institutions were opposed to, but tolerated to an extent, the Luperci who were agents of a 'sacred disorder'. Luperci means 'wolf-men': tumultuous runners and great ravishers. India is a victim of lupercian eruption of energy in the socio-political order. Why?

The authority of colonialism was based on the personal character of the rulers. After Independence character was replaced by a new formal ethos. It was put into a shroud of dogmas like (I) internationalism, (ii) socialism, (iii) non-alignment, (iv) secularism, and (v) anti-communalism. National leaders went to the extent of saying that corruption was a lesser danger to the country than communalism. A captivating euphemism but a misleading contrast to reduce Values to rubble and stumble in public affairs. This new paradigm pushed aside the traditions of the Land: Excellence, Values, and our Own Being स्वभूति. The founder-sage of Taoism Laotse has said; "He who holds fast to the Ancient Tao can easily manage the present affairs of men".

Eyeful canvasses of a new world of hope were created at the dawn of our freedom. They have become contortions of the few, unrelated to the spontaneity of our people. The waters flow without a shore. India is sovereign, but her people await the ascent. We have lived in assurance of commanding heights, yet wonder what we have really achieved in terms of daily lives of the millions. India has R&D (Research and Development), but Japan has R&P (Research and Production). We have non-attachment अनासक्ति, while the Japanese have created a miracle through *karma-yoga*. Tilak's analysis of the Gita as *karma-yoga* was changed to *anāsakti-yoga* अनासक्ति-योग by Mahatma Gandhi. This negation of action continues. This elusive negative has to be replaced by open-eyed Action, *karma-yoga*.

A new order with its accent on Value-based politics needs to enshrine Action and Values. Let शब्दब्रह्म be कर्मब्रह्म ॥

We need Values for rapid technological changes and instantaneous world-wide communications. These life-enhancing systems of our times have necessitated the renaissance of concepts of the self and the universe, and new approaches to a comprehensive evaluation of Truth. To ponder over the re-valuation of perennial truths for the well-being of the people, scientists and spirituals have to come together in a sharing of minds. We need common symbols to explore Truth in openness.

Humankind has to look within to find live hues of a sensibility dyed in lotus blooms and in cherry blossoms. The Four Noble Truths have been central to Buddhism in the realisation of the human predicament, its grasping, removing its cause and the way to overcome it. Truth has motivated Buddhist thought and action at all times and in all climes. The concepts of conventional truth (*saṁvṛti satya*) and ultimate truth (*paramārtha-satya*) have had wide-ranging implications for ethics, cosmology and spiritual attainment. Refraining from untrue speech (*mṛṣi-vāda-veramaṇī*) is one of the five fundamental vows (*pañcaśīla*) chanted at the outset of most formal Buddhist activities. The work Tattva-siddhi by Harivarman in the third century on the complete establishment of *satya* was the basis of the Jojitsu school of Buddhism, which was introduced into Japan by Ekwan, who arrived at the Horyuji monastery from Korea in 625 AC. The Chinese sage Confucius says: "Truth means the fulfilment of our self ... Truth is the beginning and end, the substance, of material existence. Without truth there is no material existence... Therefore, with truth, everything done is right." Manu 4.138 advises: "One should speak the truth and speak it pleasingly... One should not speak untruth because it is pleasing. This is the eternal law." *Satya* is the highest truth of being. It is one of the abstentions of *rājayoga*, one of the five *yamas*.

Minds and meditations of centuries have to highlight the continuity, the symbolism and the contemporary meaning of truth, of *satya*, in global awareness. The inner spiritual experience beyond symbolic imagery and the technological breakthroughs, both have to be the source of well-being of humankind. We sit together to refresh the whole landscape with Truth. *Satyam eva jayate*.

Our century calls for an interaction between technology and the socio-cultural inheritance of the human mind. The relationship of man, environment and applied science has to be discussed on many levels. The homeostasis of the multiple equations of man has to be planned in our visions of the future, in order that we Live. The cosmotheandric equilibrium has to be debated at length and all over the globe so that precise and detailed strategies can evolve in an incessant continuity. The managers of culture have to mingle with the trans-logical creators of the human quality of life in terms of values, beauty, rhythm, poesy, myth and legend. Technological progress will shrivel if it fails to adjust to the oceanic consciousness of man.

The arrogance of science and technology as *the* truth and as *the* progress, has to be enlightened and enlivened by new echos of a holistic man with a heart and a mind in body and flesh, vibrating with life, shadows and silences, gifted with a brain that invents to lighten his furies and sorrows. Science has to move away from lordliness and disdain, to serve Man and to kiss his life with fragrance.

Prof. Henryk Skolimowski and his consort Juanita "were walking in the Royal Park in the centre of Warsaw amidst roses and with a monumental statue of Chopin in the background. Juanita and I started to muse: and how is our Lokesh doing? "He certainly" is a learned and an inscrutable man.... He seems to be more than he cares to reveal", said Juanita. To which 1 added "what he reveals is impressive. What he conceals is unfathomable". "Perhaps he is one of the sages of the Himalaya WHO KNOWS" added Juanita. And 1 continued, how is this joint venture of ours: a spiritual journal. Is it going to happen? Or is it happening already because we have sent an idea up to the Cosmos? Such were our thoughts about you when we were enjoying our walk in the royal park of Warsaw. You are in our minds and hearts. We love you our Himalaya sage. (7 May 2003).

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37. THE CULTURAL EROSION OF ASIA BY WESTERN TECHNOCRATIC IMPERIALISM

Western technocrats are replacing traditional European imperialism by a new subtle type of pervasive invasion of Asia's independence of thought, of its mind and of its spirit. Refined techniques of intricate maze of analysis are being pressed into use to bring home to the men and women of Asia, that modem technology demands new cultural patterns. Limited situations are being fallaciously generalised *(ativyāpti-doṣa).*

As an instance we may take the survey of the American journalist Mr. Richard Critchfield, reported in *The American Review* of April 1971 under the caption — "Green Revolution: Most Significant of this Decade". Herein he says: "The green revolution is more than just an agricultural transformation. It also is a very rapid cultural evolution" (p.31).

It is clear that cultural expression is sought to be subordinated, then equated and finally replaced by agricultural and other developments. While agriculture is a utility system, culture is an eternity of values. This does not suit the Western grand design and hence Mr. Critchfield has to say: "And when an economic system uses money, it is not long before the value system begins to depend on money too" (p.32). Repeatedly he stresses that "the cultural transformation follows the transformation of agriculture." These ideas are sought to slowly but surely permeate the thought processes of Asia so that ultimately agriculture can replace culture. In fact the prime objective is to bring about a *Götterdammerung* of Asia, to *de-culturise* Asia.

Speaking of the "mystical, artistic and highly cultured Javanese peasantry", Mr. Critchfield points out that: "the wayang play is more than popular village entertainment; it is the very heart of classical Javanese culture and the fount of much of its religion, philosophy and moral code" (p.33). Yet Mr. Critchfield, a cultured citizen of a "cultured country" (the U.S.A.), notes with approbation and a glee hardly suppressed when the Javanese are being made to give up their cultural affluence under administrative ideation ultimately inspired by Western experts. His words are: "They also hoped to restrict, through non-issuance of licenses, the number of village performances of the famous Javanese wayang shadow play. Here, too, the money could be more economically used for fertilizers and insecticides" (p.33).

To uproot the people of Asia, to take them away from their intrinsic moorings is the immediate aim of the West. Why? To impose their cultural domination over Asia by presenting their implicit wishes as statements of fact, sometimes un-disguised. See what Mr. Critchfield has to say: "In modern times, it is the imposition of European culture and technology on the great cities of the whole world, including those of Asia" (p.34).

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The West wants a cultural alienation of the East to break Asia's resistance to the designs of the West. An Asia *déraciné* would be an Asia pliant and compliant.

"Science without tradition can produce technicians but not cultured men; tradition without science can breed learned but not rational men." *(Forgotten Scripts,* p.11)

A Viennese joke about the "salad of religions" or secularism:

The neurotic builds castles in the air,
The psychotic lives in them, and
The psychiatrist collects the rent.

1. Push to the East (Drang nach Osten). The academic achievements of India during the last two centuries along with the renaissance of her cultural traditions; and secondly the phenomenal economic and technological miracles of the East Asian tigers **within their languages and cultures** has given rise to rethinking in the US led Western political circles about the *Drang nach Osten* or Push to the East. The whole complex of Western terminology has not succeeded to destroy our wisdom of ages. The blood of colonialism and the darkening spiritual sleep has not been able to touch our inner terrains.

2. Elimination of Asian cultures. The cultural and civilisational strategies of the United States in its foreign policy imperatives have become clear in the five decades of the interface of Japan and U.S. Prof. Shuntaro Ito, Director of the Centre for Comparative Civilisations at the Reitaku University, Chiba Prefecture, Japan, has written on the civilisational contact between Japan and the USA. He says that a "high ranking official of the US Department of State expressed the opinion that **Japanese culture, in particular the Japanese language, was the source of economic friction".** The Japanese professor goes on: "such friction cannot be eliminated unless both sides share the same culture, such problems cannot be completely resolved unless Japanese culture becomes American culture, or vice versa. This approach is an expression of ethnocentric arrogance tantamount to declaring that one's own culture is unequivocally correct and that all peoples who do not accept it should be condemned".

3. Invention of evil. Communism had become a barrier to Western aspirations. The collapse of the Berlin Wall marked the beginning of a new era of conflicts in Western politics. It was the end of 'ideological conflict' as the driving force of 'global' politics. The core state of communism, the Soviet Union, was also the Land of Eastern Christianity (Slavic Orthodox). Eastern Christianity had been a threat to Western Christianity since 1054, when the Church split. Thus the West has perceived a major threat from two directions: Orthodox Christianity and communism. The mindset of the West has been summed up by Andre Malraux: "But, I, the Occidental man, need to fight, fight against Evil. Take away Evil, and there is nothing to fight for". If no Evil exists, it has to be invented. And Evil is being discovered all the time.

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4. Clash of cultures. This continuing need of a threat has been perceived in the Evil of other cultural paradigms. Thus, the present international policy of the West has been geared to a "clash of civilisations". The following seven civilisations are seen as a challenge to the dominant global hegemony of Western civilisation led by the USA:

(i-iii) Eastern Christianity (Slavic Orthodox), Latin American, African

(iv) Islamic

(v-vii) Hindu, Confucian, Japanese.

To maintain its dominance the "West" with the USA as the charioteer, has created a new economic and political rhetoric and progrom:

(1) Ethnocentrism of Western Christianity is distinguished from Eastern Christianity to endow nations of Europe with a sense of glory. The bombing of Kosovo was an outcome of these religious perceptions.

(2) Encouragement of intercultural conflicts to shatter images that inhabit national imagination: such as Taliban fundamentalism fanned by third party interests.

(3) Containment of economy, development and polity. It is reflected in the US policy of **"downsizing Asia"** in economic terms, as in the case of Japan and South Korea, or in the less advanced economies of Indonesia and Thailand in the 1990s.

(4) Cultural paradigms have not allowed the USA to advance its hegemony. The nations have retained their cultures as well as achieved phenomenal technological, scientific and economic advancement. To achieve its global objectives the USA wishes to **erase the distinction between culture and civilisation**. Civilisation has been made culture. This is to obliterate cultures from their cosmocratic designs.

(5) The fast emerging Asio-African structures, essentially elitist, are sought to be controlled and directed through civilisation or via scientific achievements leading to economic, political and religious dependence.

5. The inner core and outer shell. The biosphere or life sphere has two tiers: (1) The first is the **inner core** which contains the ideal form, the ethos of value judgments, aesthetic feelings, the continuity of a people, in short their "**culture**". (2) The second tier is the **outer shell,** represented by institutions, social apparatuses, scientific and technological developments. It is "**civilisation**". The American media plan to effect a "cultural detachment" through dissemination of scientific and technological knowledge. This is to modify the culture, ethos and values of the core sphere. The destruction of the inner cultural planes will be negotiated through civilisational i.e. technological apparatuses.

Our living fire has to fight against this enthronement of deculturation and deracination.

38. INDIA'S ROLE IN THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW WESTERN WORLD-VIEW

India can make possible "neighbourhood relations" between the natural and cultural sciences, to create a metascience "at a higher elevation", to resume the impaired dialogue, to restore the hermeneutic vision in the age of technological pollution. Value consciousness has to complement (or supplant) the value-neutrality of science to exclude the ecological and social crises stemming from it. A series of meaningful syntheses have to emerge from the hermeneutics of the oceanic vision of India.

The agony of creativity, the style and idea, the polyplanality of interrelation inclines the West to seek this New Vision, which is a correlate of the humane dimension and whose experience is multi-dimensional. It is trying to quest the spring-time of a Higher Future Culture after the winter of its Faustian culture (to use a term of Spengler) of the last century. In this the role of India can be ascendant, sometimes direct and at other times through the Chinese idiom. In this context, the observations of an American professor are fascinating:

Prof. David B. Richardson writes in his book *Berdyaev's Philosophy of History* (Martinus Nijhoff, 1968): " ..... so great was the sinification of 18th century Europe, the influence of China produced in considerable part the rationalism of the age. I traced both the Chinese and the *Indian influences* from 1700 to 1900, and came to the conclusion that they were decisive in the emergence of a new Western world-outlook."

"The Chinese influences which were received in Western civilisation from the seventeenth century onward were alloyed considerably with ideas partly of Indian origin. Western civilisation received the Indian influences in various ways, prominent among which were the eighteenth century discovery of Chinese culture and the direct nineteenth century renaissance of ancient Indian classics."

Raynold Schwab has compiled massive evidence in his book, *The Indian Renaissance,* to show *"the breadth and depth of Indian influences* in the 19th century — all told, *amounting to a massive unremitting influence on the West which continues in this century."*

"The unworldliness of Webern's pulverized music, and Giacometti's statues, and Klee's paintings is parallel to the acosmism of the traditional Indian *Weltanschauung* — a kind of music, sculpture or painting whose "space" often is non-existent, a nothingness. As in Buddhism, the only reality worthy of symbolising the Ultimate is an ethereal, impersonal and highly abstract image of familiar things".

"One of the favorite devices of Chinese painting, particularly after the Buddhist religion entered into the Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era, was the use of the empty spaces between the objects depicted in paintings. An empty interval served to create subtle tensions and relationships, in its own way as effectively as the typical Chinese repetitious thin brush-strokes. In the use of empty intervals in post-Han paintings I see an ethereal quality, corresponding to both an Indian and a Taoist sense of transcendence. In modern centuries, both the Chinese and Japanese exploited this use of emptiness all the more and thereby revealed more clearly the ancient Indian origin of inspiration. In contemporary music one encounters the wide interval, and as employed in twentieth century music, it typically takes the form of a chord or quick succession of notes which covered several octaves. Schoenberg often covers four octaves (instead of one or two) in a very brief and swift musical sequence".

"Western culture, consequently, may, in the centuries of development that lie ahead for it, develop a music using an Indian like multiplicity of notes. The notion of this kind of music seems to be very compatible with our metaphysical penchant for the microscopic, the complex and the multiple".

"It has been *three centuries since* Leeuwenhoek inaugurated the *study of micro-organisms* by means of the microscope. His interest perhaps received its decisive impetus from the exuberant Neo-Platonist writings of his time, particularly from those works inspired by the two centuries-old fascination of Nicolas Cusanus with the tiny and the minute. Before him and before the development of Neo-Platonist thought, *itself partly Indian in origin, only the Indians,* the Indian-inspired Arab Mutakalimim, and (consequent to the influx of Buddhism) the Chinese *had been interested in the microscopic.* In the twentieth century, microscopic and sub-microscopic entities are being investigated far more intensely than even before, not only in the laboratories of scientists but also at the desks of metaphysicians. This augurs well, as an analogue, for the success of the microtone in our music. Micro-rhythms, moreover, have become one of the characteristic qualities of the new twentieth century music; and this has also been one of the distinctive practices of a traditional Indian music".

"The *Indians were the first to discover and explore logarithmic functions* in arithmetic and geometry, a supremely abstract use of numbers in which the powers of numbers (e.g. the square of 2 or the cube of 27) are dealt with in terms of another number, the base number (e.g. the base, 10). Both Indian music and the exuberant architectural fresco ornament of India are "logarithmic"; because, like the logarithms of numbers, they both symbolise something which transcends themselves to the extreme".

"Western civilisation has never matched the deepest metaphysical vision of the Indian civilisation, a vision of the Ultimate which is both rational and intuitive".

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39. ENGLISH: THE TWILIGHT OF EUROPEAN CULTURES

President Pompidou: Europe will only be Europe if........ The French are alive to the subversion, erosion and annihilation of all linguistic cultures by the expansionism of English and its economic repercussions. Other European states are also becoming aware of the growing economic predominance of the U.S.A. in Europe. It makes them sensitive to everything American that invades their world. Language is no exception. The French thinkers have been in the forefront. They have been able to bring home even to the British that English is an extension of America. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had to concur at this Americanising role of English, during his talks with Pompidou the President of France about the entry of Great Britain into the European Economic Community.

Hereunder is a revealing extract from the *Time* (U.S.A.), dated 31 May 1971: "Pompidou needed considerable convincing. Like De Gaulle, he feared that Britain, once in the Market, would merely be a stalking horse for huge American corporations. After De Gaulle's funeral last November, Heath asked during a brief meeting with Pompidou: "Do you see a major difficulty to Britain's entry into the European Economic Community?" "I see only one," Pompidou replied. With that, he opened a copy of *Le Figaro* to a full-page ad for British Overseas Airways Corporation that proclaimed: *L'Amérique commence à Londres* 'America begins in London'.

"Shortly before last week's visit, Pompidou expressed other doubts. In an interview with the Brussels daily *Le Soir,* he said: "The countries of Western Europe are not movie stars who change fiancés every six months. If we get married, it is forever. So we must be serious about it." In the same interview, Pompidou voiced the fear that French would be supplanted by English as the EEC's major working language. That would be disastrous, he indicated, because English is not simply the language of Britain but "above all, the language of America." He added: "Europe will only be Europe if she distinguishes herself — I don't say cuts off, I say distinguishes herself — from America." In many ways, Heath agrees. Unlike many of his predecessors, he feels no particular bond with the U.S. "Heath is not anti-American, he's un-American." British Author Anthony Sampson *(The New Europeans)* said recently. "He has no pull toward America either through family, the war or friendships. He feels no reciprocity from America."

* * *

The British Prince of Wales has to learn Welsh. On 1 July 1969 the young Prince Charles of England will be invested as the Prince of Wales in the most colourful spectacle of the year.

In the imposing Norman Amphitheatre of Caernarvon Castle, the pageantry and heraldic splendours of an ancient *conquest* will be re-enacted in the minutest detail of costume, panoply and symbolism. The Queen, Prince Philip and Prince Charles will sit on thrones of the Welsh State as the ceremony in English and Welsh proceeds.

To accommodate himself, the Prince is learning Welsh, besides the history and culture of this 'Land of Song'.

The English Crown has always tried to stamp out the Welsh language. Welsh history, language and poetry together form the foundation of their national consciousness and their separate identity. Today the Welsh language is a sacred symbol of their faith in an independent sovereign destiny.

The heart of Wales is in agony at this show of conquest and cultural suppression throughout the centuries. There is a national upsurge. English road signs are being obliterated. Welsh slogans are being daubed on the walls. The nationalists do not recognize Prince Charles as their Prince of Wales and they are boycotting his investiture. The winged Red Dragon with the arrow-head tongue and spiked and knotted tail on the Welsh flag flutters in defiance. (14 June 1969)

A young German: English for what?

एक दिन नगर से मुरमुरे लाया। लेटे-लेटे खा रहा था तो दृष्टि उनके वेष्टन पर पड़ी। सारा पत्र जर्मन भाषा में टंकित था। भारत में मुरमुरे के वेष्टन पर जर्मन देखकर कुछ कौतूहल हुआ तो सारा वेष्टन उलट पुलट कर पढ़ डाला। उसमें एक प्रसंग रुचिकर लगा —

एक दिन पिता ने पुत्र से कहा तुम्हें अंग्रेजी अवश्य सीखनी चाहिये। सोचो तो कि संसार में 20 करोड़ लोग इस भाषा को बोलते हैं। पुत्र ने उत्तर दिया — इतने लोग बोलते हैं तो यह बस पर्याप्त है। अर्थात् मैं क्यों सीखूं। अंग्रेजी के प्रति यह है जर्मन युवक की प्रतिक्रिया।

"Du must English lernen !" ermahnt der Vater seinen Sohn. "Bedenke nur — ungefahr zweihundert Millionen Menschen sprechen diese Sprache."

"Das genugt doch eigentlich, Vati !"

Funding by IKS-MoE

40. हिन्दी का विकास

१९४७ से नए स्वतन्त्र भारत की आधारशिला का न्यास हुआ और राजनैतिक स्वाधीनता का महान् एवं आदि पग रखा गया। वर्षत्रयी के पश्चात्, दूसरा पग सम्पन्न हुआ। यह था — स्वतन्त्र भारतीय गणतन्त्र का आत्मार्पित संविधान। आज तीसरी पुण्य वर्षत्रयी है जिसमें हमारे गणतन्त्र का एक राज्य स्वतन्त्र भारत माता की आत्मा का प्रतिष्ठापन करने लगा है — भारतीय भाषाओं द्वारा शासन-संचालन, जिससे हमारे लोकतन्त्रात्मक गणराज्य की लोकतन्त्रात्मक अभिव्यक्ति हो।

नवजागृत राष्ट्रीय राष्ट्र के रूप में हमने अपने संविधान में अंग्रेजी को राष्ट्रभाषा द्वारा स्थानान्तरित करने के लिए १५ वर्ष की अवधि निश्चित की। इस अवधि में राष्ट्रभाषा का विकास करने का दायित्व उसके सब प्रेमियों पर पड़ता है कि वे उसे इतना समर्थ बना दें कि वह अंग्रेजी का स्थान ले सके, कुछ क्षेत्रों में ही नहीं परन्तु आजके जटिल ज्ञान और विज्ञान की अगणित शाखाओं में और उनके व्यवहार क्षेत्र प्रशासन में। राष्ट्रभाषा को अपने अधिकार-सिद्ध पद पर आसीन करने के लिए जो भगीरथ प्रयत्न किया गया वह आज तक किसी राष्ट्रीय समस्या के लिए नहीं हुआ। परन्तु इस अथाह प्रयत्न के पश्चात् चारों ओर शैथिल्य आने लगा। जनता सो गई और उनके प्रहरी और प्रबोधक पत्रकार भी। छुटपुट प्रयत्न हुए परन्तु राष्ट्रभाषा का प्रश्न बहुत विशाल है, उग्र उत्साह के बिना असाध्य। राष्ट्रभाषा की साधना एक आराधना है, और हमारी सम्पूर्ण भक्ति-सापेक्ष है।

आज तक जितने राज्यों ने हिन्दी को राज्यकार्य में लाने का यत्न करते हुए इस विचार की अखण्डज्योति जगाए रखी वे हमारे धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं। परन्तु सब में दो बातों की कमी रही — चतुर्दिग् उत्साह और सर्वतोमुखी प्रशासन की शब्दावली और शैली का सूत्रबद्ध एवं भाषावैज्ञानिक ढंग से निर्माण। मध्यप्रदेश ही ऐसा राज्य है जहां पर कि आचार्य रघुवीर जी की देखरेख और पदे-पदे सूक्ष्मेक्षिका से इन सब कठिनाइयों का समाधान करके कार्य संपन्न हो सका है।

आज के चिन्तन में विश्लेषण और संश्लेषण का इतना समन्वय है कि भाषा के प्रत्येक साधारण से साधारण शब्द की कोई न कोई निश्चित 'रूढि' देने की आवश्यकता हो गई है। अंग्रेजी में यह प्रक्रिया पिछली दो तीन शताब्दियों का फल है। परन्तु आज जब हिन्दी में इस विचार-सूक्ष्मता को हम लाना चाहेंगे तब अनेक नए शब्दों का सर्जन और पुरानों को नई अर्थाभिव्यक्ति, निश्चितता अथवा अर्थभिन्नता प्रदान करनी होगी। अंग्रेजी के तीन शब्द ले लीजिए — return, statement और report । इन तीनों के लिए सामान्य रूप से हिन्दी में 'विवरण' ही काम दे सकता है। परन्तु प्रशासन में तीनों की अपनी अपनी विशेषताएं हैं जिनकी हम अवहेलना नहीं कर सकते। return नियत कालावधि पर भेजना होता है, statement सारणी-बद्ध रहता है और report वर्णनात्मक और सविस्तार होती है। इसी प्रकार secret और confidential। दोनों में गोपनीयता की मात्रा में अन्तर है — जहां confidential पत्र सामान्य पत्र के रूप में जा सकता है, वहां secret पत्र दो वेष्टनों में बन्द कर और लाख लगा कर भेजा जाएगा, तथा उसे केवल संबोधित अधिकारी अथवा उसका उपरिक अधिकारी ही खोल सकेगा और इस प्रकार वह राज्य की गूढतम सूचनाओं का प्रहरी है। दोनों के हिन्दी पर्यायवाची में भेद करने की आवश्यकता स्पष्ट ही है, जिससे हम शासन प्रणाली की व्यवस्थितता को बनाए रखें।

शासन की नस्तियों पर अनेक वाक्यांशों और शब्दमालाओं का प्रयोग है जो देखने में सरल परन्तु जिनका निश्चयन सर्वप्रथम था। यथा — top priority, first priority, priority, most urgent, urgent, immediate, at once,

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express। इस प्रकार की और कई मालाएं है, जैसे forwarded, submitted, marked । देखने में भोली भाली और अंग्रेजी में प्रयोग बाहुल्य से सुनिश्चित परन्तु अनुवाद में पर्याप्त कष्टकारी। नाना प्रकार की ऐसी मालाओं के पर्याय निर्धारित हो चुके हैं जिससे दैनंदिन प्रशासन में सुविधा हो।

हिन्दी को शासन के लिए समृद्ध बनाने में शब्द-समस्याएं ही न थीं अपितु वैयाकरण प्रश्न भी थे जिनका समाधान आगे बढ़ने के लिए आवश्यक था। एक उदाहरण लीजिए — publish and proceed । इसमें दो अनुवाद की संभावनाएं हैं: (१) एक जिसमें दोनों पदों का समान महत्त्व हो अर्थात् एक ही लकार से अनुवाद हो, और (२) दूसरी जिसमें उत्तरपद प्रधान हो और पहले पद का क्त्वान्त रूप हो। इसमें यह निश्चय करना पड़ता है कि महत्त्व किस बात का है अथवा हम किस पर बल देना चाहते हैं। परिशुद्धता के साथ यदि वाक्यप्रवाह भी रखा जा सके तो ठीक होगा। यह समस्या इस प्रकार के अन्य वाक्यांशों को भी लागू होती है। अत: इसका समाधान सर्वत्र लागू होने वाला और पद्धतिबद्ध होना चाहिए, जिसमें अधिकाधिक दृष्टियों का समावेश हो और जिसकी शुद्धता सुनिश्चित हो।

अंग्रेजी के receptionist शब्द में लिंग-भेद नहीं हैं परन्तु अपनी भाषाओं में अनुवाद करते हुए हमें करना होगा। महिला 'स्वागतकर्त्री' होगी और पुरुष 'स्वागतकर्ता'। अंग्रेजी के Legal Secretary पदाभिधान मे legal शब्द illegal का विपरीतार्थ पद न होकर law का समास-वाच्य उपसंज्ञ है जिसका अनुवाद समास द्वारा ही होगा। इसी प्रकार Constitutional Manual का पर्याय संविधान-नियमावली है। ऐसी अनेक और व्याकरण समस्याओं का प्रयोग-सुलभ समाधान किया गया है।

शब्दचयन में प्रसंग महत्त्वपूर्ण अंग है और इसे देखने के लिए पूरा प्रयत्न किया गया है। conservancy शब्द दो विभागों में प्रयुक्त है। वनविभाग में एक अर्थ है 'संरक्षण' और लोक-स्वास्थ्य विभाग में दूसरा 'मलापवहन'। यहां अंग्रेजी में संदिग्धता है और तद्विपरीत हमारी भाषाओं में विचार-स्पष्टता।

आज का गति-युग है। समयाल्पता और कार्याधिक्य से जीवन के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में अतुलित क्षिप्रता की आवश्यकता है। भाषा भी इस 'प्रवेग' के प्रवाह से नहीं बच पायी है। भाषा में इसका आविर्भाव नाना रूप से हुआ है जिनमें से एक रूप समस्तपदों और वाक्यों के संक्षेप हैं। उदाहरणार्थ अंग्रेजी में paper under disposal के लिए p.u.d., Price Current Inspector के लिए P.C.I। अंग्रेजी में इस प्रकार के संक्षेपों का चलन संहस्त्रों की संख्या में है। हिन्दी में इनका आरम्भ ही नहीं हुआ। प्रशासन की क्षिप्रता और सुचारु संचालन के लिए इस प्रकार के संक्षेप हिन्दी के लिए भी आवश्यक हैं। इनकी प्रणाली सुनिश्चित की जा चुकी है और उसका कार्यान्वयन भी।

प्रशासन की विशिष्ट शैली है जो कि विशेषण-बहुलता, परन्तु नयी, ननु-नच-प्रचुर, वाक्यखण्ड-ग्रन्थिल है और हिन्दी के लिए नवीन है। इसका विकास हिन्दी संविधान में हो चुका है और आगामी वर्षों में शासनकार्य हिन्दी में चलते चलते इसका परिवर्धन होता जाएगा।

उपरिवर्णित विभिन्न समस्याओं को सुलझाते हुए हिन्दी के पदार्पण की जो पूर्वसज्जा हुई है उससे मध्यप्रदेश ही पहला राज्य होगा जहां कि अलंघ्य कठिनाइयां उपस्थित न होंगी और हिन्दी अंग्रेजी का स्थान ले सकेगी। अन्य प्रदेशों में जहां पर हिन्दी को लाने की इच्छा थी और प्रयत्न था, पूरी तैयारी न होने के कारण न हो सका। आज से कुछ वर्ष पूर्व आचार्य रघुवीर जी की शब्द-साधना के फलस्वरूप मध्यप्रदेश विधानसभा ने हिन्दी के प्रयोग में भारत का अग्रणीत्व किया था। हर्ष का विषय है कि मध्यप्रदेश फिर से संपूर्ण प्रशासन को हिन्दी में करके भारत के अन्य शासनों के लिए अप्रतिम मार्गप्रदर्शन करेगा और राष्ट्रभाषा के नवयुग का उषस्तारक होगा।

समस्त हिन्दी जगत् का कर्तव्य है कि इस युगप्रर्वतक पग का सहस्त्रशः अभिनन्दन करे। प्रत्येक अधिकारी और शासन कर्मचारी का धर्म है कि इसे 'इदं मम, इदं मम' की स्नेहभावना से उत्साहपूर्वक आगे बढ़ाए। यह पथिकृत् क्रम भारतीय भाषाओं के इतिहास में स्वर्णाक्षरों में लिखा जाएगा और इसे राष्ट्रभाषा के विकास में अमर स्थान प्राप्त होगा।

Funding by IKS-MoE

41. SADLER'S WELLS ROYAL BALLET OF THE U.K.

Giselle the ballet and Great Britain: they glitter, they sing, they soar. They reincarnate the crystalline texture of the last few centuries of the cultural encounter of India and the United Kingdom. From the aching overflow of that splendour, cultural forms flit on in our hearts in carefree joy. They are the tumultuous dream of a limitless mind, wherein is cradled the friendship of our countries. Like Giselle who melts away leaving Albrecht deep in love, haven't we fallen fiercely in love with the English language. These English words and the web of their syntax has fallen like pebbles out of the sacks of the English, their helmets, their horseshoes: luminous words that are left glittering in our hearts. A fine language we have inherited from beyond the steel-green seas — a gift from the waves.

India is alive with myths that are timeless. The ballet of Giselle springs from a kindred soil where poetry and life are one. The breath of eternity is most alive and beautiful in myth and legend. Sadler's Wells Royal Ballet has traversed a star-lit road and lived up to its brilliant heritage. It has rightly chosen for India Giselle steeped in traditions of rich beauty, which it transforms into movement that is lyrical and moving. Sparkling with the silence of the deeps of legends, Giselle pulls out the hidden accumulations of crystals, and transforms them into grace and rapture, into incredible vitality, Magnificent in their tender rancour, they become contagious joy. We await avidly Giselle, Loys, Willis, Bathilde in moments of the glory of the Royal Ballet from beyond the seas. We hold our breaths in expectation as the Royal Ballet goes flinging orbits of novel rhythms into space. I may end with a citation from Dame de Valois founder of the Royal Ballet: "Yesterday an idea is mine, today it is yours, and tomorrow it belongs to the whole world." (speech of welcome on 1 Apr 1985)

42. BIRD'S-EYEVIEW OF HUNGARIAN INDOLOGY

This book is a panoramic view of the studies of Hungarian scholars on the several facets of India, primarily Classical, but also of contemporary linguistic and literary developments. India of the Imagination has stirred the minds of Europe, and Hungary has been no exception. To Hungarian explorers India has not been merely a geographic place or a nationality, but a state of being. To find their orientation the Hungarians have found their Orient in India, in India of the Eternal, the terminus of the journey of the human soul. Hungarians have sought their roots, the origins of their race, in India. It was not the finding of certainties, but the dawn of an awareness of mystery, listening to a vision that ever draws them to horizons of the overmind.

Prof. Ildiko Puskas begins the work with an overview of ancient India and European antiquity. The nineteenth century became involved with India as part of an Indo-European linguistic family. The Indo-European model has conditioned the thinking of the West for the last two centuries. It is but moot that Puskas takes up this fascinating topic of Indian and European antiquity in documented history from the 24th century BC to the 4th century BC. The commercial and political contacts of India with the first Mesopotamian empire, the Old and New Babylonian dynasties, Phoenician maritime trade in the tenth century BC; the Achaemenian empire and the opening of the Indo-Greek encounters raise questions that need detailed research. The vast temporal panorama presented by Puskas brings up the question of the relations of the Egyptians, Mesopotamians and Phoenicians speaking Semitic languages with the Achaemenians, Greeks and Indians speaking Indo-European languages. It opens up new possibilities of interpretation of the Indo-European model.

The re-assessment of the life and researches of A. Vambery by Robert Simon leads us to Central Asia, which has commanded continuing interest of Hungarian scholars leading upto the epoch-making discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein. The quest of Vambery was connected with the ethnogenesis of the Hungarian people and their language. He did not find the origins of his people but laid solid foundations of Turcology. His studies on Chagatay and Uigur remain foundational. He made a clear distinction between *ethnos* and language. This principle deserves to be applied to Indo-European. Indo-European is a linguistic family, and there seem to be no Indo-Europeans as an *ethnos*.

Dr. Maria Negyesi surveys Indian studies in Hungary, from the translation of the Pañcatantra into Hungarian in the 17th century. The pioneering researches of Kőrösi Csoma Sandor and Sir Aurel Stein opened up new universes in the history of India. A lonely pilgrim and an imperial explorer revealed new visions of India's vast time-span: the efflorescence of India's art, literature, religion and culture in Tibet, Central Asia and China's frontiers. In recent years, Prof. Janos Harmatta has deciphered the Bactrian language which throws new light on the Kushan period. Dr. Negyesi surveys the work of contemporary scholars in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Hindi, Romany, Indo-European linguistics and other Indic subjects.

Dr. Vera Gathy's bird's-eyeview of Indology naturally begins with Kőrösi Csoma Sandor, the unforgettable sage and scientist of Hungary. She speaks of the history of Indian art, prose renderings of the epics, and the translation of the Kāmasūtra by Ervin Baktay, the uncle of Amrita Shergil. She highlights the services of Charles Fabri as an art critic and as one who helped to revive Odissi in India. The exceptional translation of Indian classics by Jozsef Vekerdi have become masterpieces of Hungarian literature, such as the Gītagovinda. It reads like an original composition and in a metre that is a marvel in its lyrical quality like the Sanskrit. I have myself heard Vekerdi recite the Sanskrit and Hungarian Gītagovinda, stainless and pristine in its evocation of the sublime. Dr. Gathy bemoans the declining interest in academic Indology, but points to the phenomenon of a romantic young Hungarian who gave up the study of chemistry and took up āyurveda. The India Bibliography of Prof. Ildiko Puskas has over four thousand entries: what a rich heritage! So long as Hungarians dream, Indology will live as a moving image of eternity, beyond utilities, as a wound in the heart of economic man.

Dr. Gyula Ẃojtilla writes about the life of Ervin Baktay who gave up painting to become a leading exponent of Indian art and literature to his people. He instructed his niece, the young Amrita Shergil, to draw and to paint and thus laid the foundations of modern Indian art. He travelled in India extensively to conduct field work on Indian art and to feel the living culture, to discover the inner country, the kingdom of the Upaniṣads, the subtle epics of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, the omnipresent spirit of Hindu thought that chose him as its blessed emissary. His "Sanātana Dharma, the Eternal Law" went into two editions, besides a number of works on yoga. Baktay visited India for the last time in 1956 during the Buddha Jayanti celebrations. His enchanting books gave a positive image of India. Geza Bethlenfalvy writes on Ervin Baktay, on the occasion of the release of his monograph on him. He unravels the spirit that flowed in Baktay, the deeper layers beyond words, the essence that cannot be reached by reason. Bethlenfalvy is convinced, like Baktay, that the message of ancient India "is more relevant today than ever". Bethlenfalvy's shimmering prose presents Baktay's oeuvre as healing the wounds of shocks and irritations, fatigue and frustrations of modern man.

Architect Katalin Keseru traces Indian influences on Hungarian architecture through the impact of romantic historicism to the ahistoric universalism of today. Mr. Mor Than adapted Moghul architecture for Attila's wooden palace in 1860. The Anglo-Indian and Indo-Gothic styles became Indo-Hungarian in Lechner's facade of the Postal Savings Bank(1900-1901). Medgyaszay turned to the ancient forms of Ajanta, and he was moved by "the mutually fertilising coexistence of different cultures" and the wealth of Indian architecture over thousands of years. In the 1960s Indianism in architecture represented the discovery of the unity of physical and

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metaphysical space, the *bhūtākāśa* and the *cidākāśa*. Makovecz in his formulation of built space as metaphor of man and structure is inspired by Buddhist architecture, like that of caityas. The communication of human space and the universe in the Pecs Architects is the consummation of ritual space in post-modernism. Space embodying transcendence is a panorama of the eternal absolute in the flux of appearances. Deep below the vast edifices are the architectonics of the spirit. Form is the lyric of emptiness, and in this *śūnyatā* is the lyricism of India.

For the last two centuries Hungary has been probing the thought, mysticism, art, literature and languages of India: all rooted in the spiritual knowledge and perceptions of several millennia. Hungarian scholars have been led to the threshold of India for their own invisible mind and India comes in search of herself to the words of Hungarian scholars. This book chronicles the encounter of our countries that flowers in the joy of creativity. (10 Jan 1992)

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43. COSMOGRAPHIC PAINTINGS OF PROF. O.P. SHARMA

Where once there was darkness, now there is Light.
तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय। *Tamaso mā jyotir gamaya.*

The present exhibition of cosmographic paintings by Prof. O.P. Sharma are the ramdoms of the stream of consciousness, gathering impressions from his hieratic genes, in the unity of visions of auto-consciousness. His golden mind comes flooding, lapping and dancing in colours of abstract forms, wherein the present flows into the eternal. They link the passing time of consciousness to the world of interior time. In the words of philosopher G.E. Moore, the canvasses of Prof. Sharma are "the pleasures of human intercourse and the enjoyment of the beautiful." His aesthetic moorings, in the web of the real behind appearances, lead the viewer into the realms of *śūnyatā* where values blossom. From the flux of life, the muddle of the spirit, Prof. Sharma transports his admirers into states of vision they romance to have. The ceaseless, multi-levelled flow of colours, lines, and geometric forms of Prof. Sharma become the stream of thought, where the eyes move in retrospect and in anticipation. They are works of aesthetic freedom, an experience of a luminous halo, a transparent envelope surrounding us from the beginning to the end. They are the uncircumscribed modernity of the Spirit, a mixture of the alien and external with the interior mythographies. These canvases are a triumph of the jingle and subtle of the invisible, the unseen, the unknown, drumming through the eyes to the ecstasy of Becoming. In them past and present live together in immutable reality and in the flux of appearances. In these paintings Prof. Sharma, true to his genes, merges himself into the interior light, the *māyā* of *antarjyoti*, to create luminous flashes of cosmic bonds of Being. Arising from the cosmic consciousness, the *ālaya-vijñāna* of the Classical maṇḍalas, they are the Light that emerges from the insurgency of *māyā*. Buddhist Tantras affirm an essential identity between pollution and purification, between impurity and purity that transcends the intellective state, as in Prof. Sharma's painting "Exotic Shrine".

The Classical Buddhist maṇḍalas choreograph the five luminous elements, the *pañca-raśmi* of the Guhya-samāja-tantra गुह्यसमाज-तन्त्र. Luminous epiphany is the centre of the mystic process, leading to a stream of ecstatic wisdom, the indescribable awakened state. Prof. Sharma renews this exhilerating sense of freedom, or in the inimatable words of a Tibetan yoginī:

Kye Ho! Wonderful!
When one experiences Reality
The whole sky cannot contain her bliss.

The maṇḍalas are a unison of the human, the cosmic and the divine. They are the coming together of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*, the exchange of indulgence and reticence. They are the depths in

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the innermost being of sentience, where the mind and universes move into ever widening Awakening. They are the essential unity of the worldiness and the Consciousness of humans. Extreme serenity and extreme passion, the most abstract defined by the most carnal, the invisible and intangible in the intoxication of the senses: it is the oneness of the mind of the universe and of the divine in the living non-duality of the basest and the noblest. The body itself is a divine mansion (maṇḍala). The yoginī Niguma says:

The divine male and divine female unite...
Spiritual ecstasy increases;
The elixir of union, blue in colour,
Fills the body from the heart downward,...
Purifying causes of misery and mental defilements.

Maṇḍalas summon us to ensphere ourselves in the heart of Divinised Humanity, wherein we perceive the fusion of the Eternal Spirit, the earth, the sky, and the stars, in the long pilgrimage of living, where the body and the spiritual self are one, where gods make love in the midst of fire, where purity amd orgy are fragments of life and liberation.

The canvasses of Prof. Sharma soar above the clouds in the depth of their colours. The rays of the sun serenely pass the psalm of his mind for the angels to come down to earth, stripped naked in their diaphany. His colours, empowered with the robustness of Tantric form, flow into the eyes of the viewer in a kiss of silence. They are sparks of beauty out of the furnace of the Divine. They are a versatile *poiesis*, ever on the move, ever deepening, ever rising to newer sensitivities. (7 Sep 2007).

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44. DROPS OF WISDOM: RISHI FRAWLEY

(note in David Frawley, *Inner Tantric Yoga*, 2008, Twin Lakes, WIS (USA), Lotus Press)

Here are drops of wisdom in the veins of the visualisations of the modern Rishi David Frawley. In his scintillating flow of the royal diction of English, he leads our psyche from the stormy sea of māyā into the undifferentiated luminous being of Śiva and Śakti. The cosmic processes of the Divine are integrated with the depths of our being. He raises our consciousness to the pure bliss of *sat-cid-ānanda.* In the words of the renowned yoga treatise of Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā, he exhorts us:

Let him find in his heart a broad ocean oj nectar,
Within it a beautiful island of gems,
Where the sands are bright golden and sprinkled with jewels.

The perceptive words of Rishi Frawley are the subtle sound of yoga leading to the deepest knowing. As the yogin tries to hear finer and finer sounds he goes into depth that invokes absence of mind and senses to eliminate all external stimuli, in preparation of concentration and meditation. From the physical world of senses called *bhūr-loka,* he ascends to the subtle regions of the *bhuvar-loka,* and then to realms of light or *svar-loka.* Rishi Frawley puts these jewels in our hands, whose radiance bursts into the full bloom of Śiva and Śakti. They are the *Parā Saṁvit* or Supreme Consciousness that fills all existence. The world is a garment of Śiva and Śakti. The ego and things are waves provoked by divine necessity. This flux of the universe leaps into pure consciousness, into the crystalline brilliance of Śiva and Śakti. In the secret lotus of the heart is the unfolding of Śiva and Śakti. The great Rishi Frawley shows the path to the palingenesis of the spiritual state that has its origins in the depths of the heart. The Amṛta-ratnāvalī says: "the essence of all things is in our bodies", for without the body we cannot catch the glimmer of the Divine. The psychic life of the individual reflects that of the universe. In the Śaiva and Śākta traditions two intersecting triangles represent the expanse from the One to the All (triangle with the apex downwards) and of reintegration (triangle with the apex upwards). Rishi Frawley shows the path to awaken this light asleep in the psyche. He exhorts us to bloom like a lotus flower, beyond the moment and the eternal. This book is an inspiring calligraphy of the Divine, that does not speak words, but brings paths of reflections where we walk inside ourselves, to sketch the Echo, to search the sacred rhyme in the sparkle of life, in the interminable imminence forever beyond.

Rishi Frawley presents the multiple facets of yoga, of symbolism, of the fundamental harmony of the Vedic and Tantric transcendence, and of the vast canvas of other innumerable concepts and practices, in crystal clarity of language that conveys the essence to a layman, as much as to a

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scholar. You can hear in his words the murmurs of Vedic rishis in the shimmer of their Vision, the reflection of yogins, the structuring of philosophers, and gaze at the fountains of visions of sādhakas (practitioners). Inner yoga lives in his jewelline words that transcend in their clarity even the exegesis of great masters of India. To read him is to walk inside ourselves in a thread of clarities that guide our meandering reflections. (14 Apr 2007).

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45. HARIBHAṬṬA'S JĀTAKAMĀLĀ

(foreword to Michael Hahn, *Poetical Visions of the Buddha's Former Lives, Seventeen Legends from Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā*, New Delhi, Aditya Prakashan, 2011)

The *Citta-guhya-dohā* in the Tanjur puts the perennial question of the aesthetic environment and its serenity transforming into a purified meditative universe:

Who speaks the sound of an echo?
Who paints the image in a mirror?
Where are the spectacles in a dream?
Nowhere at all —
That's the nature of *the mind.*

Prof. Michael Hahn brings to us the majesty and repose of Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā as the sound, statue and spectacle of the pure and unalloyed incarnation of the six perfections or pāramitās. The pāramitās are the confluence of the secular and sacred, a journey from the ordinary world of saṁsāra to the realm of nirvāṇa. The six pāramitās of giving *(dāna),* ethical behaviour *(śīla),* patience *(kṣānti),* endeavour *(vīrya),* contemplation *(dhyāna)* and wisdom *(prajñā)* are homocentric values in contrast to theocentric values. They are to raise the mind to the vision of spiritual beauty, both among the laity and the hieratic order. For them to sink into innermost recesses of the popular mind, rhythm and harmony of the grandeur and loveliness of Sanskrit poetry was invoked in the engrossing narrative of tales and allegories. The enraptured listeners were drawn in admiration to the perfection of verbal expression of poets like Haribhaṭṭa and it led to the spontaneous discovery of the inward splendour of the values of Buddhism by the audiences. Buddhism spoke of the primacy of humane values as they were creative in living, pregnant in their Being, and enriched Life with wisdom and virtue.

Prof. Hahn' s edition of Haribhaṭṭa shows the poetic greatness and the vigorous creativity of Buddhism in giving a tangible shape to the grand ideal of *hita-sukha,* the well-being of the people *(hita)* which would be valid only in their enthusiastic reception or happiness *(sukha)* at the success of their well-being. The Buddha exhorted the monks to meditate and work for the good and joy of the many people *(bahu-jana-hitāya bahu-jana-sukhāya)* in the Majjhima-nikāya, and not for any external God. It was the deep appraisal of humanity's eminence to be whatever it wills *(ehipaśyika dharma),* which took shape in the staggering greatness and expanse of Tathāgata's cosmopolis.

Buddhism conveyed its message to the masses in the aesthetics of poetry and prose, in the visual arts, and in the performing arts, so that the real and ideal became one whole to the body public. The roots of the spiritual became the fascination of story-telling so that listeners received the

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veil of pāramitās out of the hands of the poet. The Jātakas narrated the several pre-incarnations of the Buddha as the aura of eternity *(sanātana)* to drive home a moral lesson. They assimilated the vast store of traditional folklore and transformed this popular cultural wisdom into Buddhist pāramitās. The Jātakas are still alive in everyday Buddhist life in South East Asia where they are frequently alluded to in conversation and moral argument. Avadānas included jātakas and other tales where the hero was a monk, a Bodhisattva and not only Śākyamuni in his pre-incarnation. The Iranian word *īwān* 'palace' goes back to *apadāna / avadāna (Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1978:4.287) and originally avadānas may have been court legends. The word *sāvadāna* has been translated as "in regular, systematic order"; chiefly of monk's alms rounds by Edgerton. I would like to render it as 'in a graceful regal manner' as we can witness the dignified rows of monks on their alms round every morning in Thailand. The avadānas are sometimes biographies of eminent monastics, sometimes of ordinary lay disciples, but with a *samavadhāna* in which the characters of the past are identified as former births of the characters in the present. This literary genre played a crucial role in the dissemination of Buddhism. That is why the fragments or translations of Haribhaṭṭa's work have been found all over northern Asia: in Afghanistan, and in the Khotanese, Tocharian, Uigur and Tibetan languages. The role of narrative art in prose and verse, in dramatic and anecdotic form was of singular importance in Buddhism: as such we have Aśvaghoṣa' s drama Śāriputra-prakaraṇa, or the fragment of an allegorical drama of a dialogue between Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kīrti from Central Asia. The Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti is a collection of parables, entitled Ornaments of Imagination. The charm of the art and the intensity of the conviction of the poet led to conversions. Haribhaṭṭa has been shown in the murals of Ajanta and we may even find him in the unidentified reliefs of the Borobudur. The present edition of Haribhaṭṭa by Prof. Hahn may provide the identification of the some of 600 un-identified reliefs of the Borobudur (IBa-b, IIB), which depict various avadānas. The total number of narrative reliefs on the Borobudur is 1460:

160 reliefs of Karma-vibhaṅga on the hidden base
120 reliefs of Lalitavistara on Ia
120 reliefs of Jātakamālā on Ib.
600 reliefs of un-identified avadānas on IBa-b, IIB
388 reliefs of Gaṇḍavyūha on II, III, IIIB, IVB
72 reliefs of Bhadracarī on IV.

The jātakas and avadānas are nearly half of the reliefs of Borobudur, pointing to the great importance of narrative *dṛṣṭāntas* for the preaching of monks.

Buddhism created an aesthetic equilibrium of visual arts and literary texts, in magesterial murals, scrolls, sculptures and poems. These dream-pictures became luminous symbolic vision of Dharma. They were "Visual Dharma" where forms endowed the mind with pāramitās.

The deeper the mind and the more intense the poesy of ideas and ideals of the poet, the more it flashed in the minds of the readers. The third mode of carrying the message was the performing

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arts, the processions of five hundred jātakas mentioned by Fa-hsien, or the evolution of 'transformation texts' *(pien-wen)* in China. The importance of Haribhaṭṭa's jātakas as an eminent successor of Āryaśūra will become clearer as this critical edition of Prof. Hahn appears in its extant form which is 80 per cent complete.

Prof. Hahn writes (2005:2) that the Tibetan translation of Haribhaṭṭa is "very difficult to understand in many places because the two translators not only translate the Sanskrit words and expressions in a rather mechanical way but also slavishly follow the word order of the Sanskrit original, even at the expense of violating the rules of Tibetan syntax. There are many cases where the translation is ambiguous or even incorrect". The same word order as Sanskrit, ambiguous or incorrect renderings, corruptions in transmission lead us to the technique of translation. In SriLanka, there are Sanskrit works with a word for word Sinhalese rendering, which are known as *sanne* texts. Manuscripts of Sinhalese *sanne* of the Jānakīharaṇa are still available, as it was studied till recently to obtain proficiency in the Sanskrit language (S. Paranavitana, C.E. Godakumbura, *The Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa,* Colombo, 1967, introd. p.51). The Leiden palmleaf manuscript Cod. Or. 5089 has a word-for-word Old Javanese rendering of the initial portion of the Jānakīharaṇa (Lokesh Chandra, Sanskrit Studies in Indonesia, in *Cultural Horizons of India* 4: 1-9). The Tibetan version of Haribhaṭṭa is a word-for-word first draft for a regular Tibetan version in correct syntactical order as well as in the fine aesthetics of poetry. The present version is only words that will always be waiting for moments of creativity.

Stories made the inculcation of virtues flash across the simplest of folk. The avadānas turned the pāramitās into an overwhelming experience linked to the beauty of Life and a prime medium of living power in a union of abstraction of the pāramitās and delight of the poetic diction. Prof. Halm renews the muse of Haribhaṭṭa's verbal ornamentation that suggests comparison with the sculptured surfaces of temples. The words of Haribhaṭṭa evoke the plasticity of sculptures: his words see and touch. Warm words of gratitude to Prof. Hahn for discovering a "brilliant star in the galaxy of Indian poets". His work spanning half a century is not only a child of knowledge but also of love of the rustle of Sanskrit rhyme and rhythm.

46. VEDIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

(foreword to Louis Renou, *Vedic Bibliography*, 2007, Delhi, Akshaya Prakashan)

The Vedic tradition of the Saṁhitās enshrines the most ancient millennarian concepts, forms, doctrines and images of the living and of the divine of the Indian people in particular, and of the entire Western Indo-European thought and creativity through the common roots of linguistic expression. The supernatural of mythology and the caprices of myth can be gleaned in the shared vocabulary and its creative structures for new meanings of life. As Prometheus brought fire to earth from heaven, so Sanskrit brought Ideas: the images of gods became images of god-like men. Ideas and images have become values of social practice, the hereafter has become the determinant image of the future in fusion with *eu*topia *(eu* 'good'), and have created modernity during the Renaissance that is the reincarnation of Classical Indo-European values. The minds of the 15th century were fascinated by what survived of Classic grace and science. As antiquity penetrated thought, Christian motives yielded to pagan subjects. The discovery of Sanskrit, and specially of Vedic Sanskrit, with its evident affinity of words with European languages, was another Renaissance in unaffected spontaneity, inspired by pure delight of the discovery of Western roots. It was an apocalypse of the beauty of the world of ideas, illuminated by masterpieces of verbal roots. From the *drāpiḥ* 'garment' of the Ṛgveda to English *drape,* and as far as the words for god in the four main European linguistic streams, it was a tremendum that thrilled Europe with a new vigour, vision and living loveliness. Greek **theós** 'god' from **thes-os* was *dhiṣṇyaḥ* 'devout, pious' of the Ṛgveda, **god** from **ghu-tó* was from Vedic *hūta* 'one who is invoked in homa', Latin **deus** 'god' from Old Latin *deivos* was from Sanskrit *deváḥ,* Russian **bog** 'god' was from Ṛgvedic *bhaga* (compare *bhagavān).* Just as Petrarch set the right method for studying the Latin classics, he divined the importance of recovering a knowledge of Greek literature and sciences. Sanskrit and the vast and continuous Vedic heritage was likewise a stunning discovery of the perception of man born upon this earth with a right to unlock the stores of wisdom. Western scholarship of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century found a resurrection of the roots of Europe in their enthusiasm for unfolding Vedic humanity after an expatriation of several millennia. Sanskrit was the food to nourish the new spirit, to emancipate the enslaved vision of human speech from the sands of theological formulas. In the Vedic hymns the Western minds heard the tide of being, the syllables of the Beginning. It was a revelation of the perpetual beginning anew. It was a walk inside Ourselves.

The romanticism of German thinkers and the history of words as bearers of ideas became mysterious energy, as the evolution of languages became the theory of evolution in biology.

Vedic studies carried out by Western scholarship in the 19th century thus acquire a historic importance in our century when biospheres of our inheritance are being threatened by the technospheres of our creation. The historic process is not a vacuum but a constant state of interactive creativity. This reprint of the Vedic Bibliography by Prof. Louis Renou gives us access to the detailed analysis of the religion, political thought, values of ideal humanity, divinity, cosmos, flowering of the gods and of cults, mythology, ritual, and natural sciences — all that was achieved through the constant creative efforts of Vedic man. The Vedic image is homocentric in contradistinction to the theocentric image of monotheistic religions.

In 1931 Prof. Louis Renou brought out his *Bibliographie Vedique* to furnish a more or less complete list of all publications in the domain of Vedic studies. The term Vedic comprises Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa, Upaniṣad, Sūtra and all the dependent texts. He tried to make it relatively complete depending on the library resources of Paris, the researches of Prof. W. Wüst of Munich, the *Orientalische Bibliographie,* and the catalogues of the British Museum which used to get most of the Indian publications under the copyright law. He incorporated all the texts that discuss the facts directly relevant to the bibliography. He furnished brief indications of the contents of works whose title was not explicit.

The work is divided into two parts: one on the group of texts, and the other of studies. He gives several appendices of works anterior to the memorable essay of Colebrooke "On the Vedas" (1805), which marks the introduction of these studies in Western academics. The bibliography is divided into 201 chapters. The abbreviations are mainly those of the *Orientalische Bibliographie.* The year of publication is indicated by the last two digits of the date, except for the years prior to 1831. To avoid confusion, the years before 1831 are transcribed whole. For periodicals and collections, the volume number is mentioned besides the year. The titles in square brackets are translated titles, whose original could not be given. This work would not have been possible without recourse to existing catalogues which have been listed in chapters 1 and 2.

The Bibliography is a rich source of information on the Saṁhitās of the Four Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

Metrics, etymology *(nirukta),* phonetics *(prātiśākhya, śikṣā),* and grammar provide the evolution of linguistics. The comparison of Avesta (117) with Vedic, and the correspondences of the Vedic and the Bible (164) are invaluable for comparative religion.

The second part on studies lists works on Indian civilisation in general, Vedic civilisation, ethics, Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, Mitani, Indo-European, Indo-Aryans, chronology of the Veda, rites, soma, cult instruments, cosmogony, conception of divinity, mythology, myths and legends. Philosophy, theosophy, mysticism and linguistics have a comprehensive listing.

The bibliography of astronomy (87,142), astrology (87), geography, music, medicine, mathematics, technology, architecture, metallurgy, cavalry, water-clock, hippology, chemistry is most welcome to historians of natural sciences in early ancient India.

Among the four appendices, the second appendix on 'Vedic influences on the West' has interesting entries going back to Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Wagner, Max Weber, and Goethe (pages 308-310), The mention of Vedic in foreign texts prior to 1805 has interesting entries as ancient as Megasthenes.

This bibliography is of interest to students of Indian religion in general, political history, development of language, comparative linguistics, history of science, and to understand the grand evolution of modern science and technology by the efflorescence of the Western mind with return to its Indo-European roots of Latin, Greek and Sanskrit over four centuries. The books and articles listed herein are rich in materials for a re-evaluation of the Indo-European paradigm of the flowering of the many, co-evolution (instead of co-existence), and the transcendence of the human, without the intervention of monolatry.

The endless play of thoughts of beings who have come and gone, minds and books lost in time is the road map of continuous discovery. Sometimes we have to listen to the silent footsteps of time, to resurrect the moments we have forgotten, and to think about the origins of constructs we take as axioms. The entries in this Bibliography invite us to go deep into the mindscape of our pioneers who opened millennia and centuries and fleshed the Historic Identity of India in all its splendour.

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47. TO GENE SMITH IN HIS DHARMAKĀYA

Gene, you have left for the heavenly fields of the Pure Land of *Sukhāvatī,* as the shining symbol of *Amitābha,* in his blissful kingdom of Infinite Light. Away from this ocean of existence, there you are in the wavy clouds. following the trail of your life-long vow like *Amitābha*: may I attain the highest perfect knowledge. I saw in your vibrant life, serene contemplation and unparalleled oceanic learning. Your human persona is now the conscious principle transcended into *Amitābha's* western paradise. From life's phantom you are cosmical consciousness of your beloved *pothis,* dissolved in Light Supreme. From these serene heavens of impersonal existence, you will reincarnate one day to unravel once again the depths of Tibetan literature, its divine worlds, images and scrolls overwhelming in their sacred beauty and subtle philosophical constructions: all kneaded in joy and harmony.

The moment Gene entered my study for the first time in 1968, and as we discussed our journey along the spiritual path in the esoterism of Tibet. I felt that he incarnated an ancient *Lotsava* who transcreated Buddhist thought from Sanskrit into Tibetan. It took me back to a marriage song from Gyantse to bless a new bride that she be a wish-granting *cintāmaṇi* like the lotsavas of yore who brought the deep doctrines of *maṅgala* to the Land of Snows. Gene was the Lotsava of our times who opened up the treasures and benedictions of the vast literary heritage of Tibet. He discovered the monumental tranquility of mind in the unexplored vastness of Tibetan xylographs. He was a bridge from the Visible to the Invisible, from the immense unknown to the known stupendum of Tibetan literature. He inspired learned lamas to preserve their glorious heritage by publishing it. He wrote a foreword to every publication, which now run over 5000 titles, and form the most outstanding contribution of the twentieth century to Tibetology. They are the crowning glory of Gene's explorations. If we want to comprehend the Invisible we have to advance as far as possible into the Visible. Gene was a master of revelation of this hitherto Invisible of centuries in thousands of xylographs and manuscripts.

Gene was instrumental in the colossal renaissance of Tibet's spiritual legacy by being the moving spirit of bringing to light the inexhaustible wealth of works which would have disappeared otherwise. Five thousand pages of his forewords to them are rich in historical and philosophical data. We are planning to classify and publish them in twenty-five volumes, so that the mid-night toil of Gene becomes the *vademecum* of Tibetan studies. These volumes will be a veritable history of Tibetan literature. They will become an innovative boon for the East from the *Westerwelle* 'Wave of the West', as Gene's angelic splendor towers over the ineffable arcane of the Land of Snows.

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Gene admired every new insight, however small, and it would become a point in his stupendous memory. As a student in Leiden, he had read my article on the *sumbums* in the *Indo-Iranian Journal. Sumbum* means 'collected works' or *opera omnia* of an author. He was thrilled by this generic term and was astounded that so far no Western scholar had heard of this category, and that I had opened a new genre of Tibetan literary parlance. He said: If you had been in Leiden, I would have studied with you. What modesty! We shared enigmas and keys to the undeciphered moments of history. Our last conversation, just a few hours before he took his flight back to the USA, centered on the translation of terms that are frequently met with in Buddhist texts. For instance, Gene asked me about the rendering of *mitra* in *kalyāṇa-mitra*: does it mean 'friend'? I opined that *mitra* is used in the Iranian semantics of *mihir* 'grace, blessing'. Thus the compound signifies a guru who blesses *(mitra)* with felicity *(kalyāṇa)* of Dharma. It is like the proper name *Agni-mitra* 'blessed by God Agni' and does not mean 'Friend of Fire'. This conversation was noted down by Gene and it is his last noting. He was tireless, down-to-earth scholar who converted dreams into actions. Daring plans materialised in incredible energy in his ardour, where life and time intertwined in magnificent productions that have been the bedrock of Buddhist studies for half-a-century and will continue to be so.

Gene was a veritable *Avalokiteśvara* 'Lord of Compassion', the most venerated of divinities in Tibet. In the variations of disciplines he handled with ease, and the superhuman quantum of transcripts of Tibetan texts he has left, he is like the thousand hands of action and the thousand eyes of omniscient vision of Thousand-armed *Avalokiteśvara.* Like Him, he was the omnipresence of compassion, affection, concentration, and gnosis. I never saw him angry. In his heart of heaven, Mr. MangaRam his Man Friday was like a son, so much so that he willed that final rites of his cremation be performed by MangaRam the brahmin. When suddenly he got indisposed in Delhi he had to be taken to a hospital. He had not seen the infant grand-daughter of MangaRam. He agreed to go to the hospital only after seeing her, as he knew that she would not be taken to the clinic to avoid any infection. All who worked with him or for him were his family members. Buddhist values of humanism stratified around him and he felt his roots reach down into their soil for paternal nourishment.

Polite to the core, reaching his heart in brotherly love, impeccable in courtesy, he would fold his hands in añjali to my colleague Prof. Nirmala Sharma. She would listen to him turning shreds of history whole into roots and flowers. As a historian of art, she wondered at his clarity and intellection in lighting up dark corners of centuries gone. In her words, throughout his oeuvre there is brilliance that he crystallises and radiates in a play of light filled with grace.

Gene, dear Gene, the snow-capped mountains, the lakes, the silence, the cold jungles of Tibet beckon you to open your eyes to the creeping amnesia of this land, to her deep silence, her deep darkness, to renew her glimpses of profound mysteries in the synthesis of gnosis and compassion.

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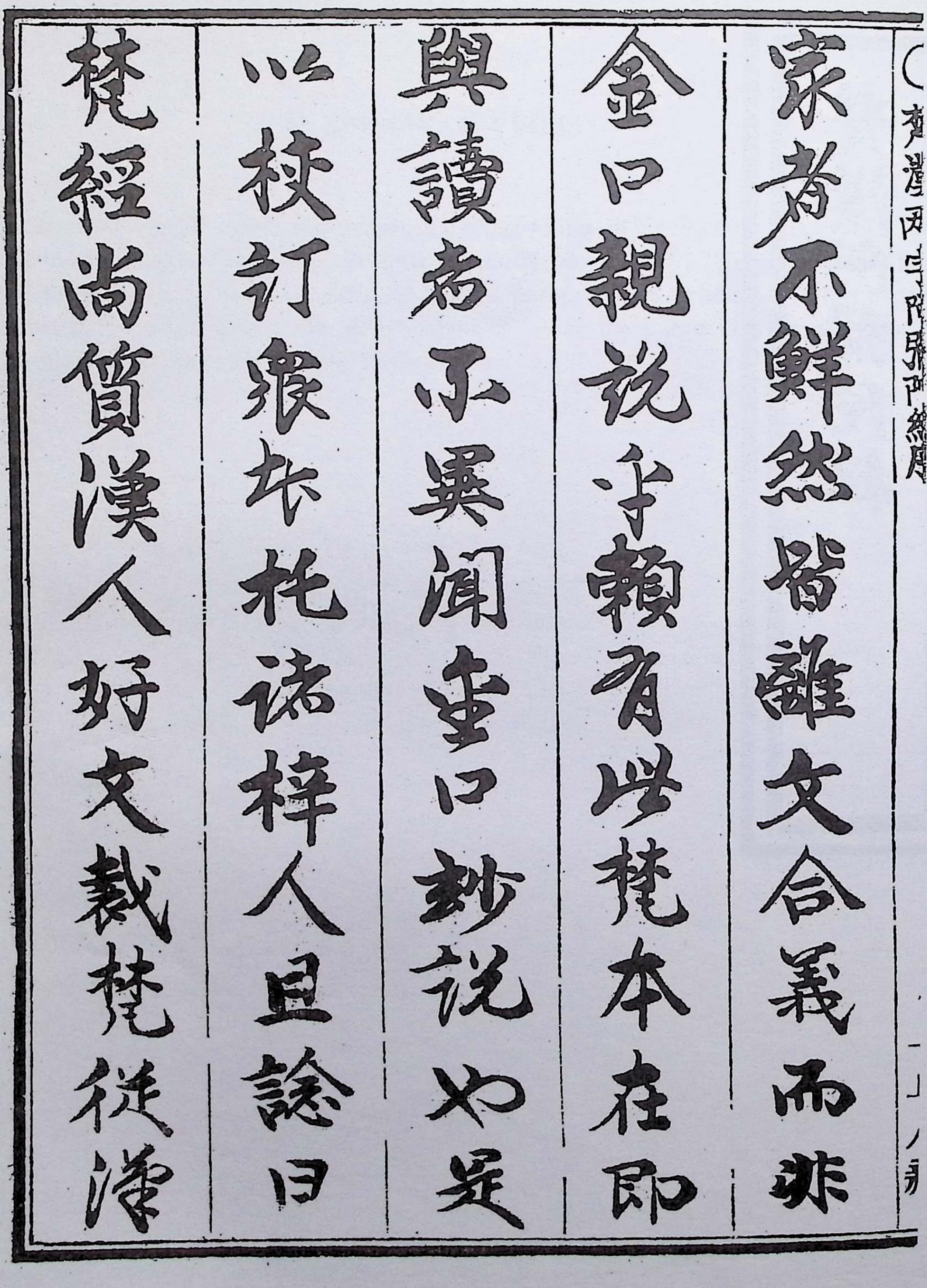
48. SUKHĀVATĪ-VYŪHA

The Shorter Sukhāvatī-vyūha was published by Max Müller in his *Selected Essays* vol.2.348 and translated into English (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1880:181-186). The Sanskrit text with interlinear word-by-word Chinese renderings is reproduced in the following pages. It is known in Sino-Japanese as the Amitābha-sūtra, while the Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha is Amitāyus-sūtra, besides a third Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra.

梵漢阿彌陀經



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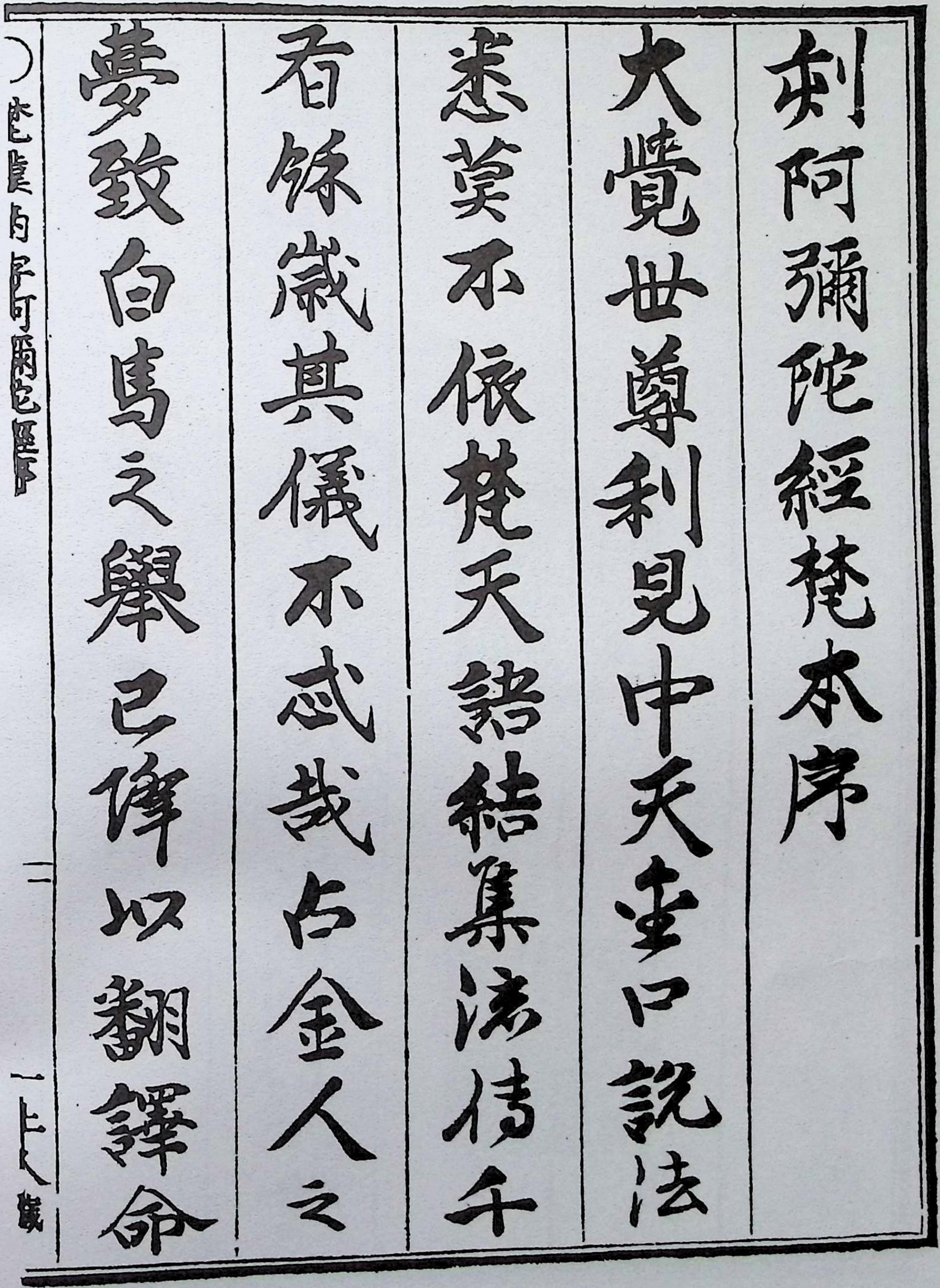

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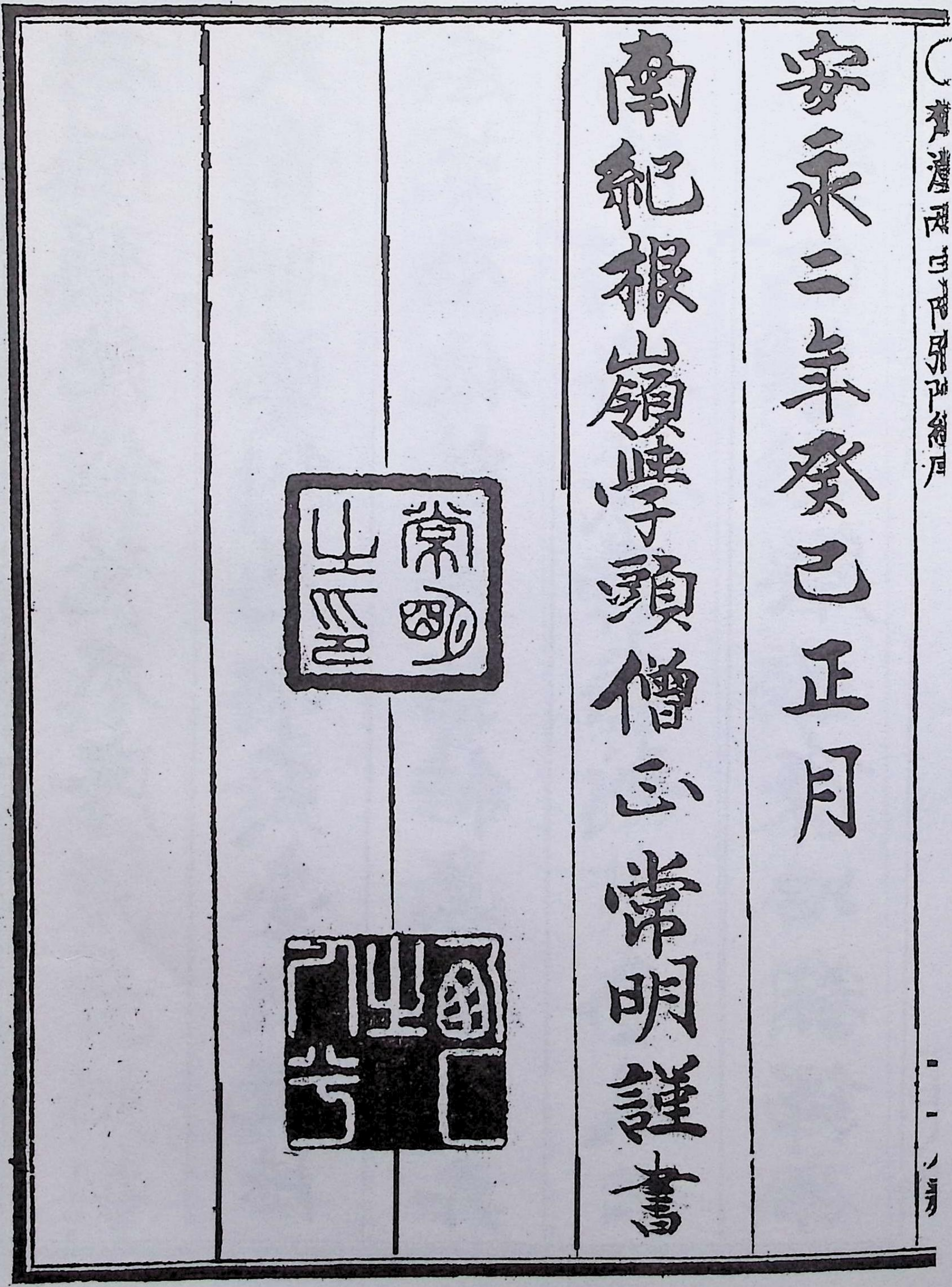

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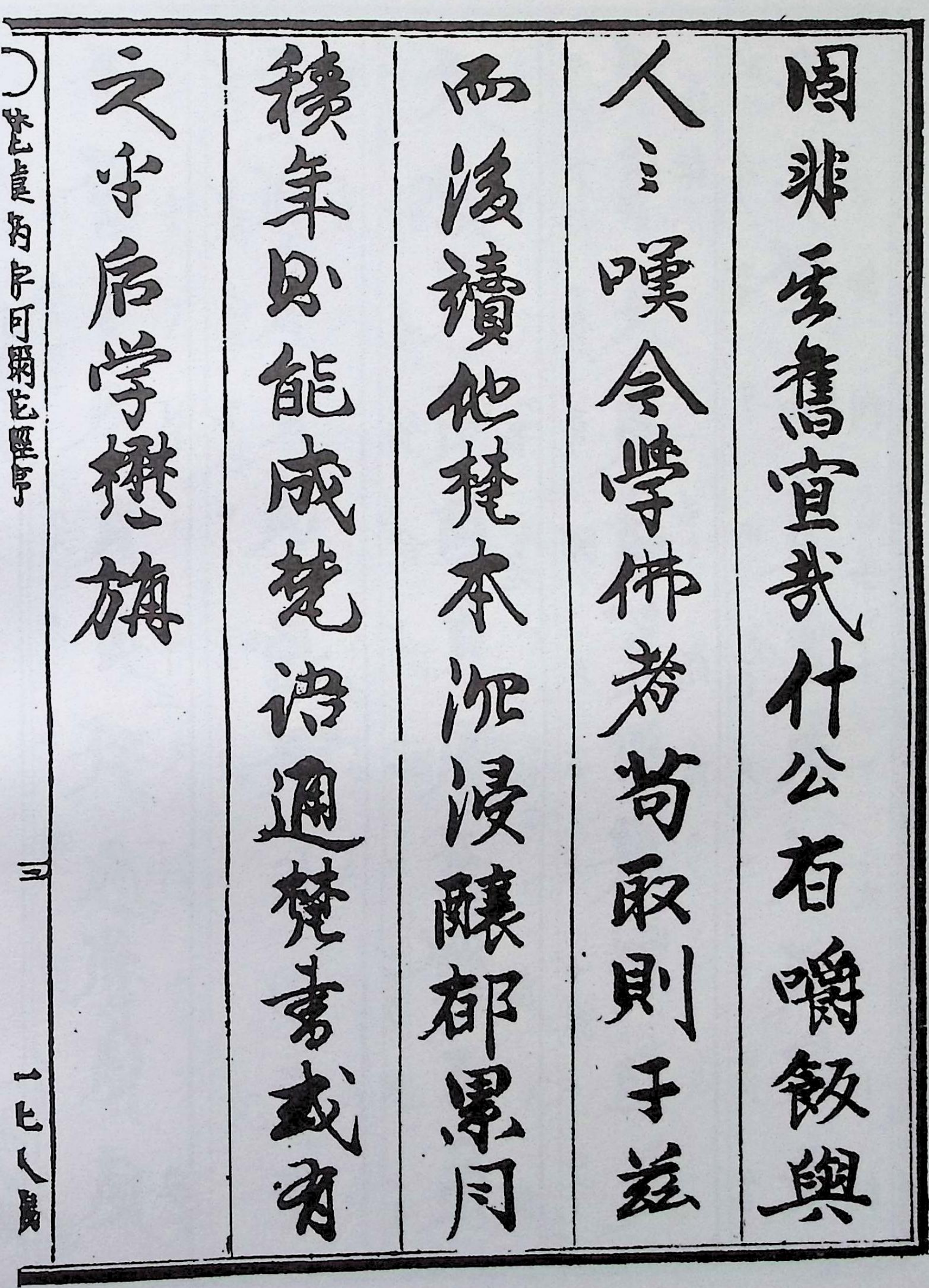

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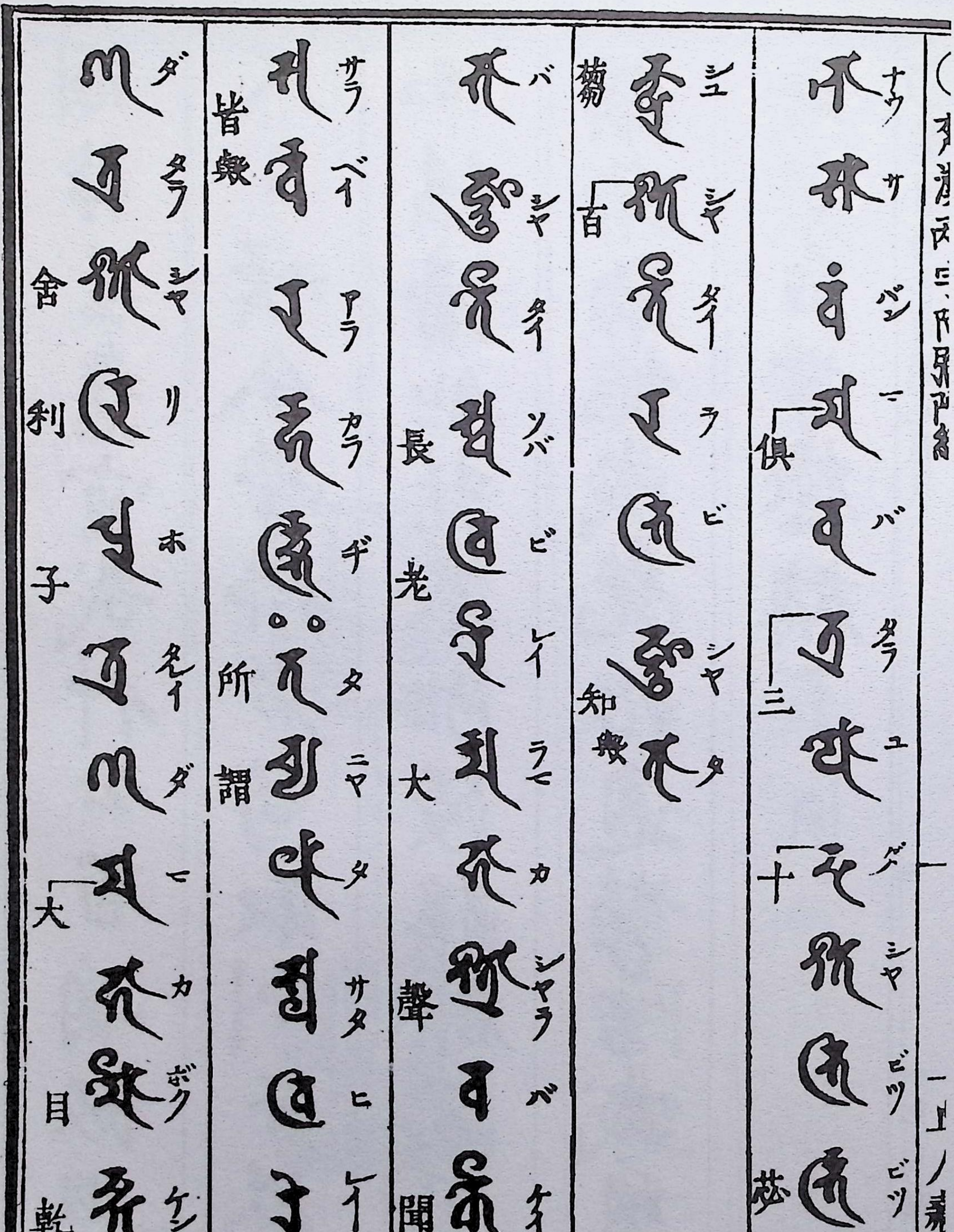
梵本阿彌陀經序　三　一七八號

Funding by IKS-MoE



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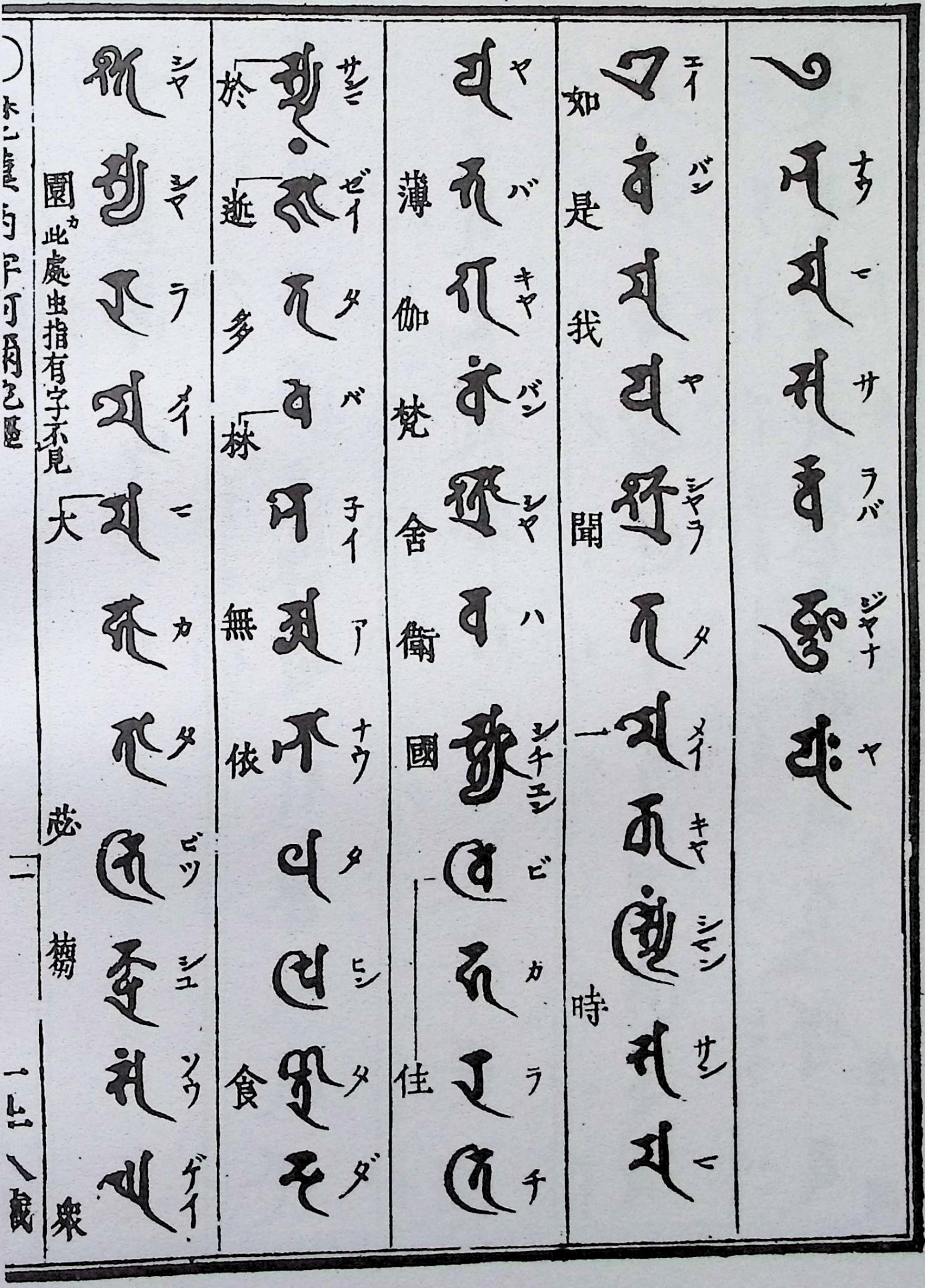

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薄伽梵舍衛國住

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於逝多林無依食

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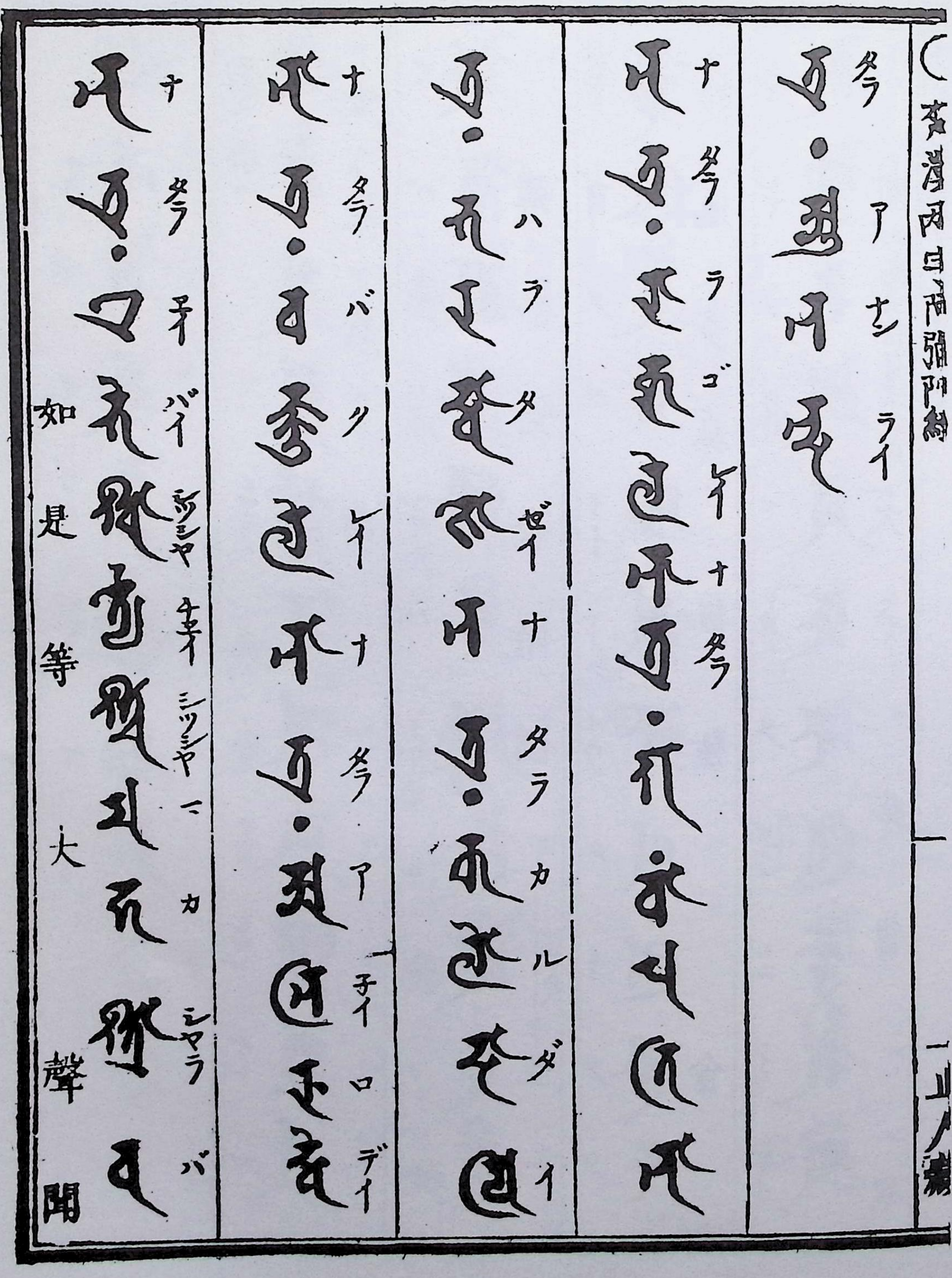

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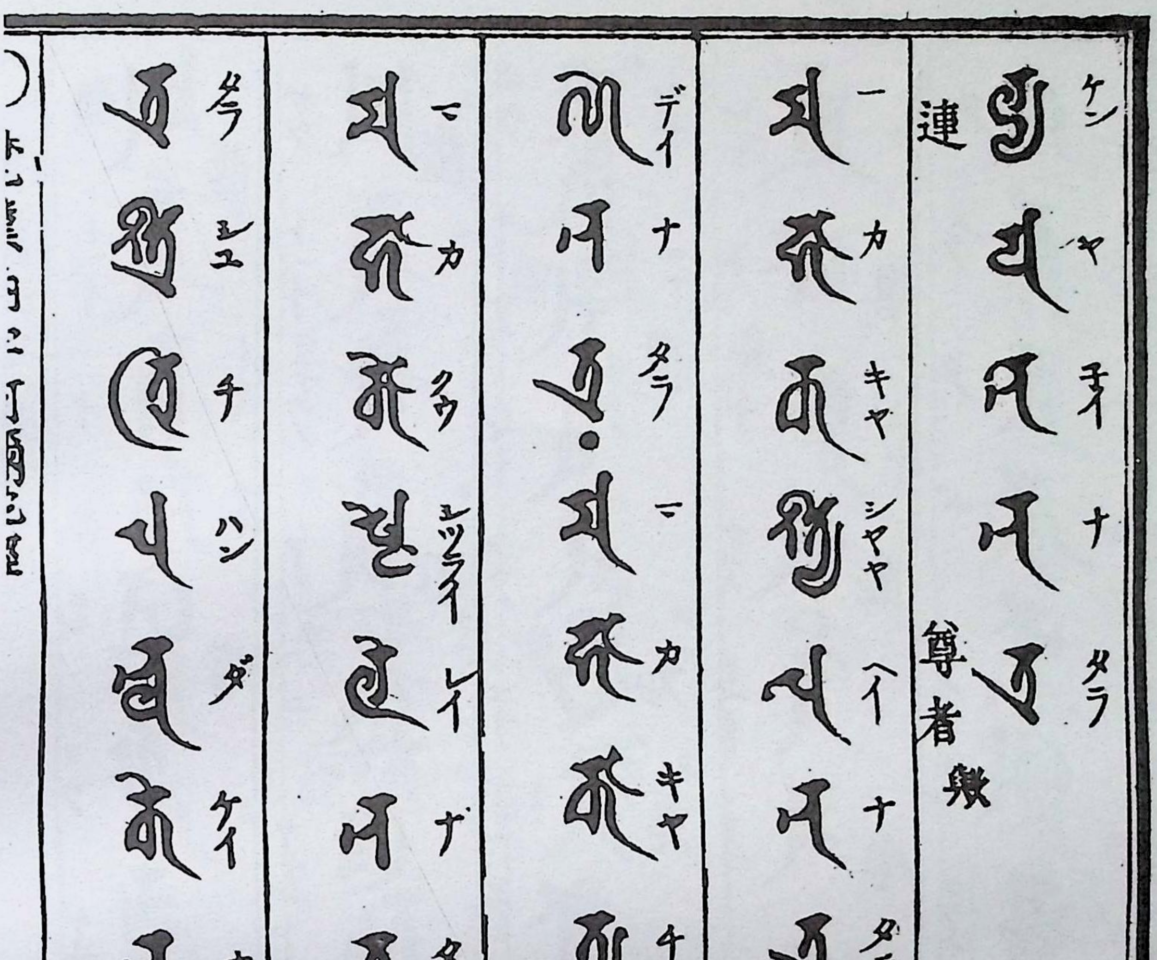

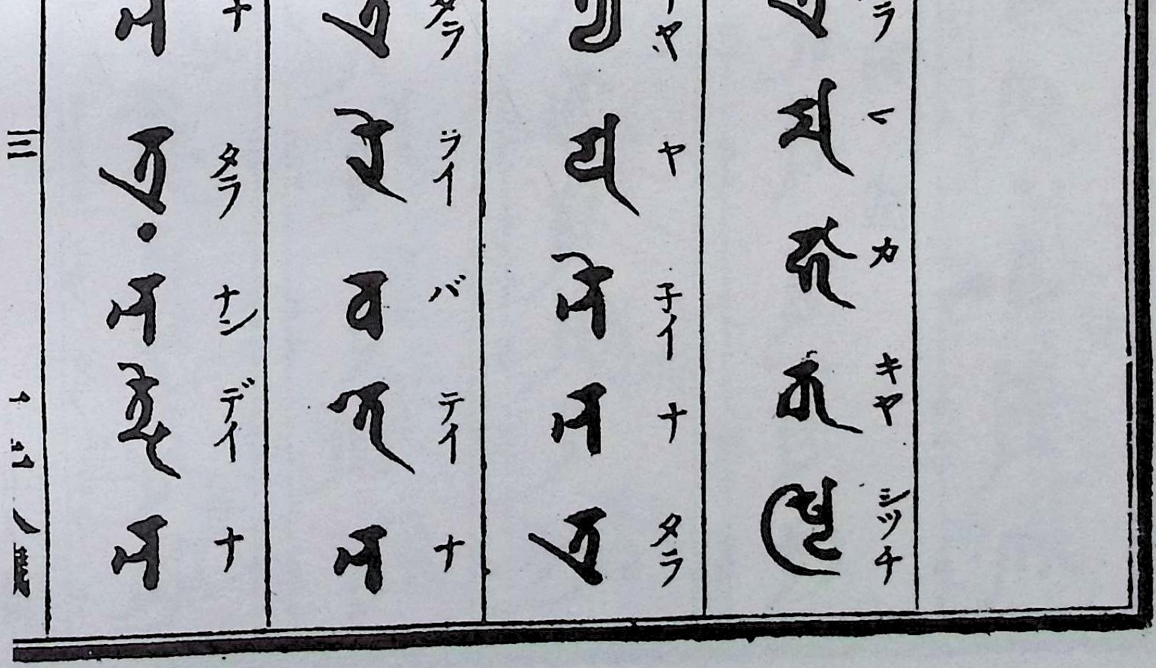

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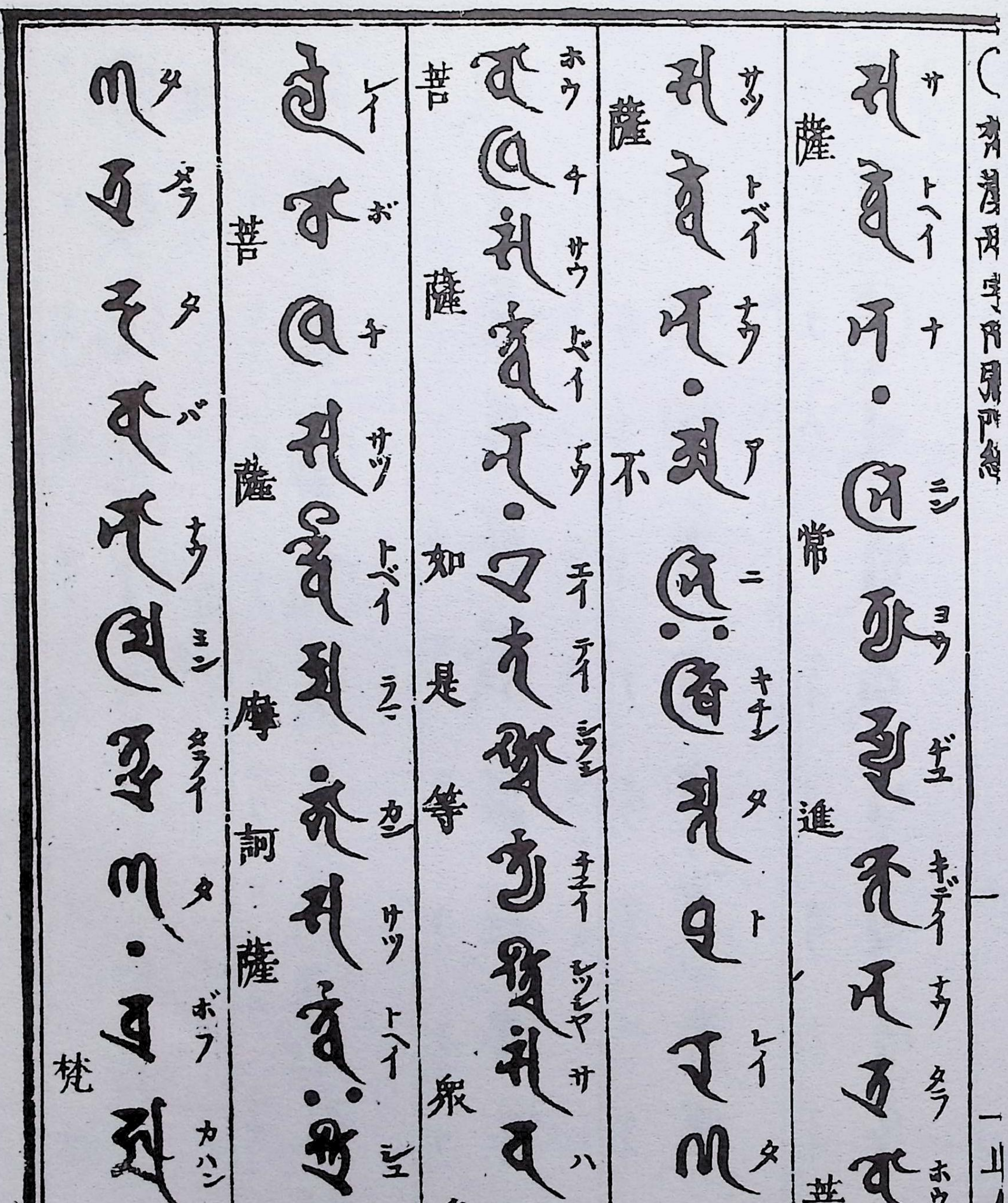

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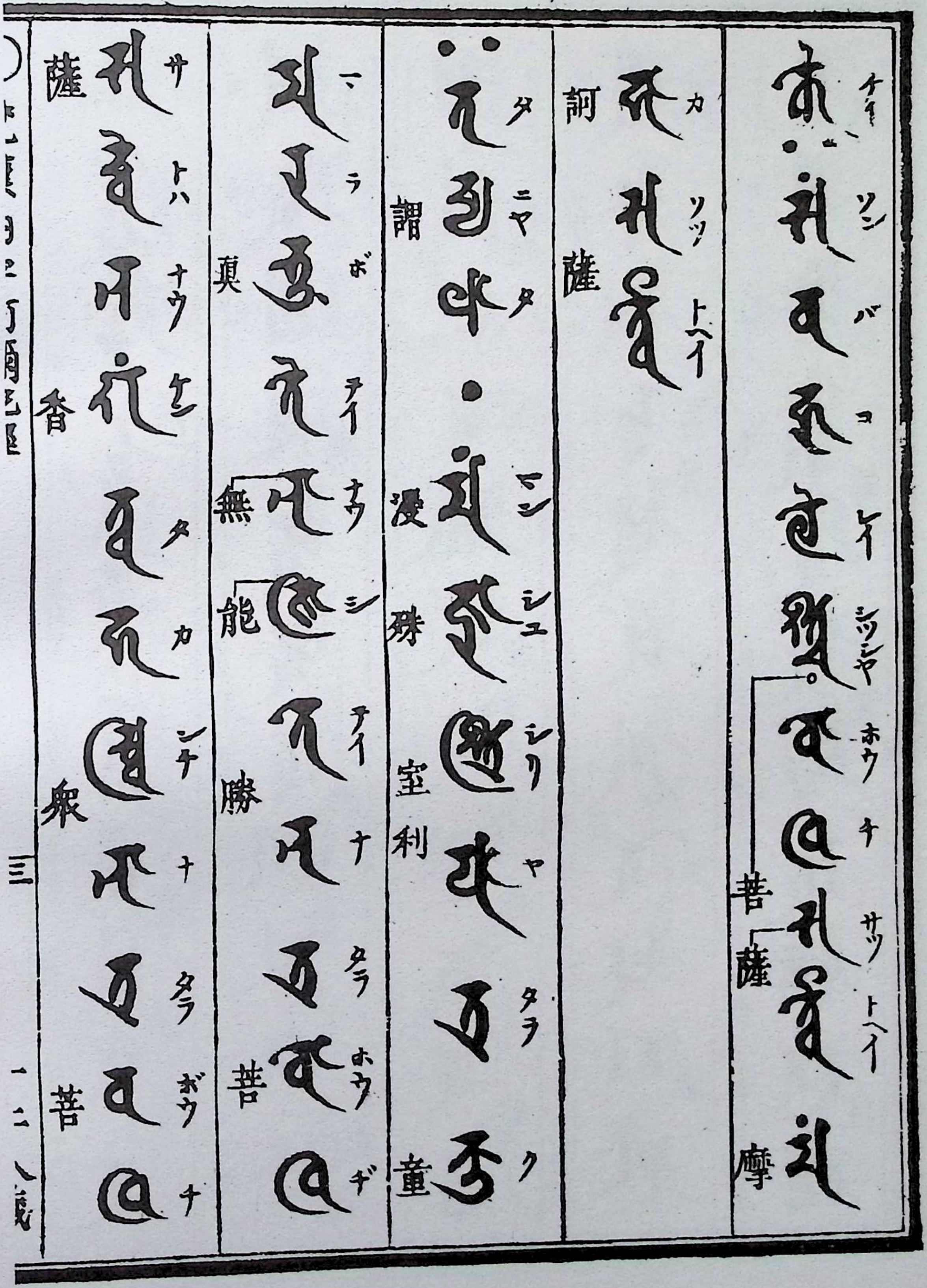

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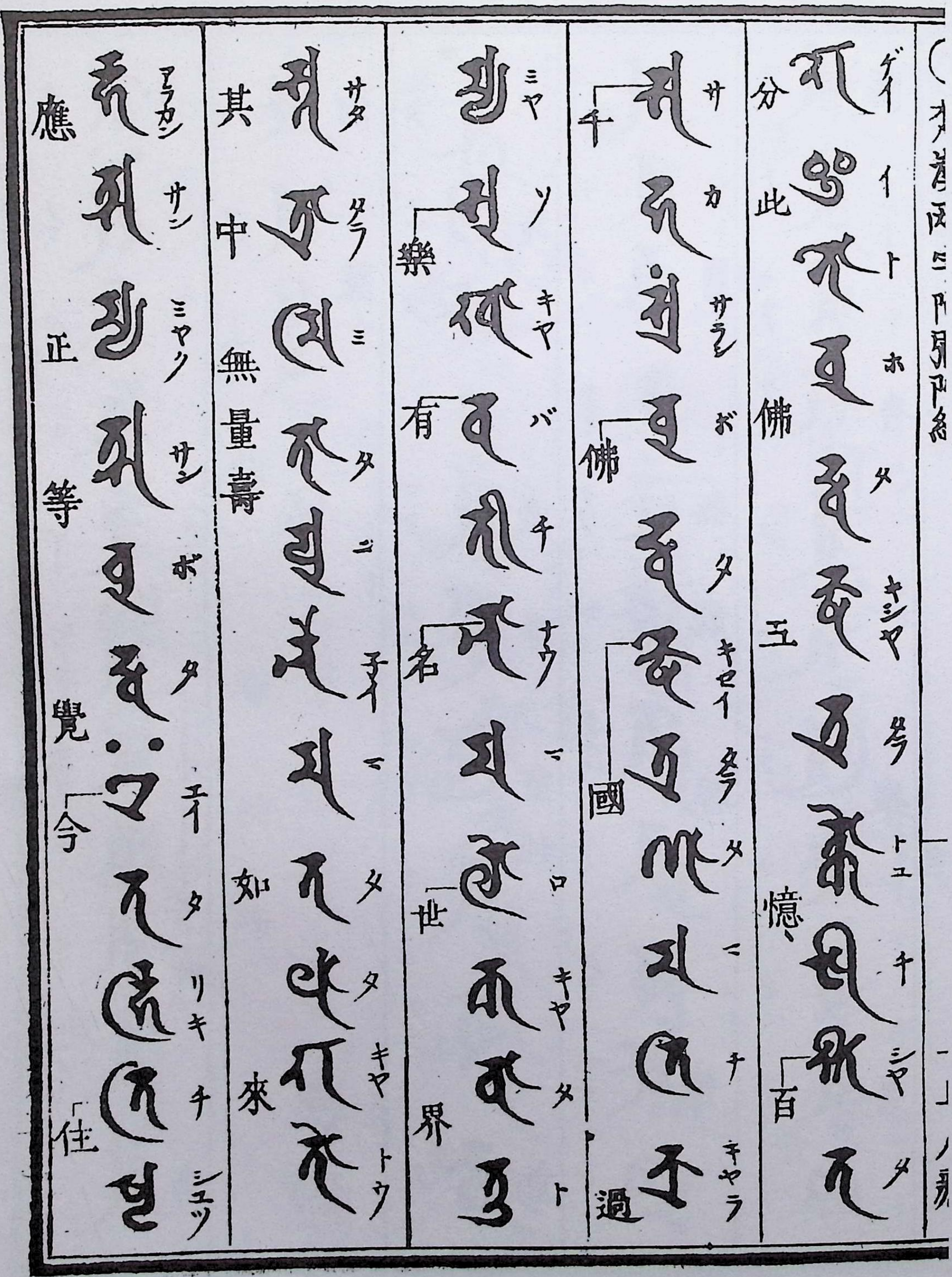

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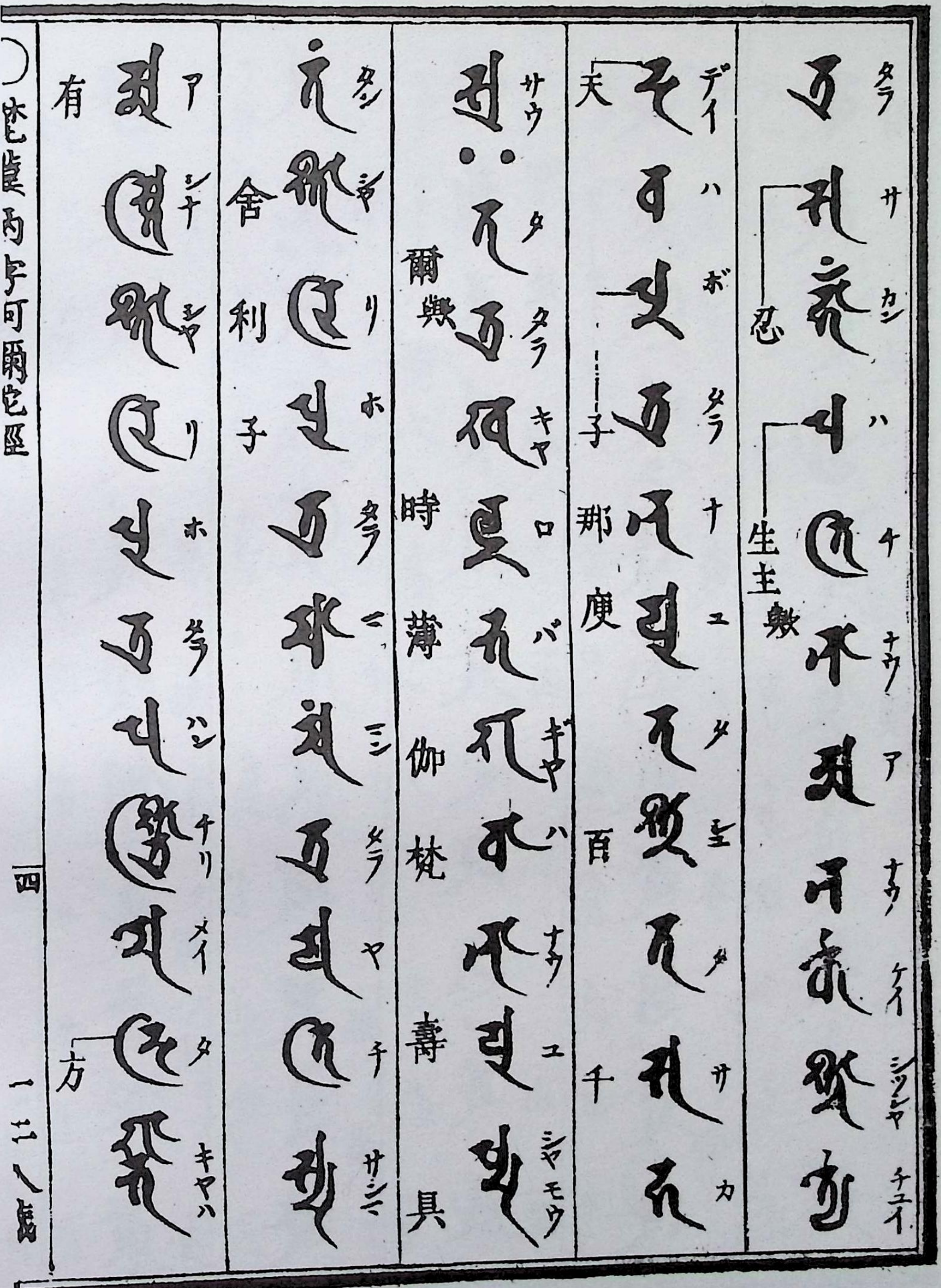

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爾與 時 薄伽梵 壽具

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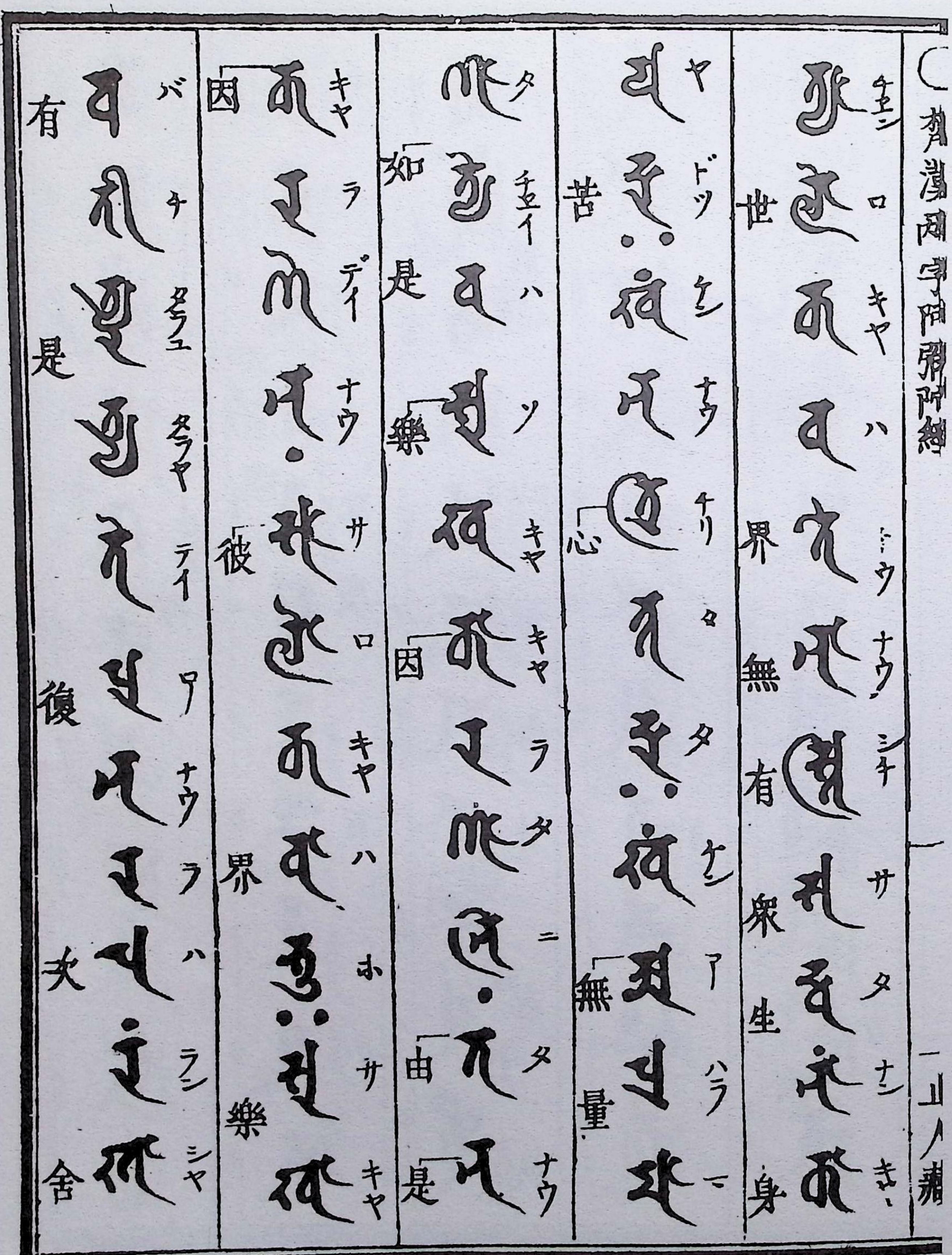
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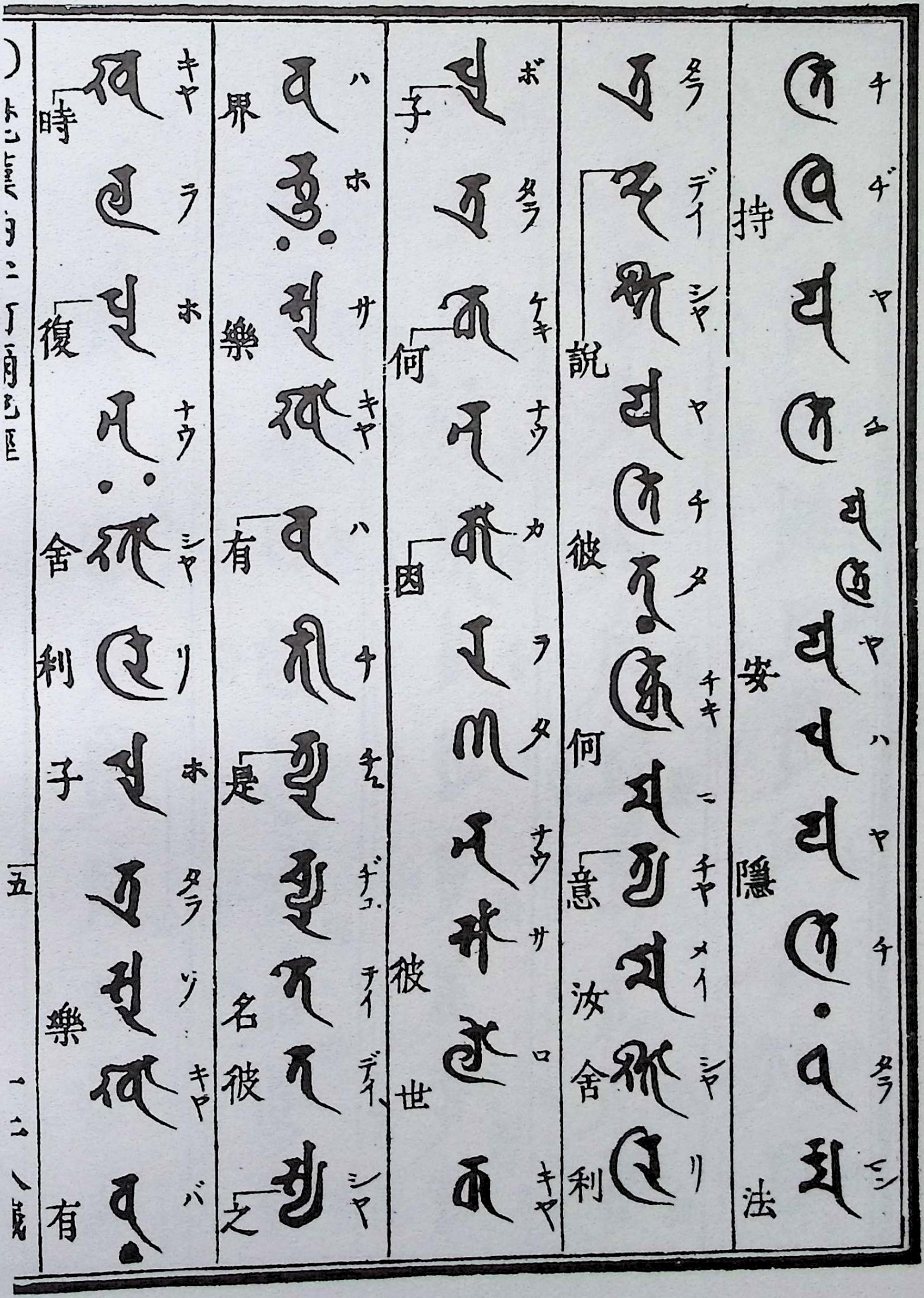

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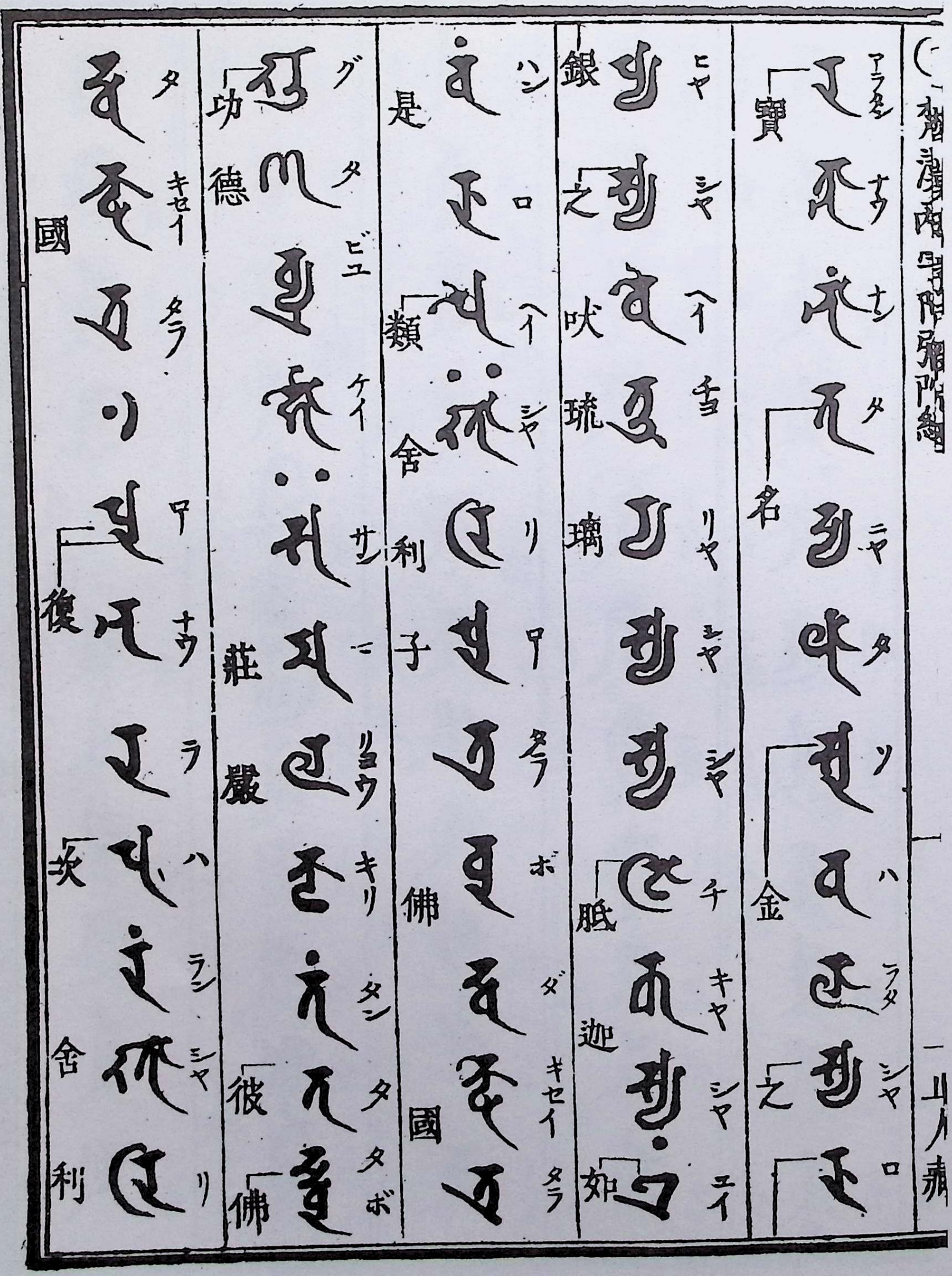

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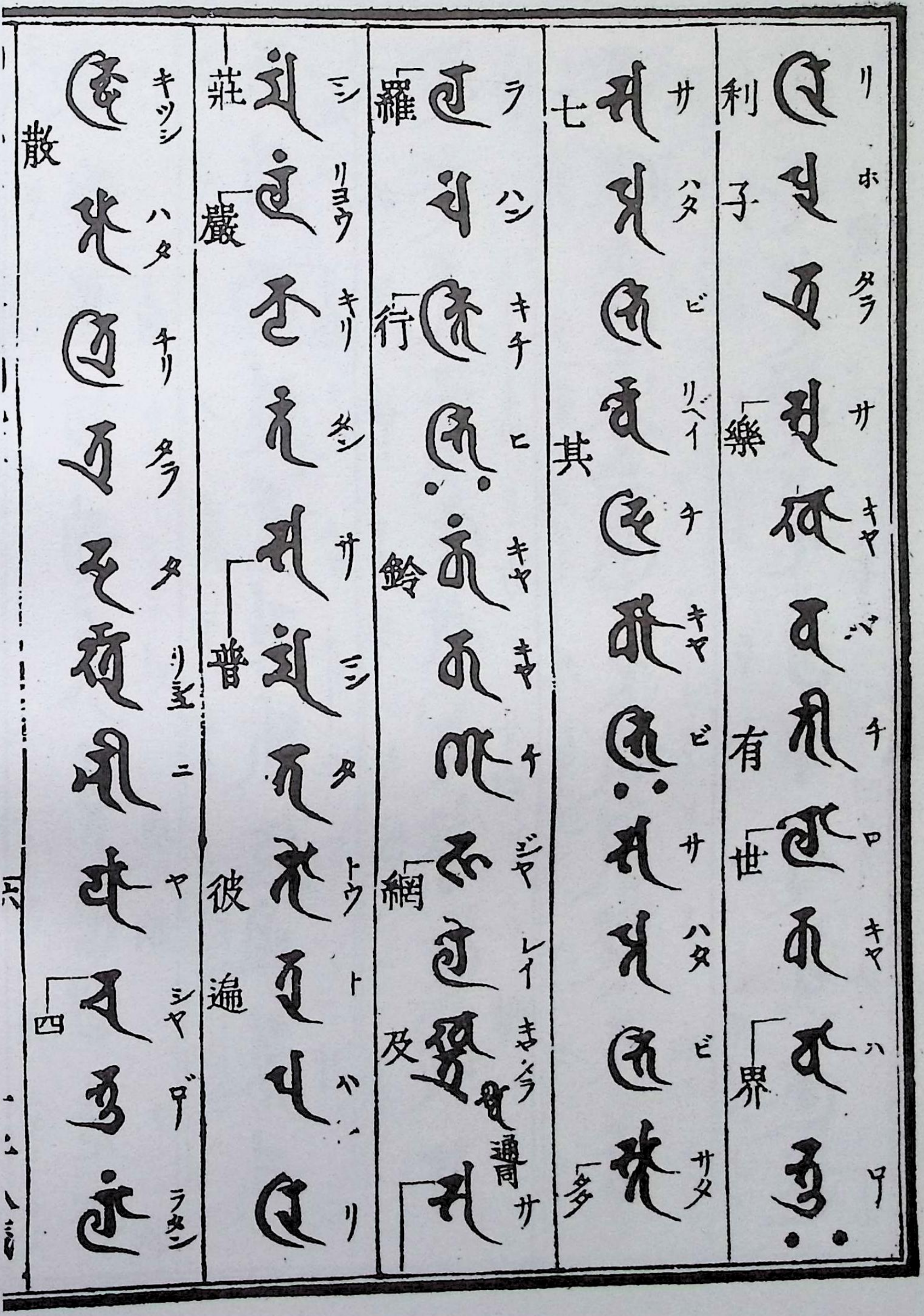

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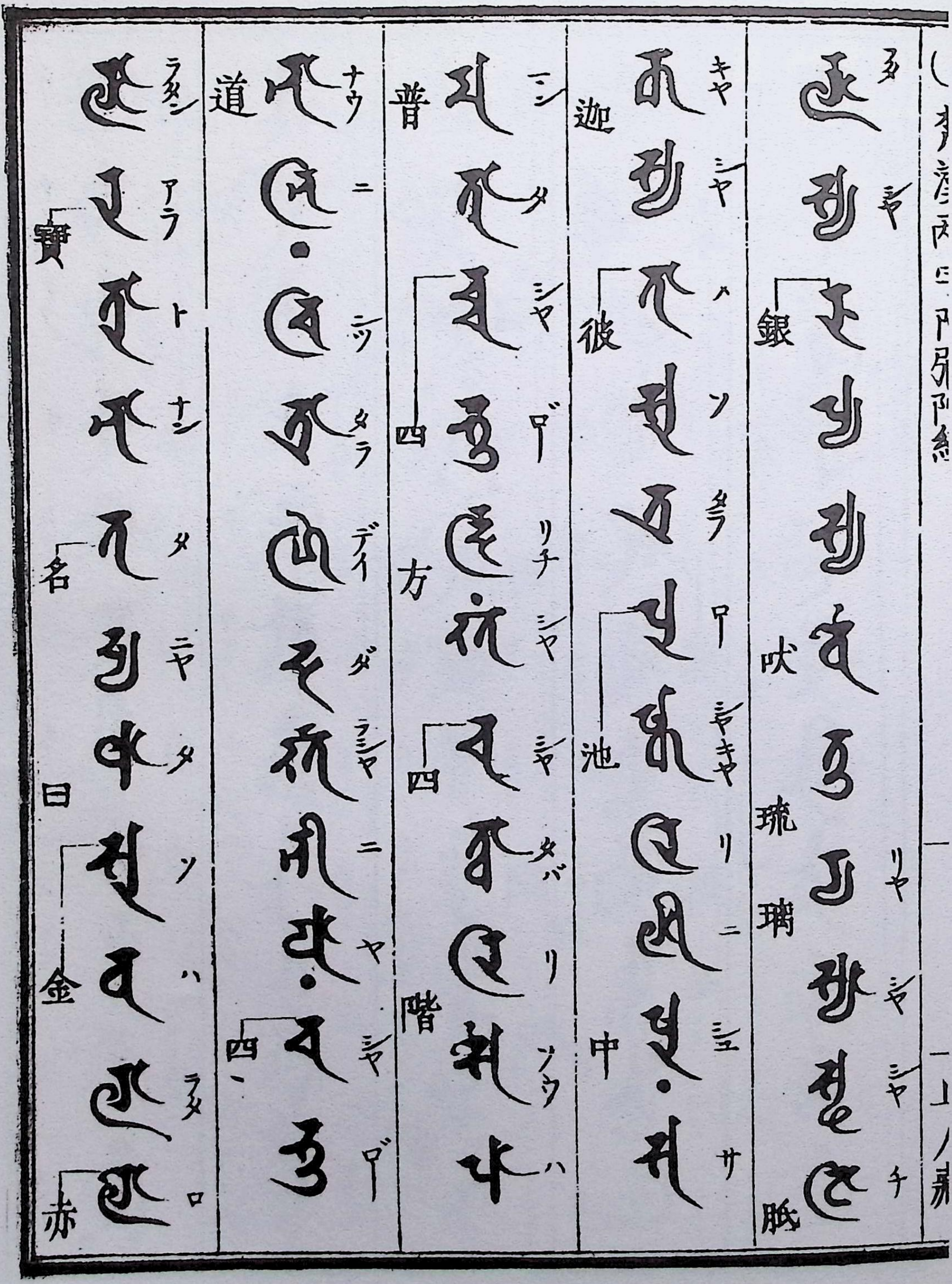

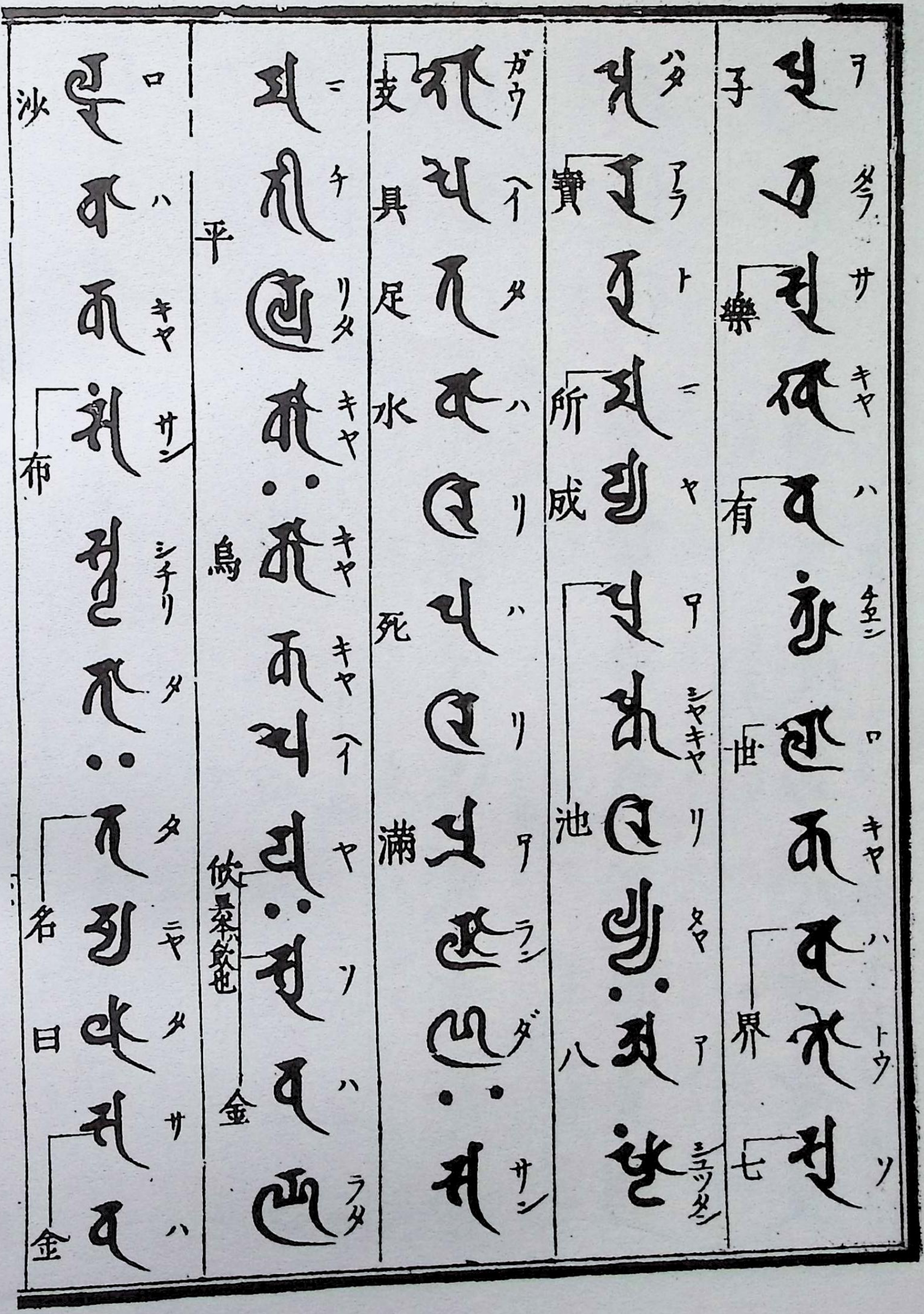
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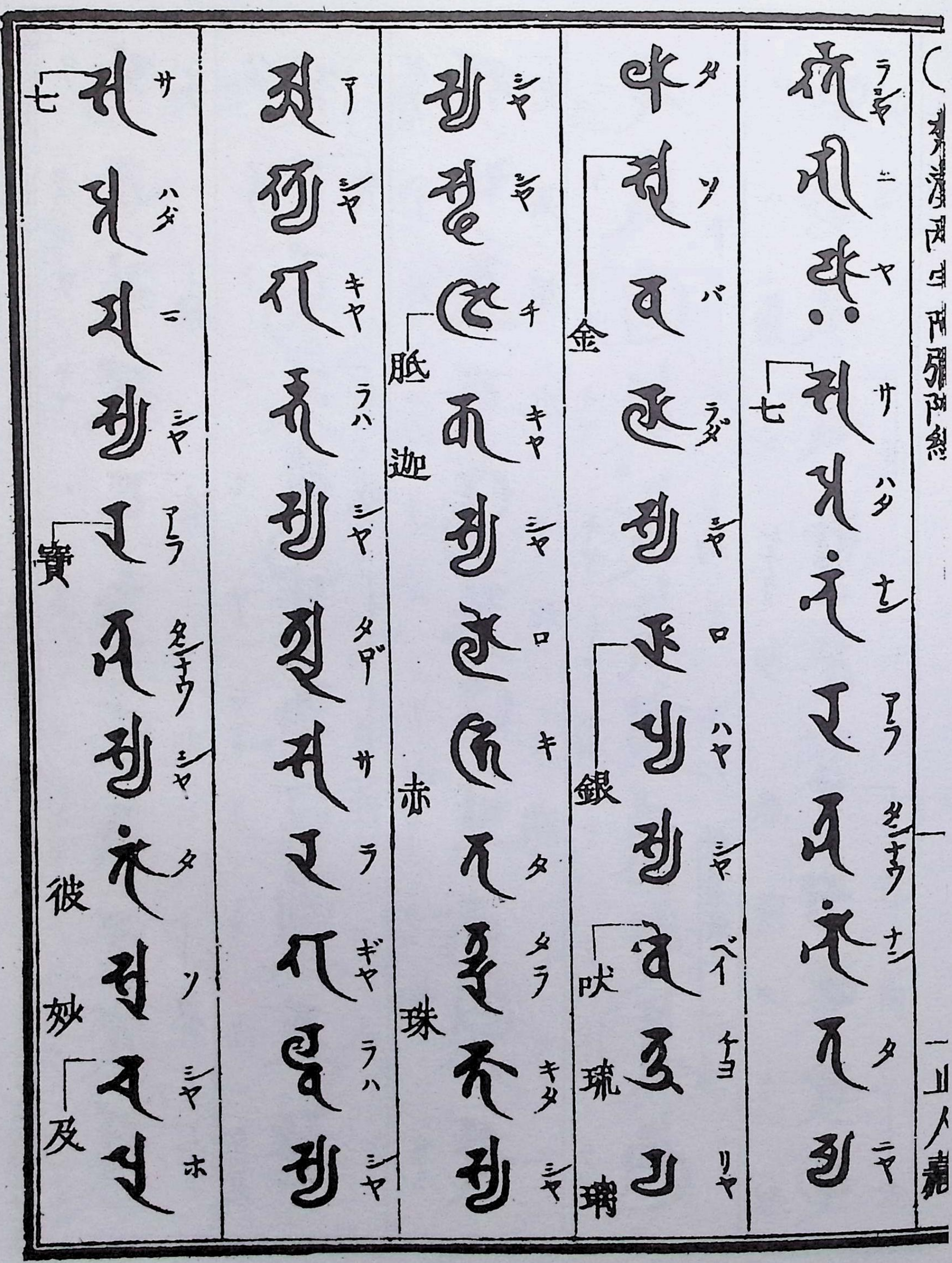
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タ ソ バ ラダ ジャ ロ ハヤ シャ ベイ チヨ リヤ
金 銀 吠 琉 璃
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胝 迦 赤 珠
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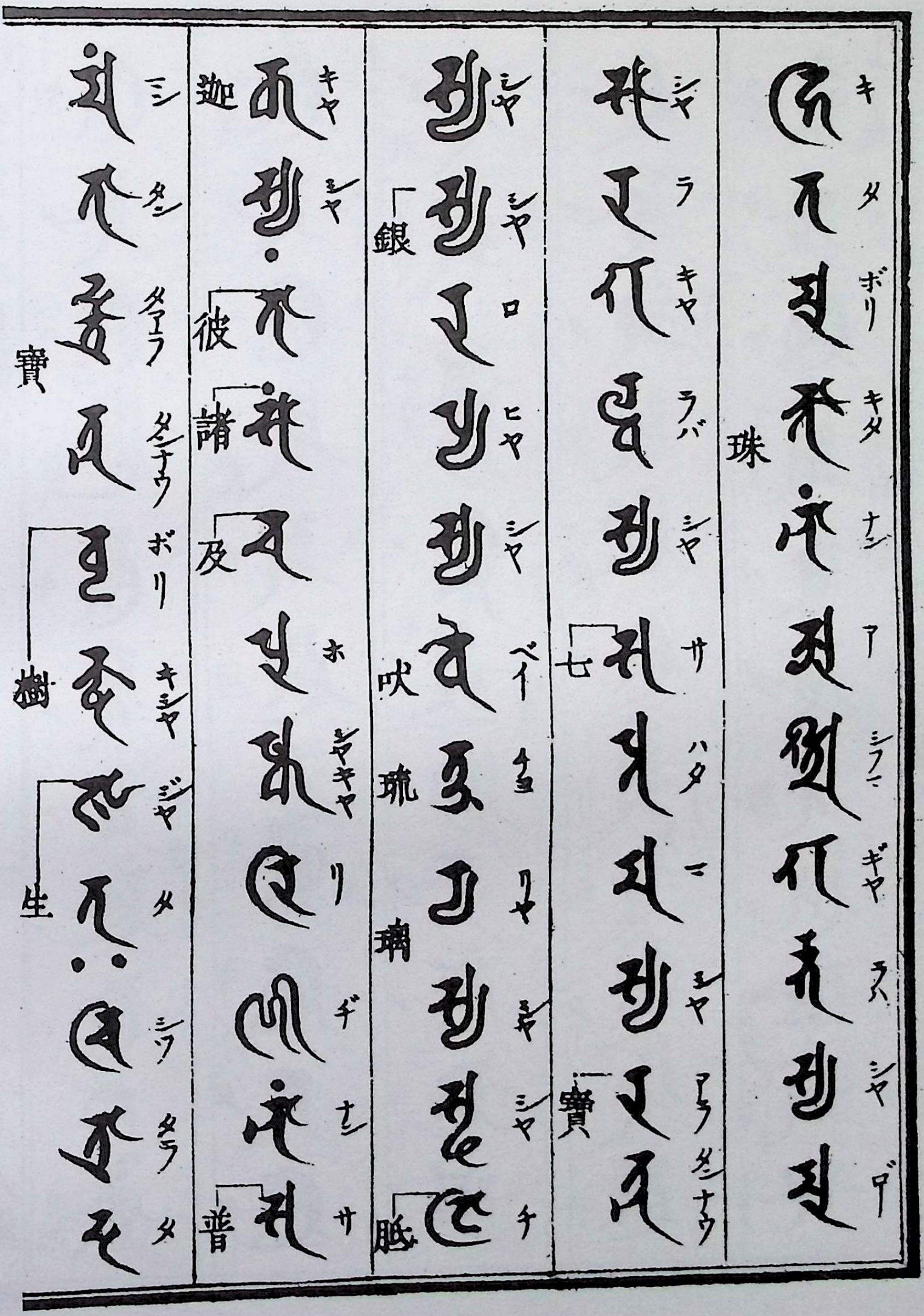

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キヤ ミヤ ホ シヤキヤ リ ヂ ナン サ　迦　彼　諸　及　普

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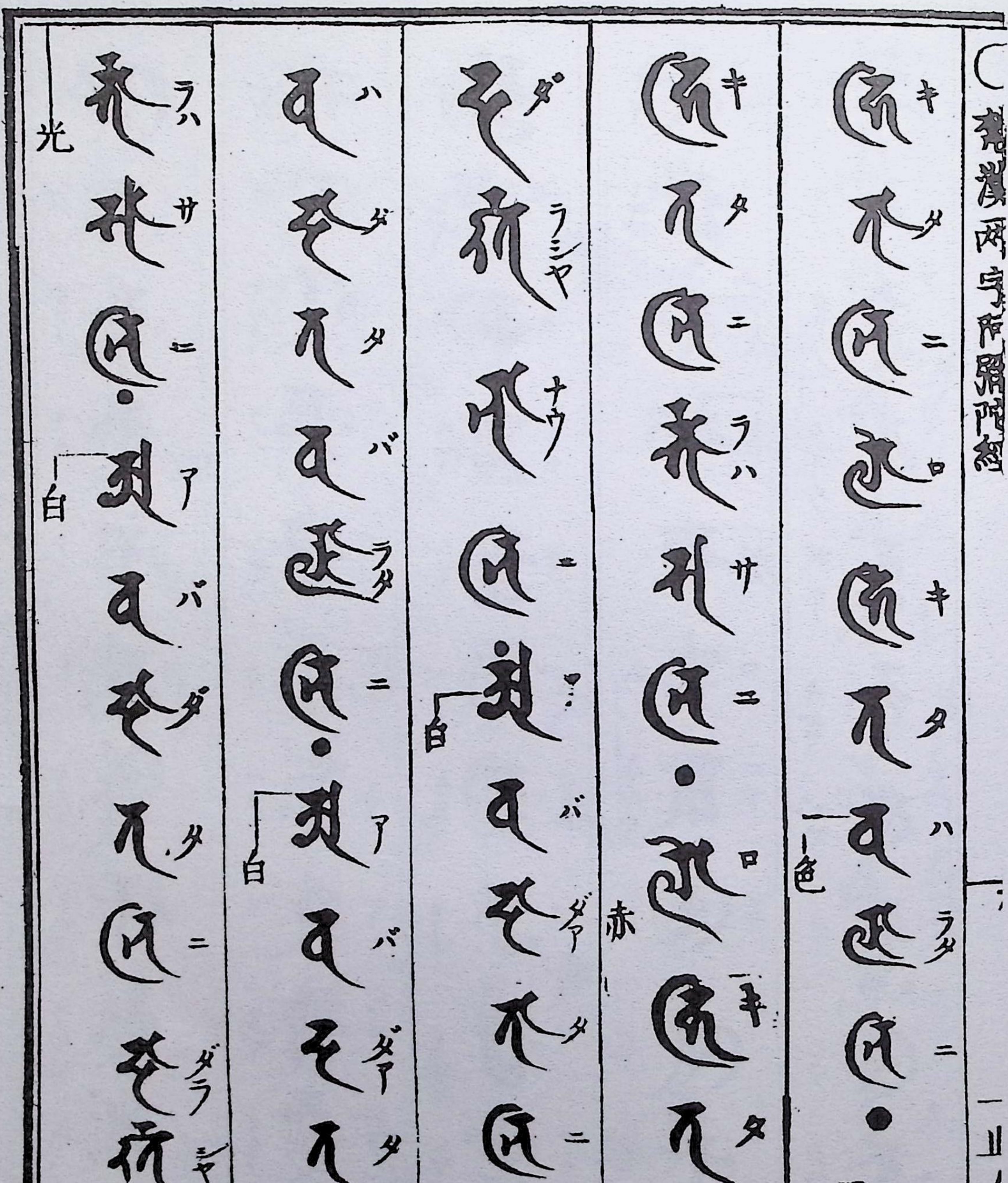
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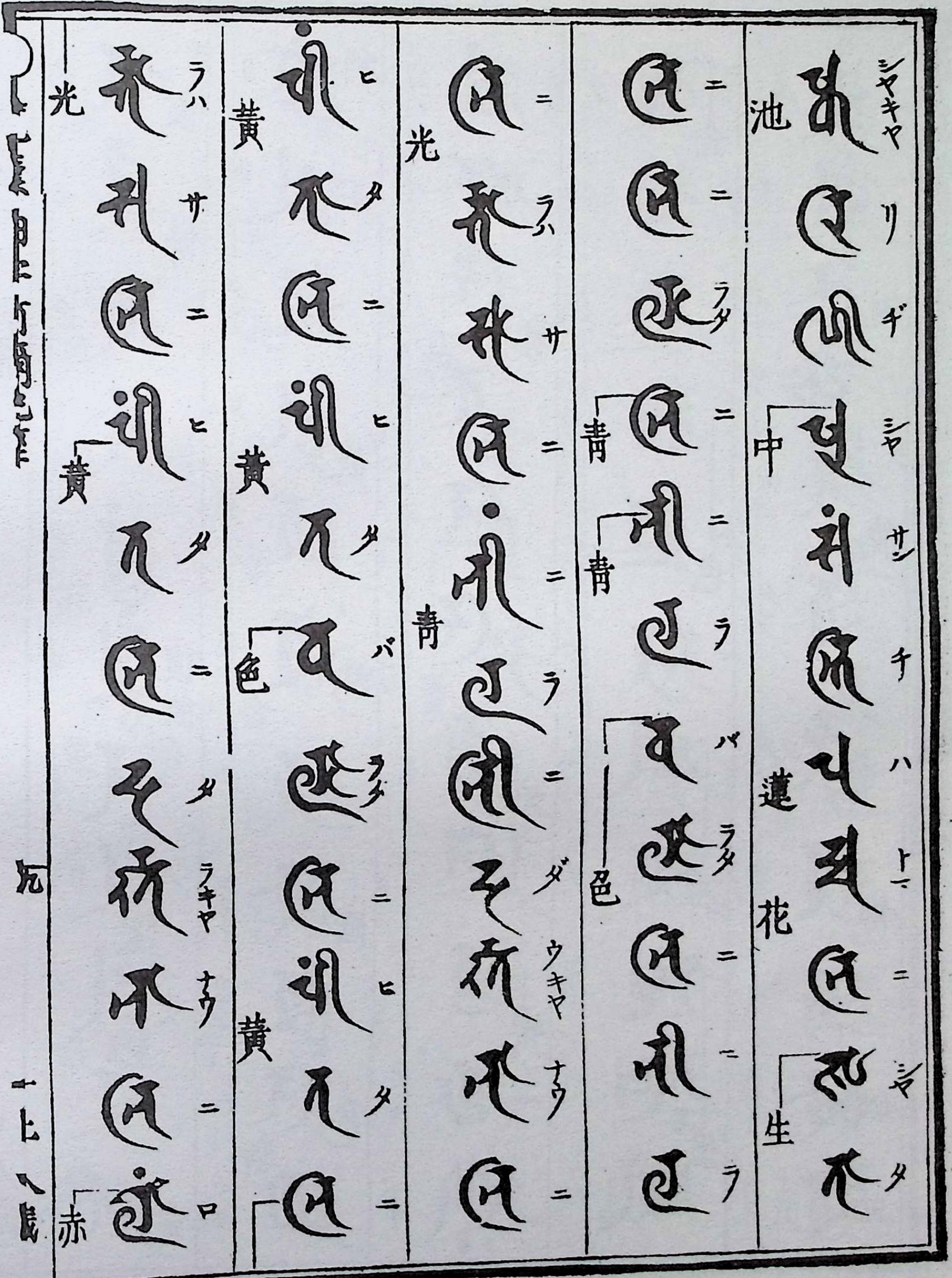

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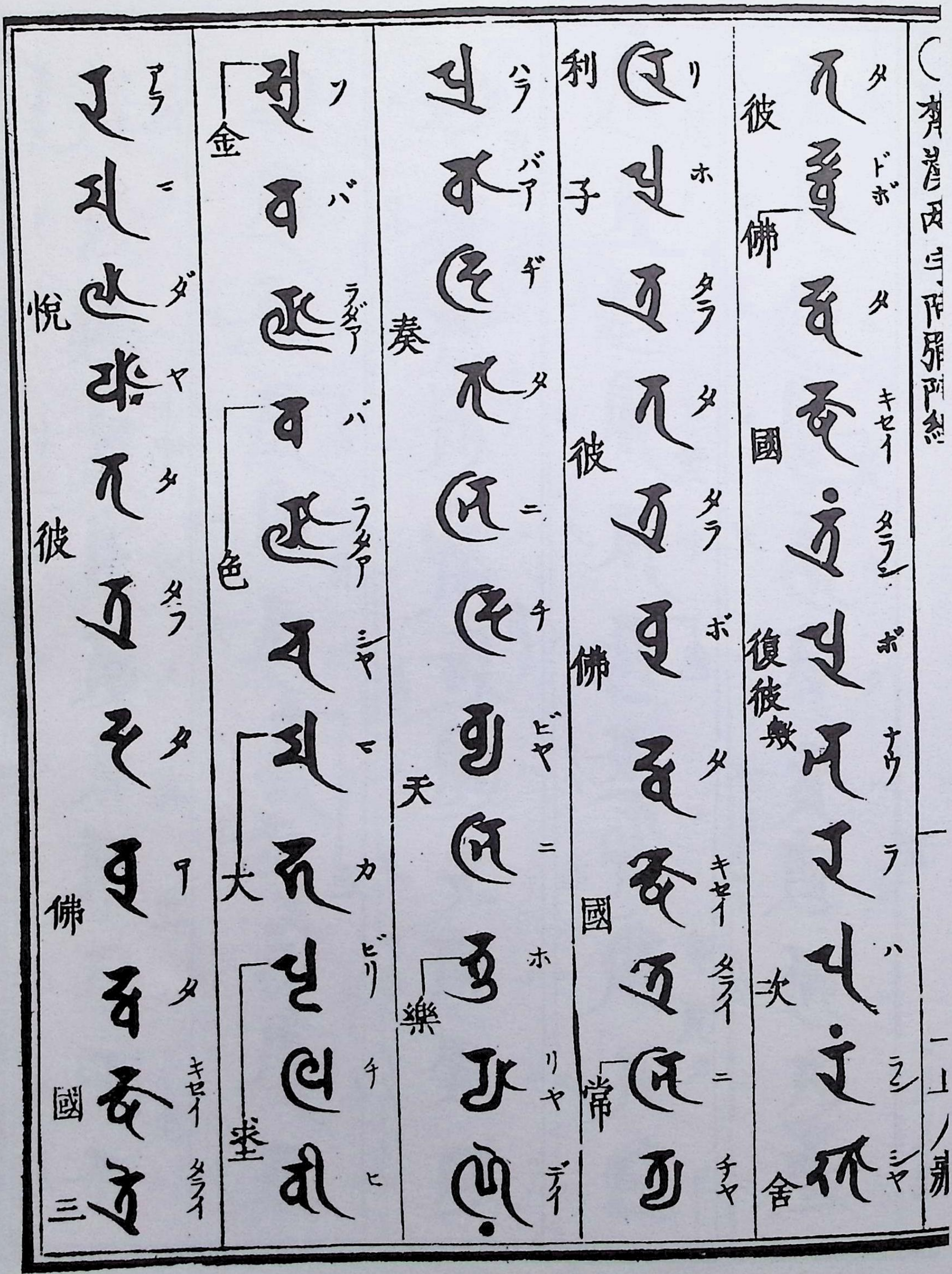

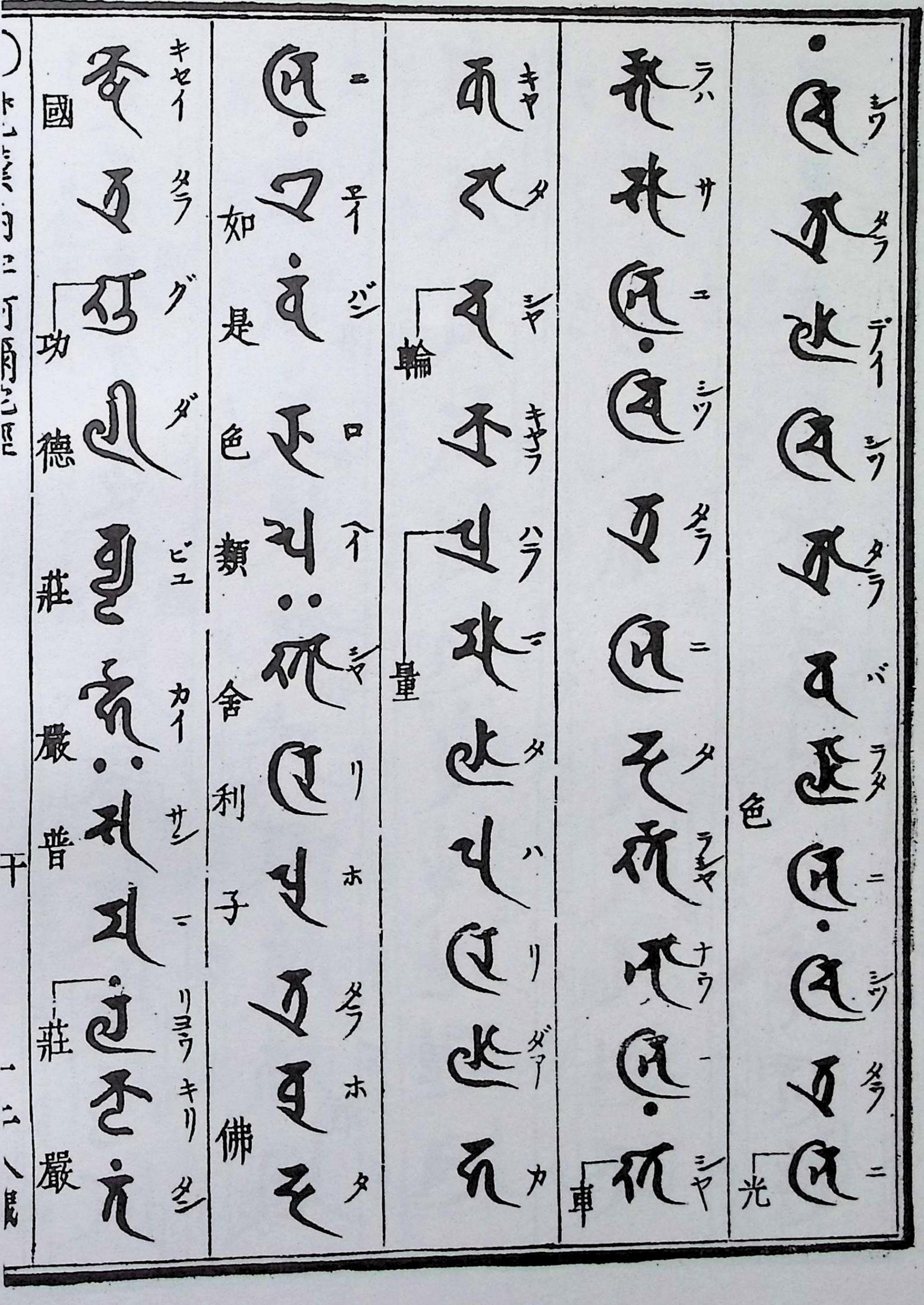

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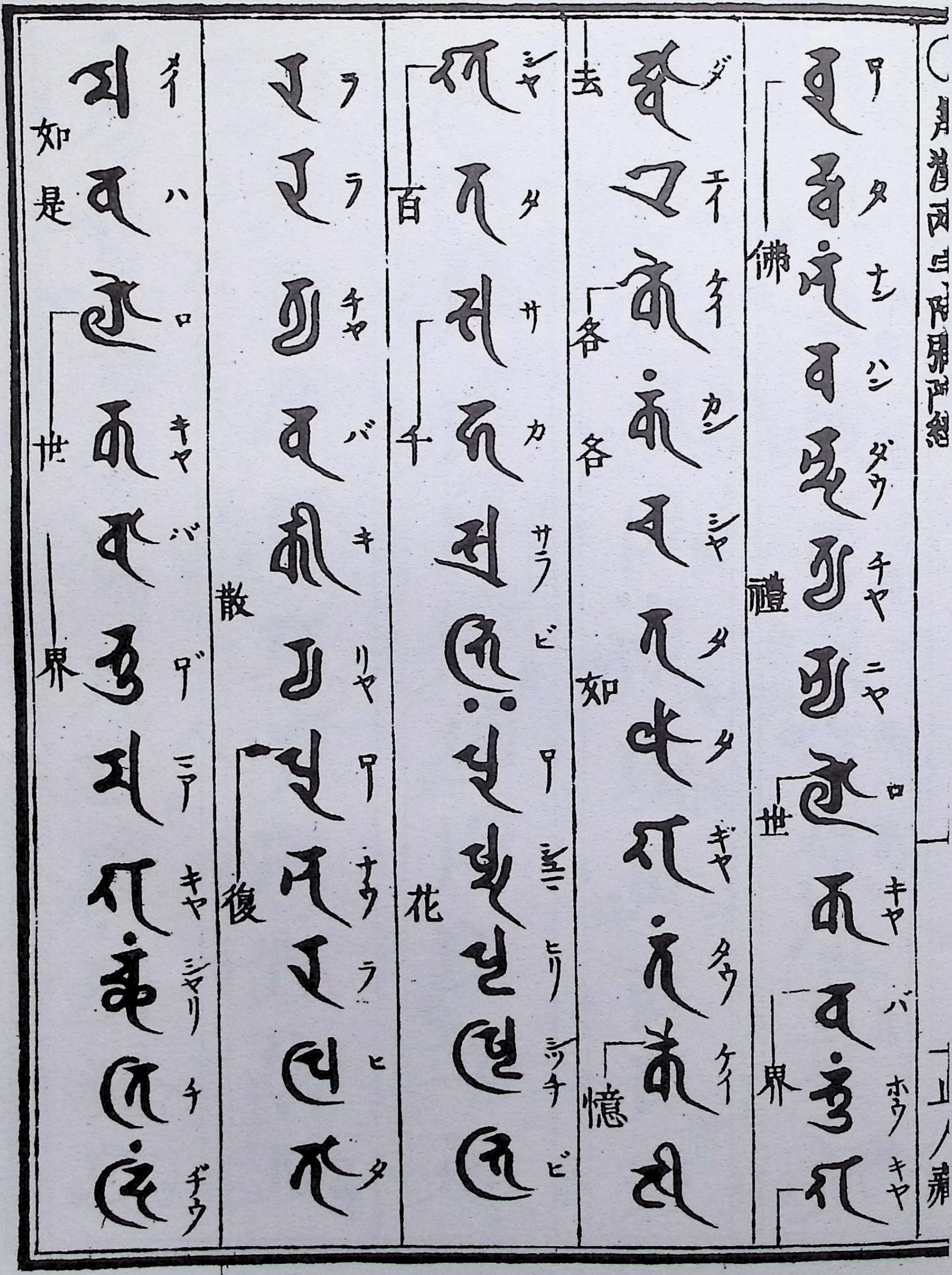
ラハ サ ニ シツ タラ ニ タ ラミヤ ナウ ー シヤ
車

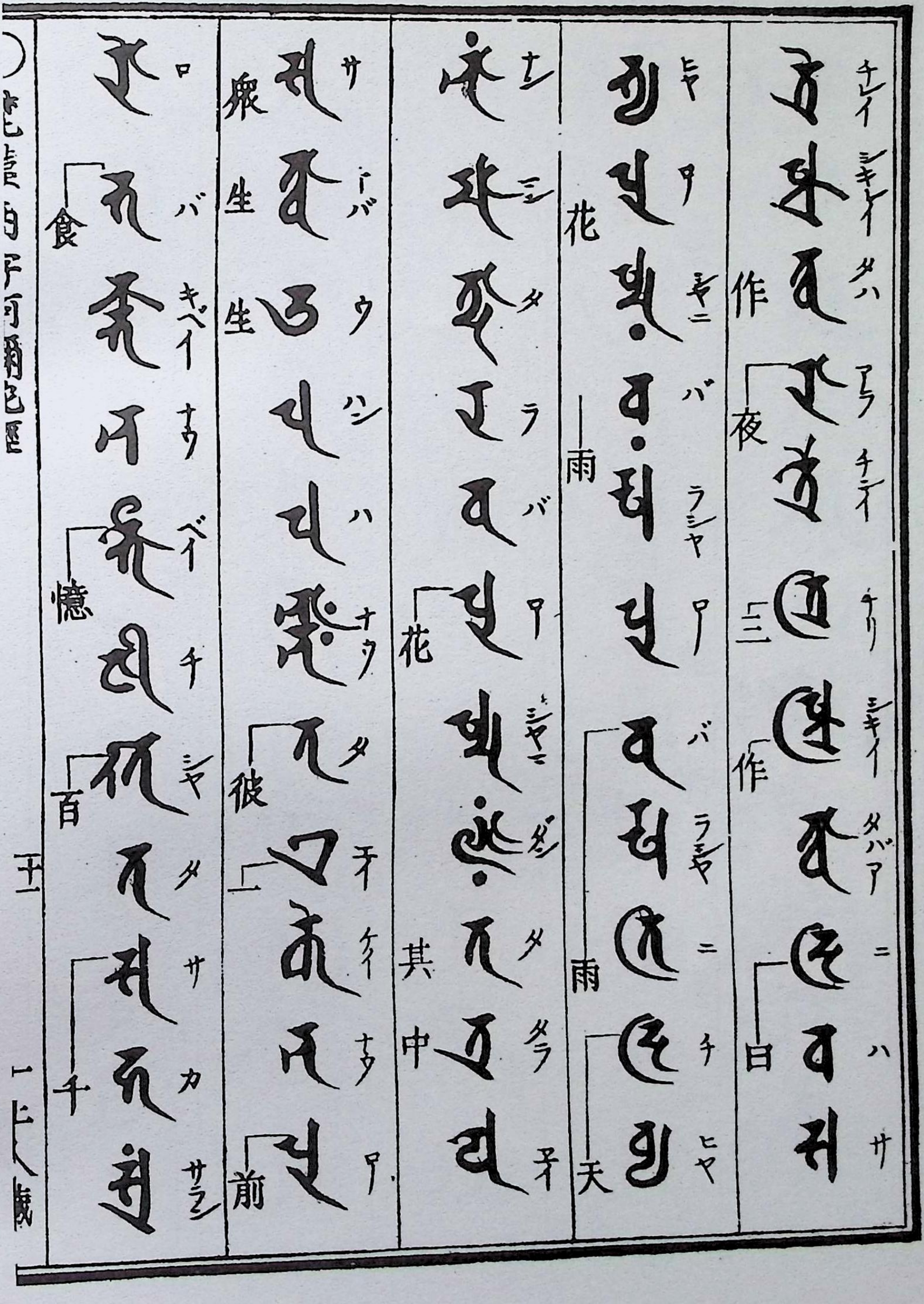
キヤ タ シヤ キヤラ ハラ ニ タ ハ リ ダア カ
輪量

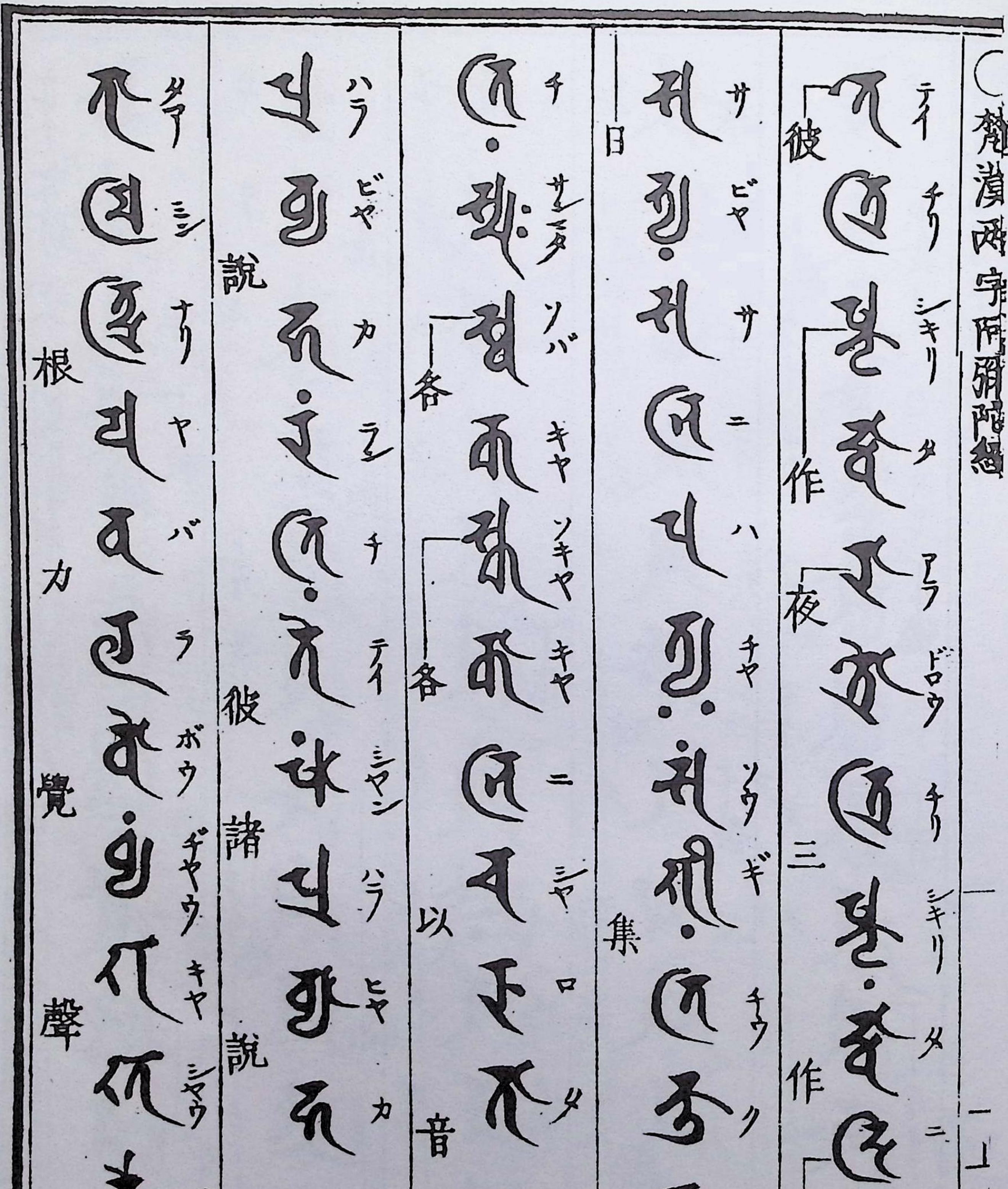
ニ ヱイ バジ ロ イ シヤ リ ホ タラ ホ タ
如是色類舍利子佛

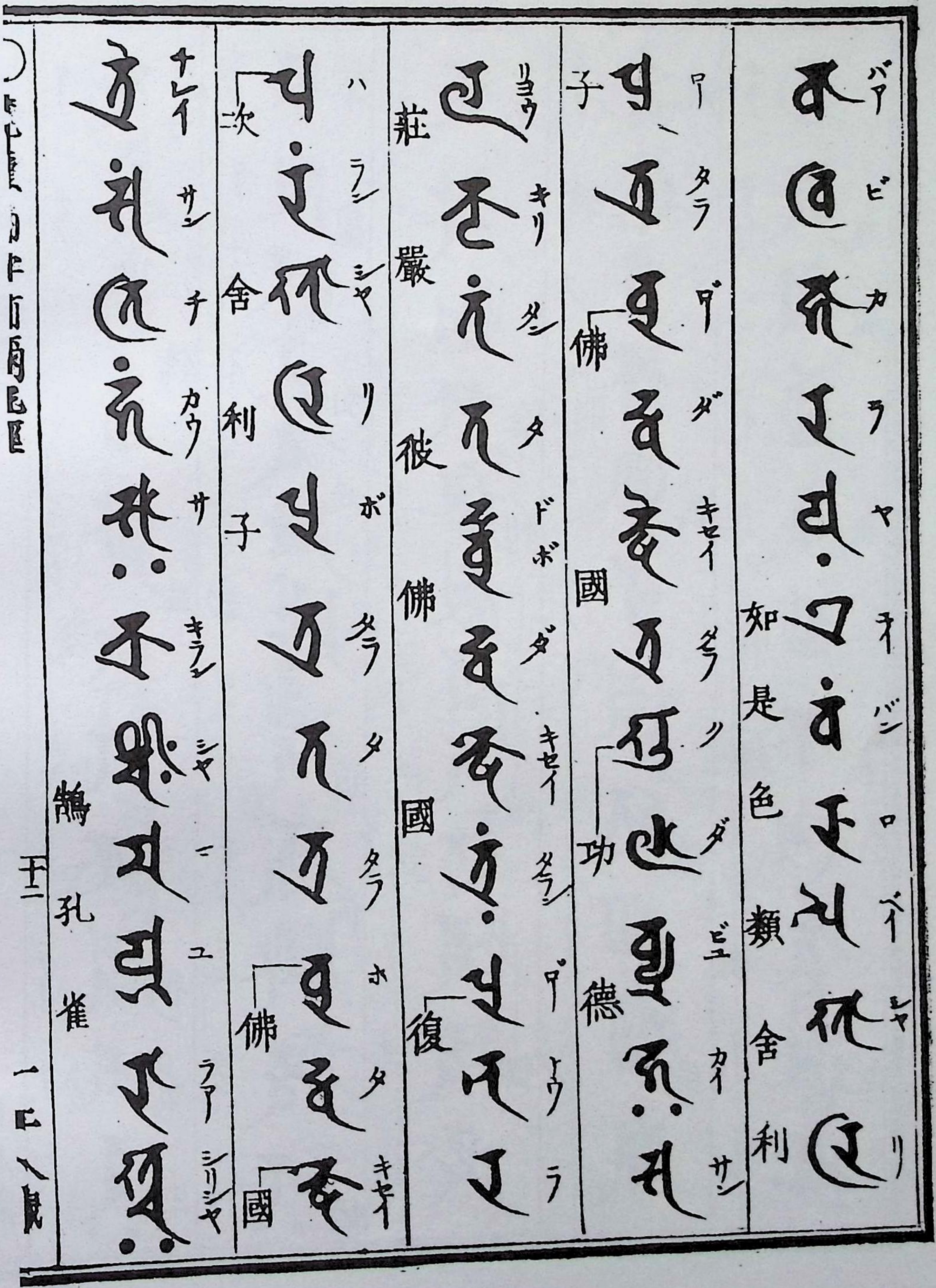
キセイ タラ グ ダ ビユ カイ サン ニ リヨウ キリ タン
國功德莊嚴普莊嚴

Funding by IKS-MoE


佛
禮
世
界
去
各
各
如
憶
百
千
花
散
復
如是
世
界


チレイ シキヤイ タハ アラ チテイ チリ シキイ タバア ニ ハ サ
作 夜 三 作 日
ヒヤ タ ミヤニ バ ラシヤ ア バ ラミヤ ニ チ ヒヤ
花 雨 雨 天
ナ ミ タ ラ バ ア ジヤニ ダン タ ダラ ヂヤ
花 其中
サ バ ウ ハシ ハ ナウ タ ヂヤ ケイ ナウ ア
衆生 生 彼 上 前
ロ バ キヤベイ ナウ ベイ チ シヤ タ サ カ サラン
食 憶 百 千
阿彌陀經
十一
一上人蔵


梵漢兩字阿彌陀經
一上ノ表
テイ チリ シキリ タ アラ ドロウ チリ シキリ タ ニ バ
彼 作 夜 三 作
サ ビヤ サ ニ ハ チヤ ソウギ チウ ク リセイ
日 集
チ サンタ ソバ キヤ ソキヤ キヤ ニ シヤ ロ タ ニ
各 各 以 音
ハラ ビヤ カ ラ チ テイ シヤン ハラ ヒヤ カ ラ
說 彼 諸 說
タア ミシ ナリ ヤ バ ラ ボウ ギヤウ キヤ シヤウ ドウ
根 力 覺 聲



バア ビ カ ラ ヤ ネ バン ロ ベイ ミヤ リ

如是色類舍利

ワー タラ ヷ ダ キセイ タラ ノ ダ ビユ カイ サン

子 佛 國 功德

リヨウ キリ タシ タ ドボ ダ キセイ タラ ヷ ヨウ ラ

莊嚴 彼佛國 復

ハ ラン シヤ リ ボ タラ タ タラ ホ タ キヤ

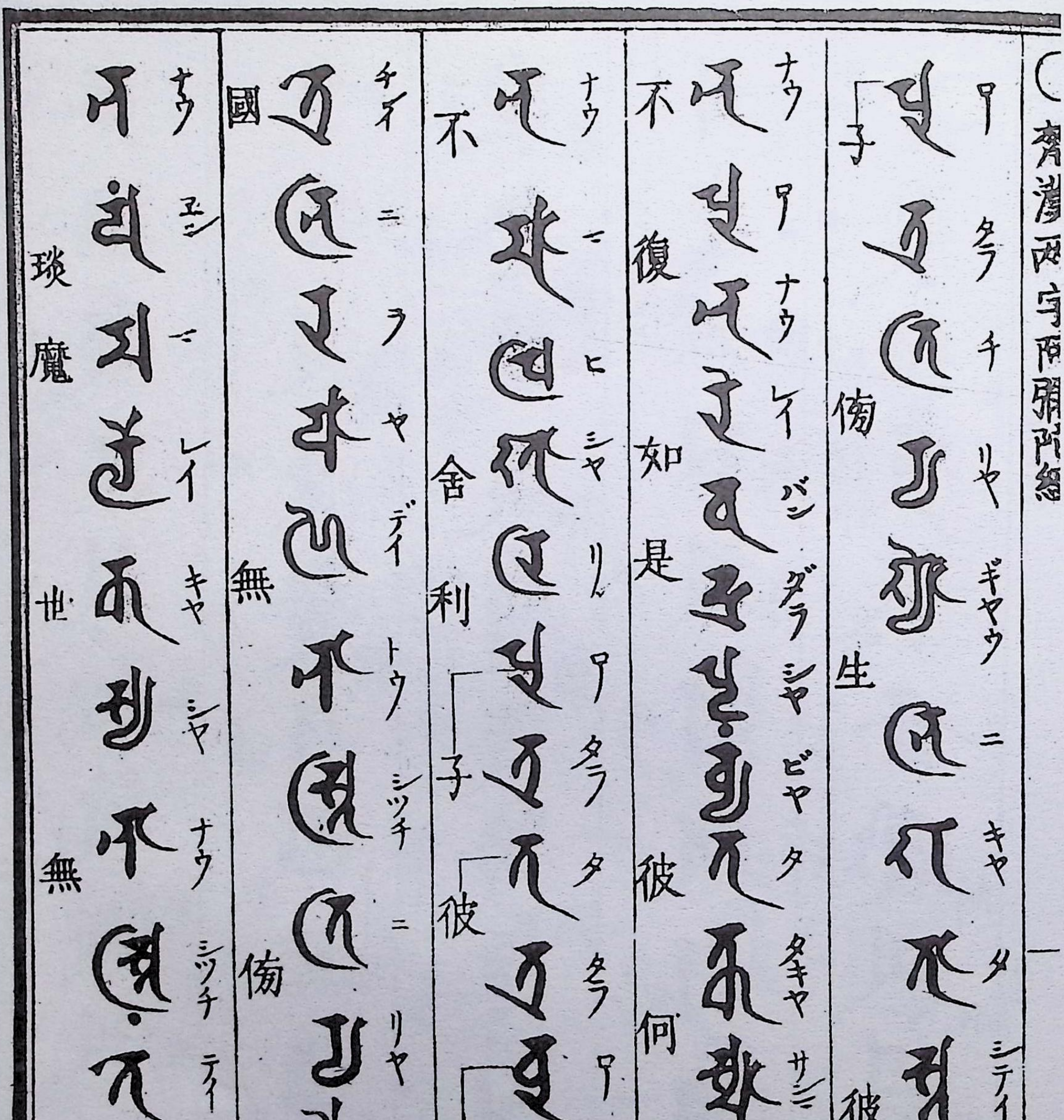
次 舍利子 佛 國

ナレイ サン チ カウ サ キラン シヤ ニ ユ ラア シリシヤ

鵠 孔雀

王二 一二八

Funding by IKS-MoE



（齊漢兩字阿彌陀經　一丁ノ裏

ア タラ チ リヤ ギヤウ ニ キヤ タ シテイ サ トバ

子 傷 生 彼 衆生

ナウ ア ナウ レイ バン ダラ シヤ ビヤ タ タキヤ サン デイ トウ

不 復 如 是 彼 何 因

ナウ ニ ヒ シヤ リン ア タラ タ タラ ア タ キセイ

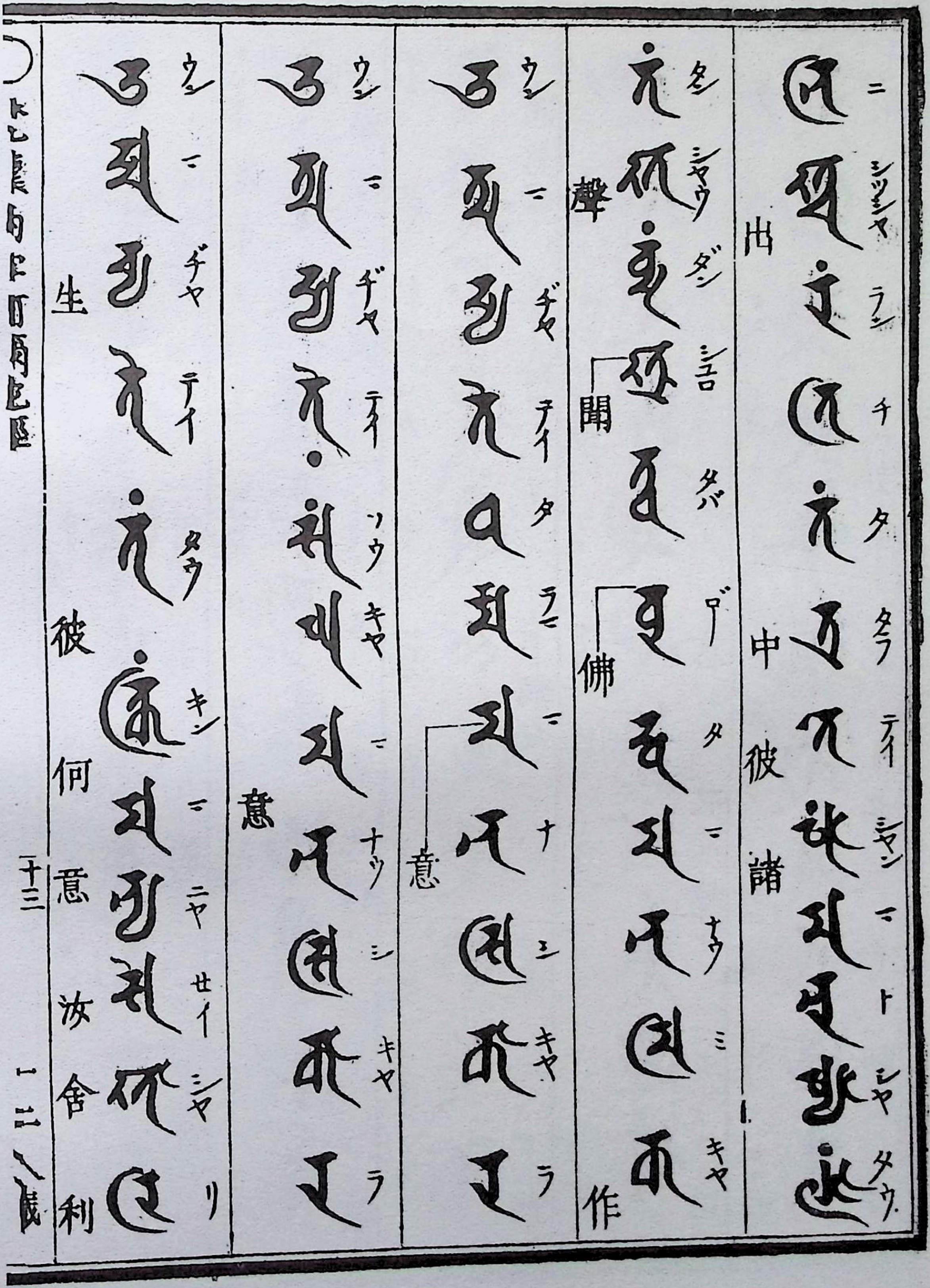
不 舍 利 子 彼 佛

チイ ニ ヲ ヤ デイ トウ シツチ ニ リヤ キヤウ ニ

國 無 傷 生

ナウ ヱン ニ レイ キヤ シヤ ナウ シツチ テイ ア ナウ

琰魔 世 無



ニ シッシャ ラン チ タ タラ テイ シャン ニ ト シャ タウ

出 中 彼 諸

タン シャウ ダン シュロ タバ ダ タ ニ ナウ ミ キヤ

聲 聞 佛 作

ウン ニ ヂヤ テイ タ ラ ニ ナ ニ キヤ ラ

意

ウン ニ ヂヤ テイ ソウ キヤ ニ ナツ シ キヤ ラ

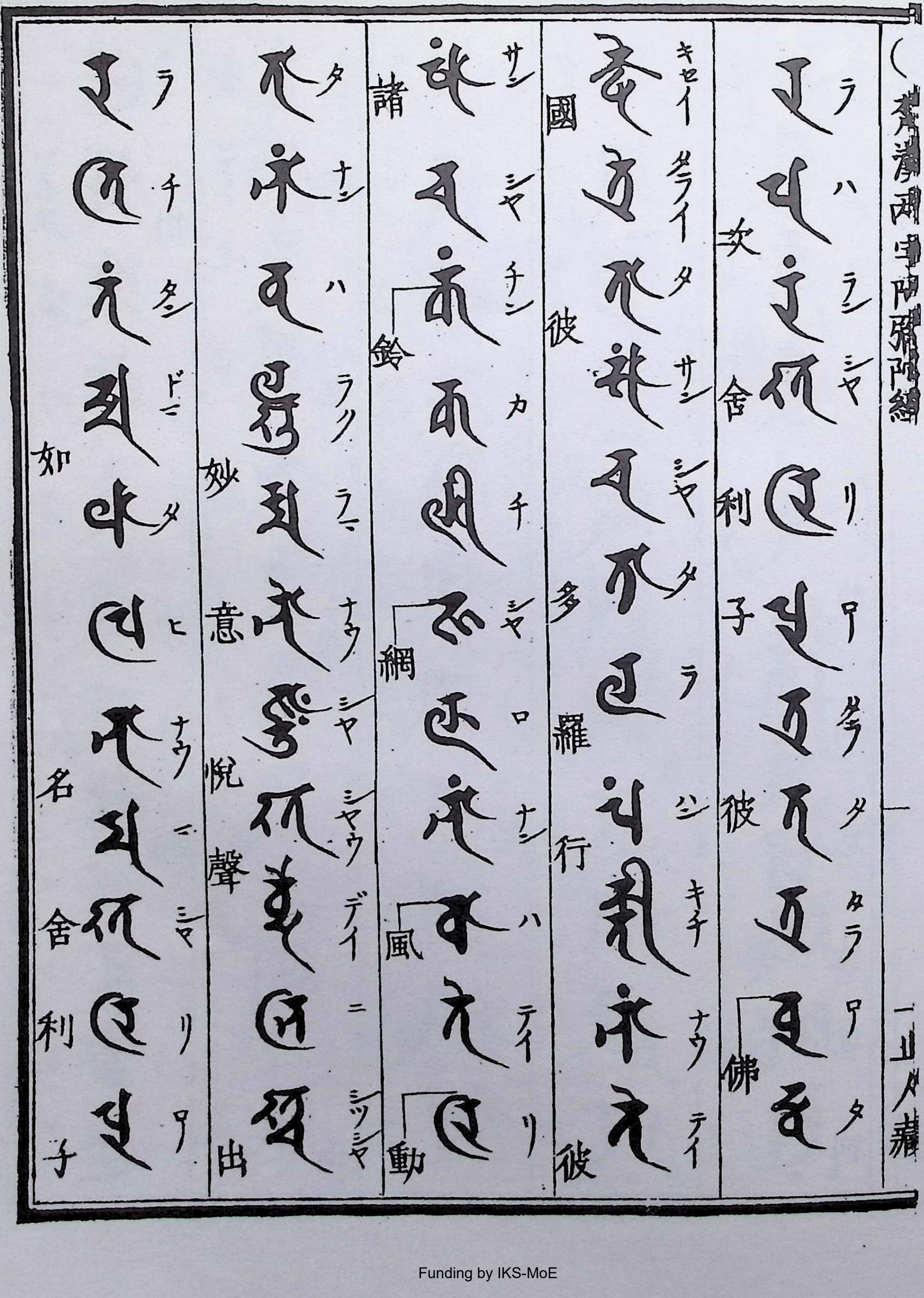
意

ウン ニ チヤ テイ タウ キン ニ ニヤ セイ シヤ リ

生 彼 何 意 汝 舍 利

十三

一二八



（梵漢兩字阿彌陀經

ラ ハ ラン シヤ リ ア ダラ タ タラ ア タ

次 舍 利 子 彼 佛

キセイ ダライ タ サン シヤ タ ラ ハン キチ ナウ テイ

國 彼 多 羅 行 彼

サン シヤ チン カ チ シヤ ロ ナン ハ テイ リ

諸 鈴 網 風 動

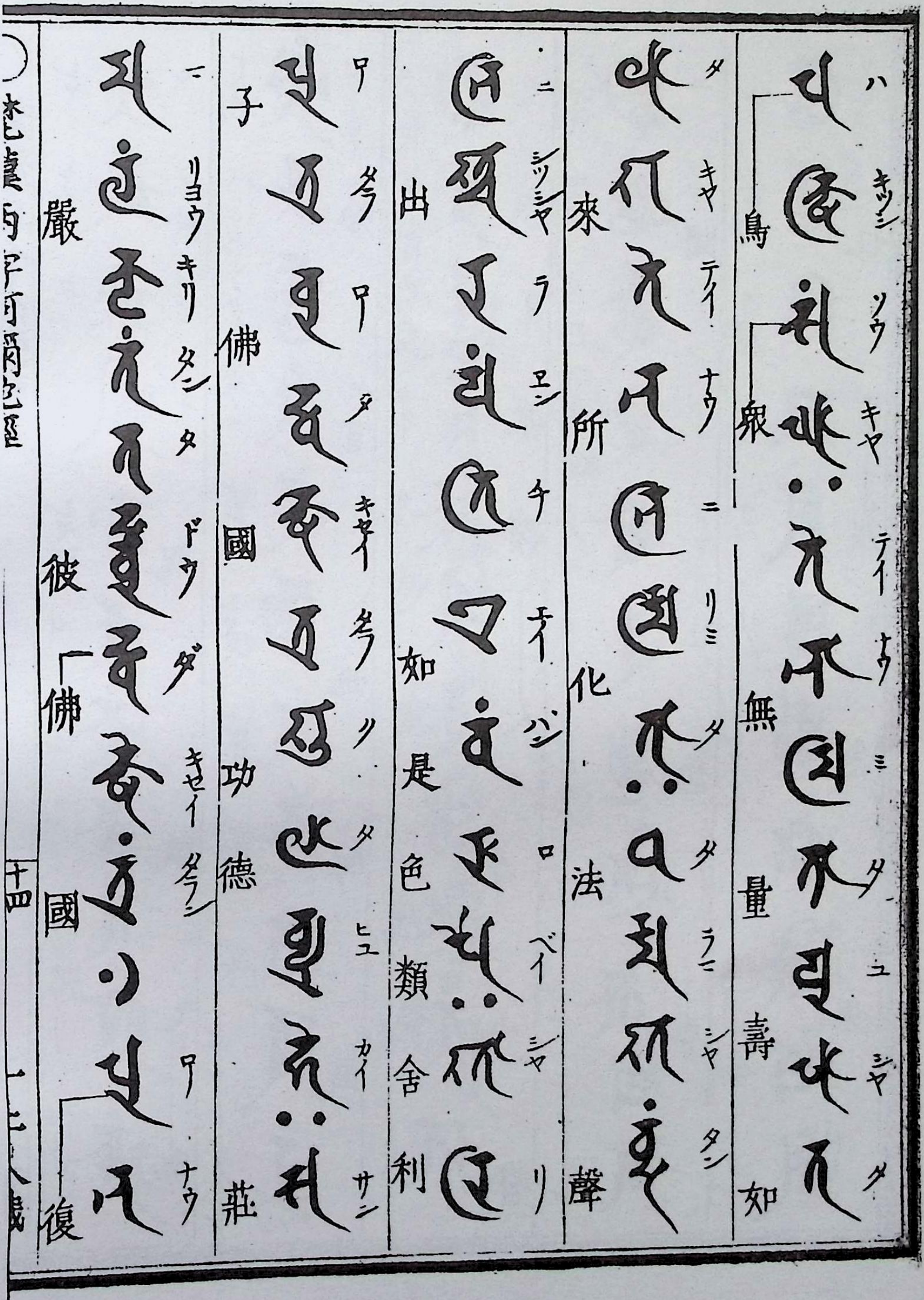
タ ナン ハ ラク ラニ ナウ シヤ シヤウ デイ ニ シツシヤ

妙 意 悅 聲 出

ラ チ ダン ドニ タ ヒ ナウ ニ シヤ リ ア

如 名 舍 利 子

一 [illegible]



ハ キツシ ソウ キヤ テイ ナウ ミ タ ユ シヤ タ
鳥 衆 無 量 壽 如

タ キヤ テイ ナウ ニ リミ タ タ ラニ シヤ タン
來 所 化 法 聲

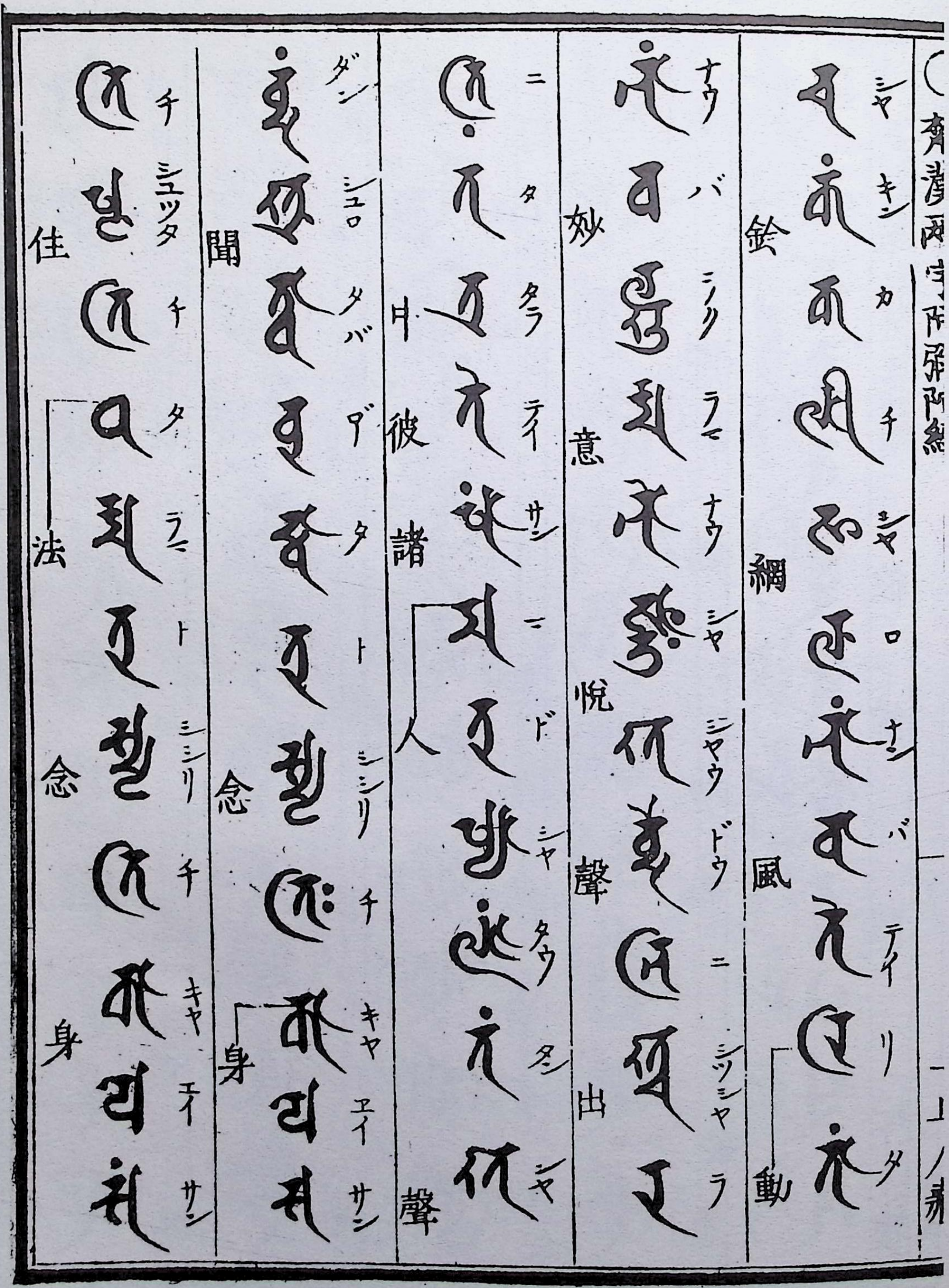
ニ シツシヤ ラ ヱン チ ナイ ハン ロ ベイ シヤ リ
出 如 是 色 類 舍 利

ワ タ ワ タ キヤイ タ ク タ ヒユ カイ サン
子 佛 國 功 德 莊

ニ リヨウキリ タン タ ドウ ダ キセイ タン ワ ナウ
嚴 彼 佛 國 復

梵漢両字阿彌陀經 十四

Funding by IKS-MoE



シヤ キン カ チ ニヤ ロ ナ バ テイ リ タ
鈴 網 風 動

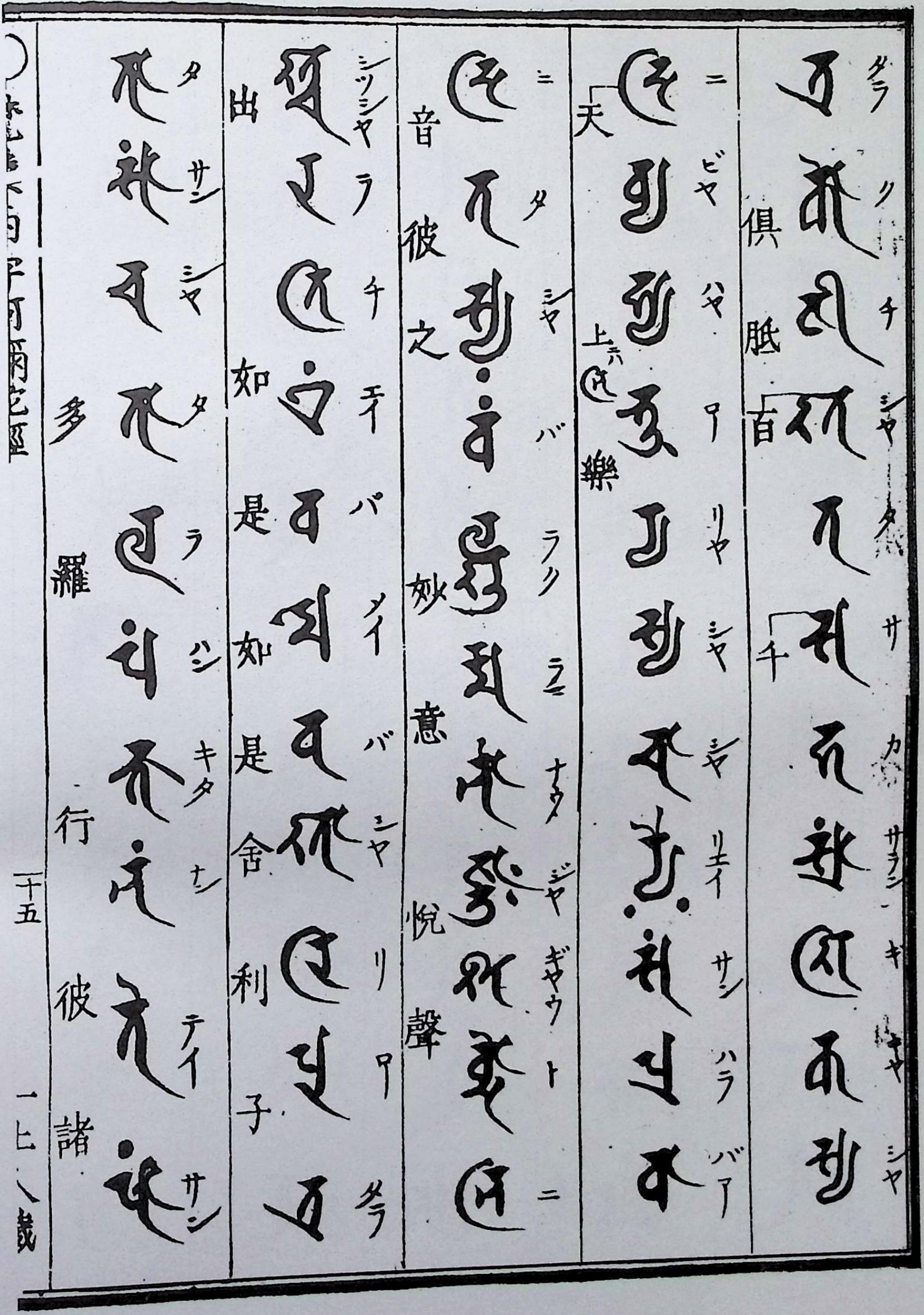
ナウ バ ニク ラマ ナウ シヤ シヤウ ドウ ニ シツシヤ ラ
妙 意 悦 聲 出

ニ タ タラ テイ サン ニ ド シヤ タウ タン シヤ
日 彼 諸 人 聲

ダン シユロ タバ ダ タ ト シシリ チ キヤ エイ サン
聞 念 身

チ シエツタ チ タ ラマ ト シシリ チ キヤ エイ サン
住 法 念 身

Funding by IKS-MoE



ダラ ク チ シャ タ サ カ サラン キ キャ シャ

倶 胝 百 千

ニ ビヤ ハヤ タ リヤ シャ シャ リヰイ サン ハラ バア

天 上六 樂

ニ タ シャ バ ラク ラ ナウ ジャ ギャウ ト ニ

音 彼 之 妙 意 悦 聲

シツシャラ ラ チ テイ バ メイ バ ミャ リ タ タ

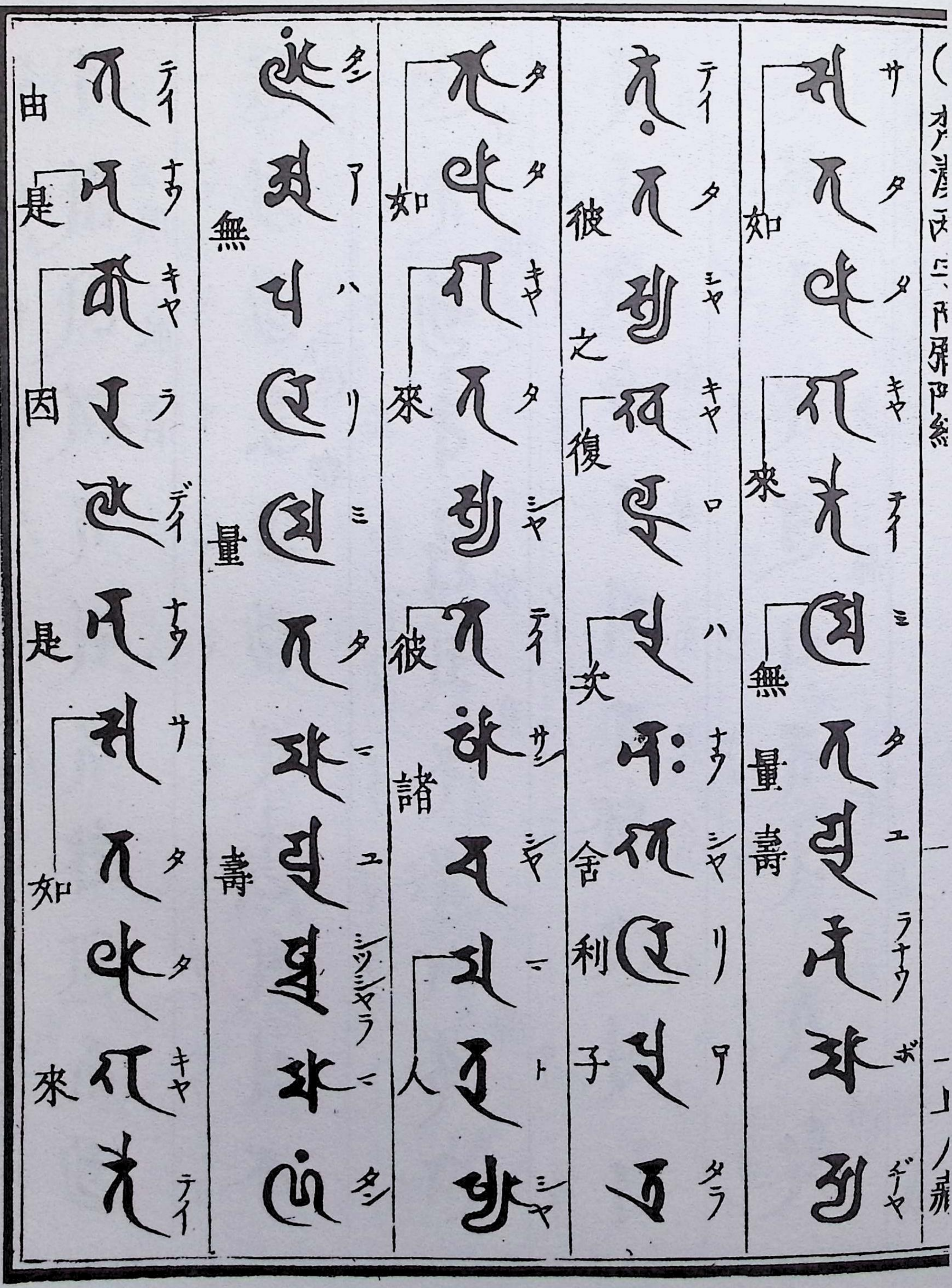
出 如 是 如 是 舍 利 子

タ サン シャ タ ラ ハシ キタ ナ テイ サン

多 羅 行 彼 諸

十五

一七八歳



サ タ タ キャ テイ ミ タ ユ ラナウ ボ ギャ

如 來 無 量 壽

テイ タ ミャ キャ ロ ハ ナウ シャ リ ヲ タラ

彼 之 復 文 舍 利 子

タ タ キャ タ シャ テイ サン シャ ニ ト シャ

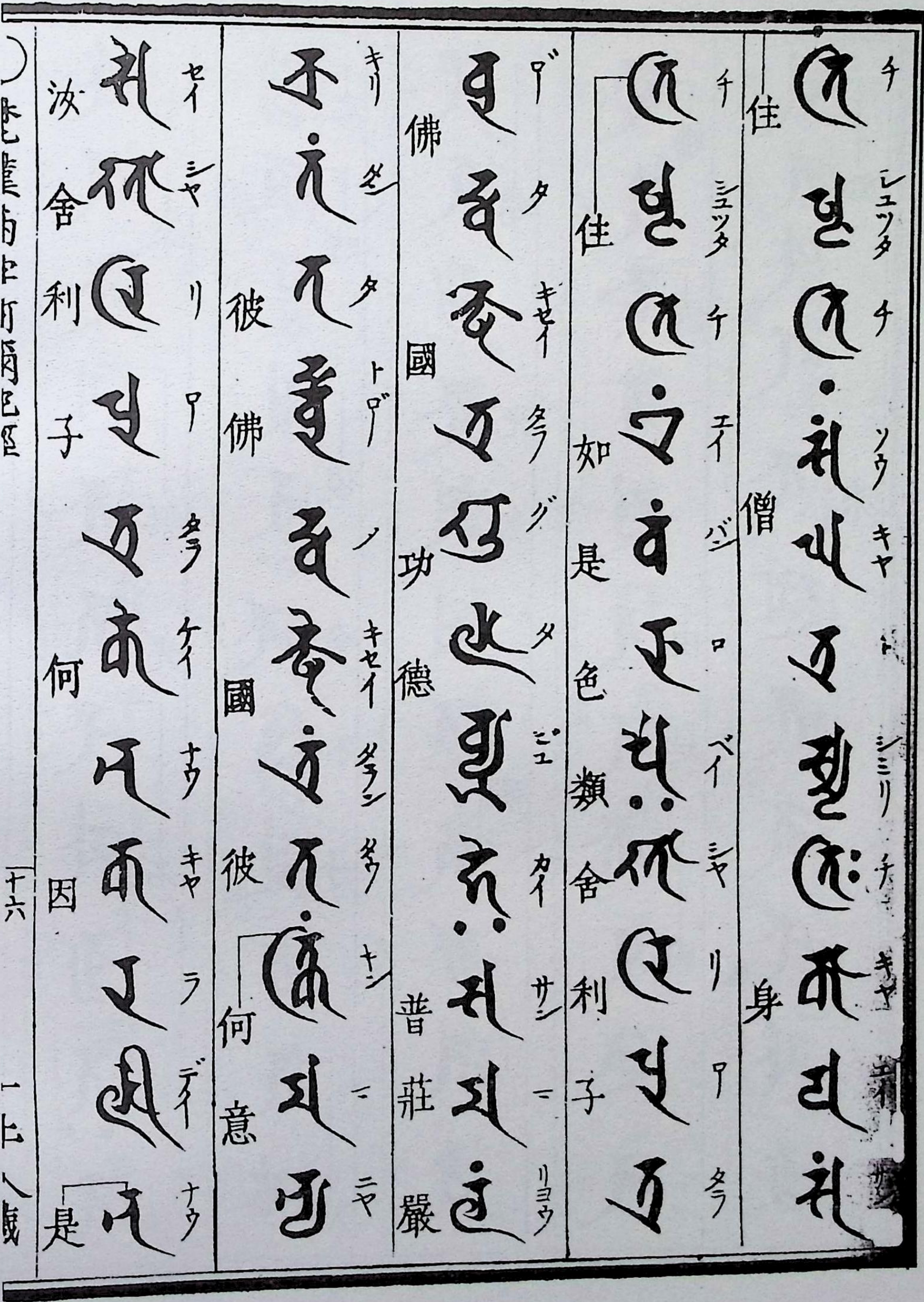
如 來 彼 諸 人

タン ア ハ リ ミ タ ニ ユ シツシャラ ニ タン

無 量 壽

テイ ナウ キャ ラ デイ ナウ サ タ タ キャ テイ

由 是 因 是 如 來



チ シユツタ チ ソウ キヤ ト シミリ チ キヤ エイ サン

住 僧 身

チ シユツタ チ エイ バン ロ ベイ シヤ リ ア タラ

住 如 是 色 類 舍 利 子

ダ タ キセイ タラ グ タ ビユ カイ サン ニ リヨウ

佛 國 功 德 普 莊 嚴

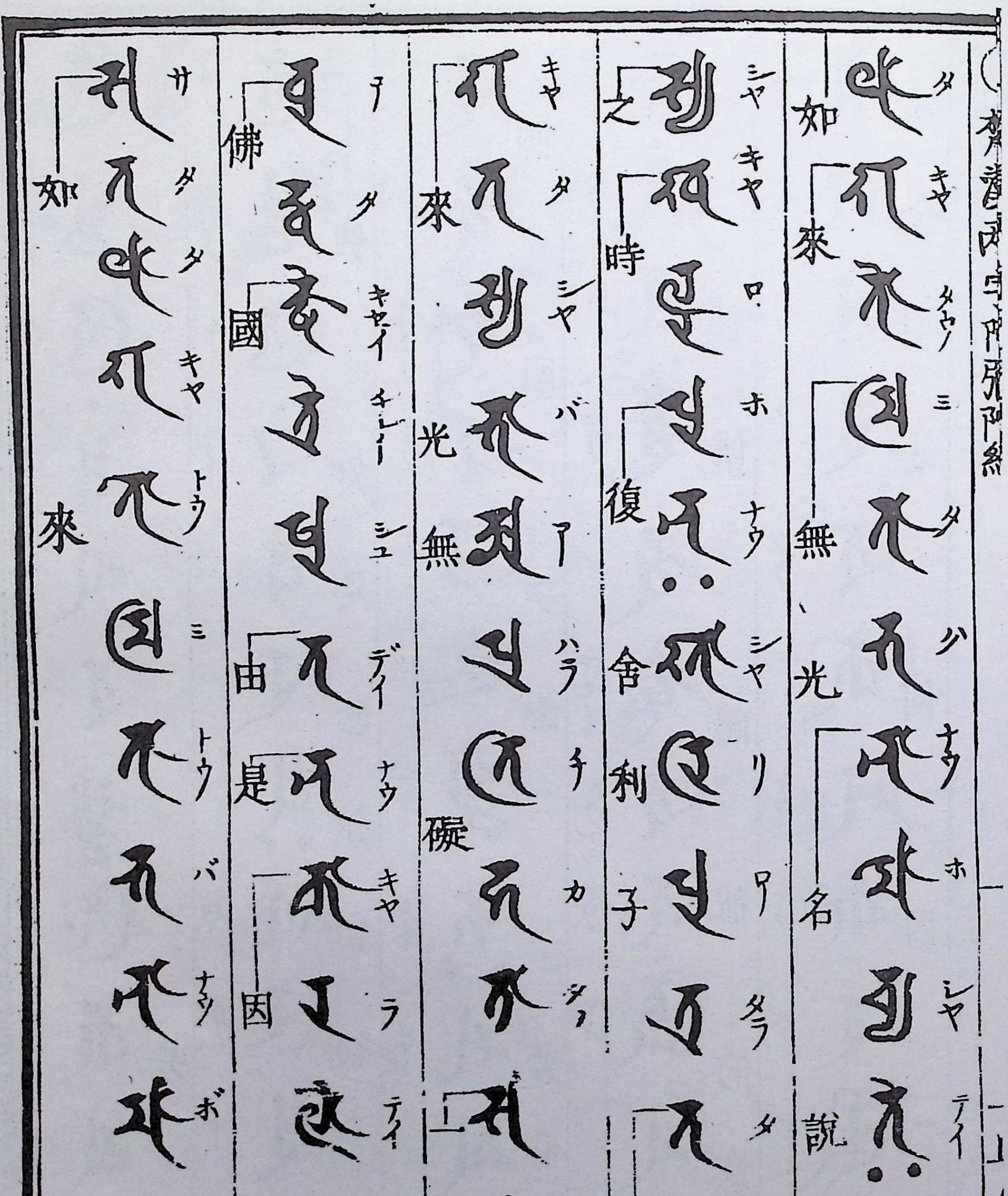
キリ ダン タ トダ ノ キセイ タラン タラ キン ニ ニヤ

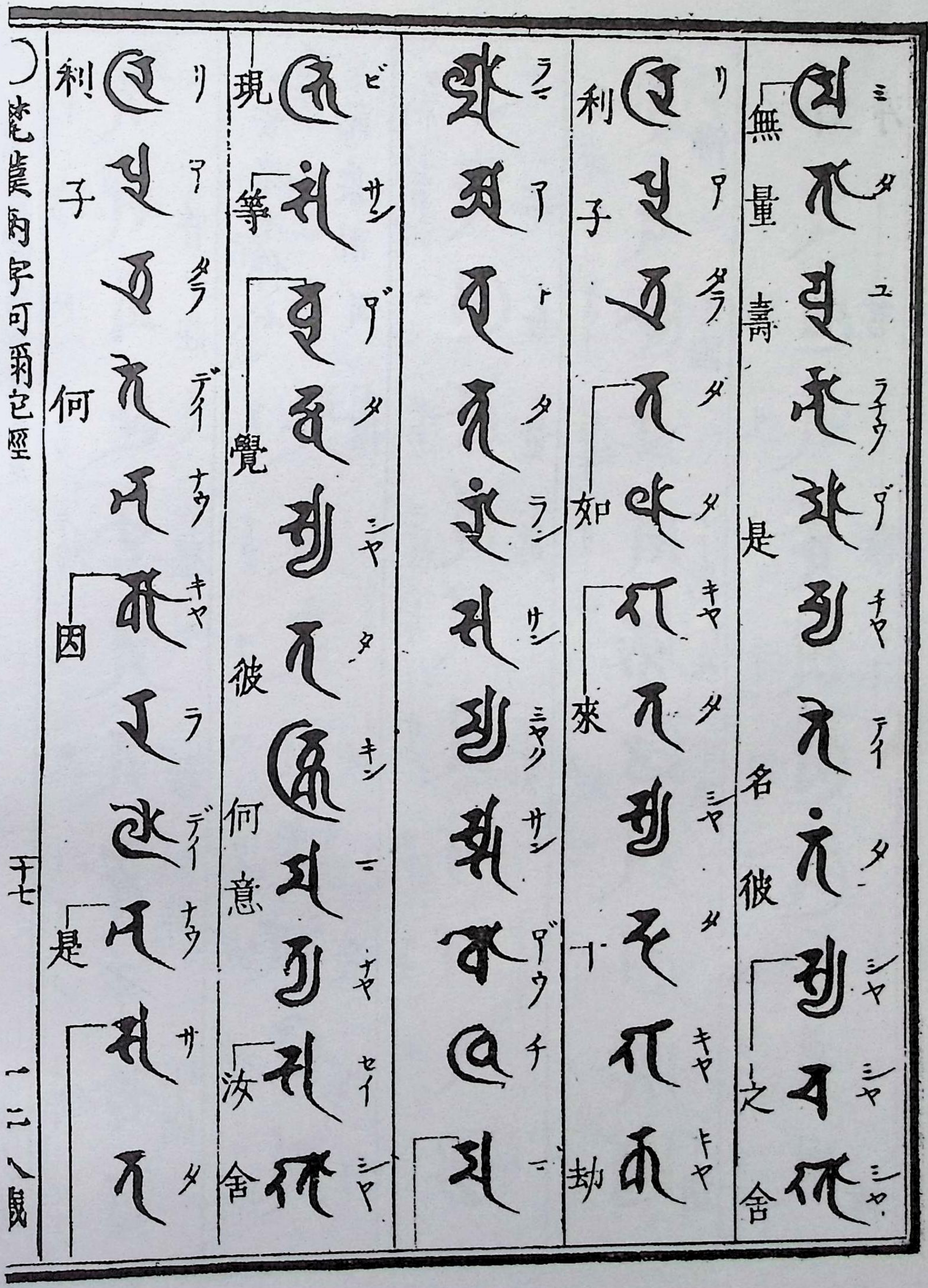
彼 佛 國 彼 何 意

セイ シヤ リ ア タラ ケイ ナウ キヤ ラ デイ ナウ

汝 舍 利 子 何 因 是

十六





ミ タ ユ ラチウ ダ チヤ テイ タ シヤ シヤ シヤ
無量壽 是 名彼之舍

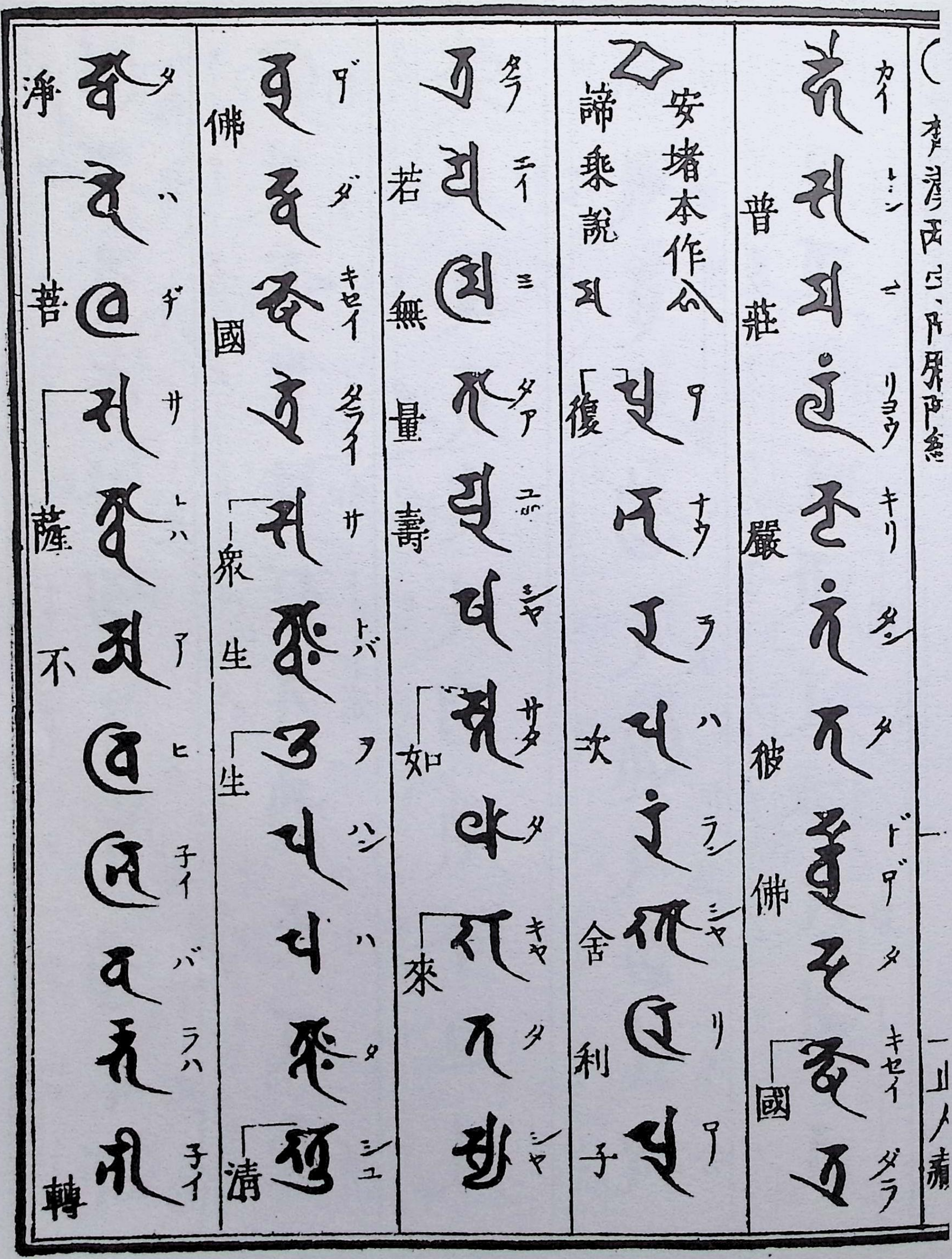
リ ア タラ タ タ キヤ タ シヤ タ キヤ トヤ
利子 如來 十劫

ラマ ア ト タ ラン サン ミヤウ サン ダウ チ ニ

ビ サン ダ タ シヤ タ キン ニ ナヤ セイ シヤ
現 等覺 彼 何意 汝舍

リ ア タラ デイ ナウ キヤ ラ デイ ナウ サ タ
利子 何 因 是

梵漢兩字阿彌陀經　十七　一二八頁



カイ トン ナ リヨウ キリ タシ タ ドダア タ キセイ ダラ

普莊 嚴 彼 佛 國

安堵本作公

諦乗説 復 次 舎 利 子

ア ナウ ラ ハ ラン シヤ リ ア

タラ ニイ ミ タア ユニ シヤ サタ タ キヤ タ シヤ

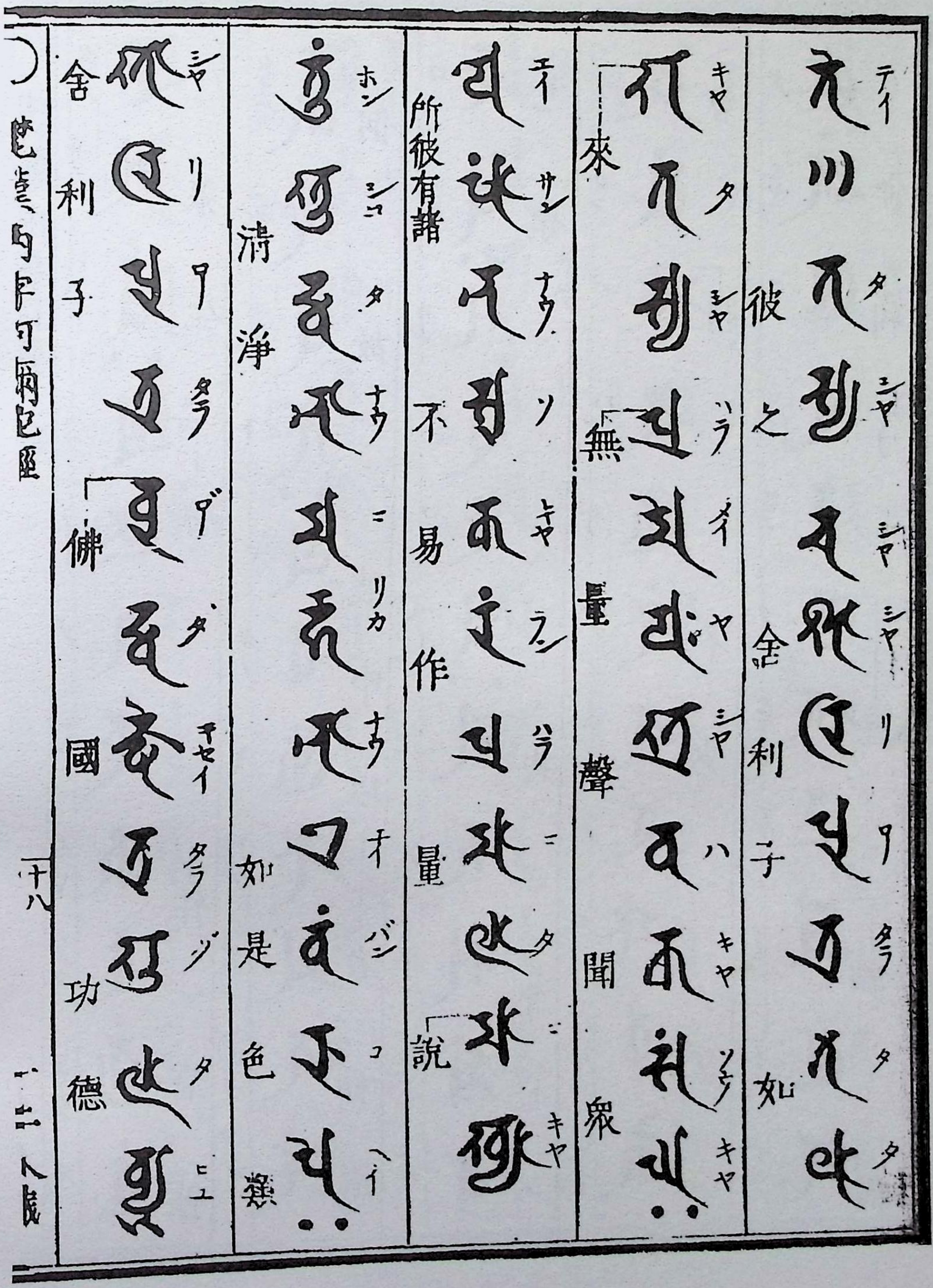
若 無 量 壽 如 來

ヅ ダ キセイ タライ サ トバ ヲ ハン ハ タ シユ

佛 國 衆 生 生 清

タ ハ ヂ サ トハ ア ヒ チイ バ ラハ チイ

淨 菩 薩 不 轉



テイ タ ニヤ シヤ シヤ リ タ タラ タ タ

彼之舍利子如

キヤ タ ミヤ ハラ メイ ヤ シヤ ハ キヤ ソン キヤ

來無量聲聞衆

チイ サン ナウ ソ ニヤ ラン ハラ ニ タ ニ キヤ

所彼有諸不易作量說

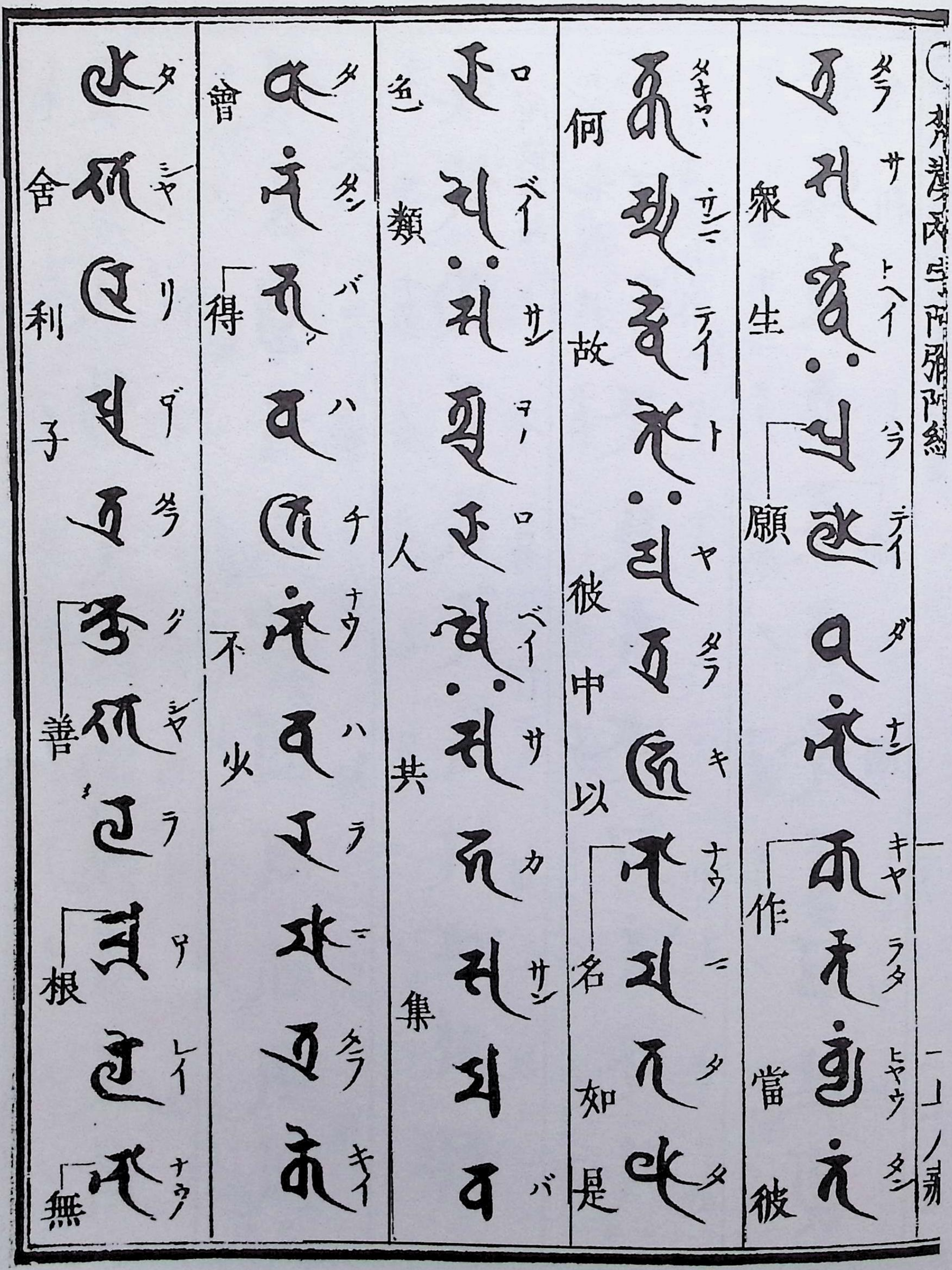
ホン ミコ タ ナウ ニ リカ ナウ オ バン コ ヘイ

清淨如是色樂

シヤ リ ア タラ ダ タ チセイ タラ ジ タ ヒユ

舍利子佛國功德

十八



梵漢兩字阿彌陀經　一上ノ表

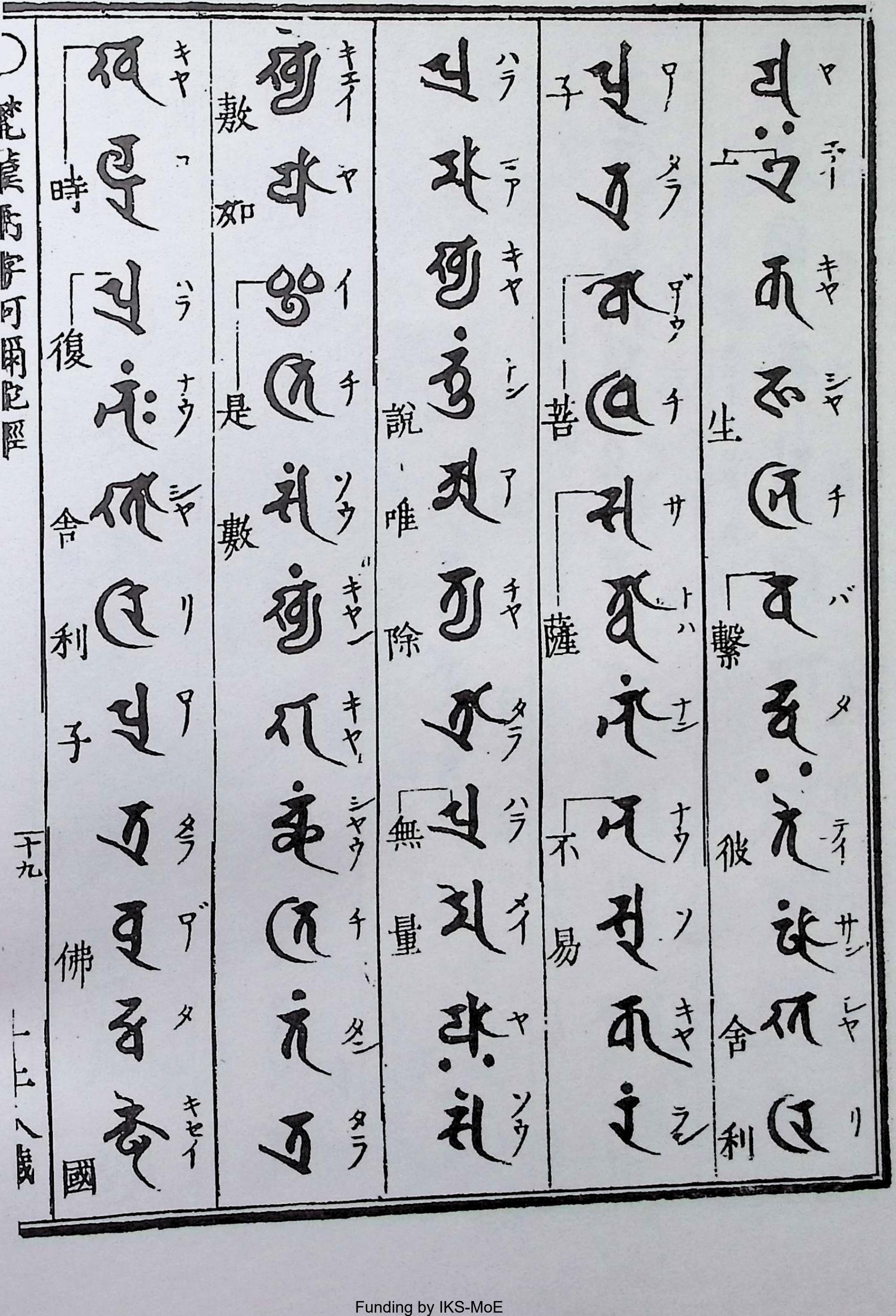
タラ　サ　トヘイ　ダラ　テイ　ダ　ナシ　キヤ　ラタ　ヒヤウ　タシ
衆生　願　作　當　彼

タキヤ　ナニ　テイ　ト　ヤ　タラ　キ　ナウ　ニ　タ　タ
何故　彼中以　名如是

ロ　ベイ　サン　ヨノ　ロ　ベイ　サ　カ　サン　バ
色類　人　共集

タ　タシ　バ　ハ　チ　ナウ　ハ　ラ　ニ　タラ　キイ
曾　得　不少

タ　シヤ　リ　ダ　タラ　ク　シヤ　ラ　ヤ　レイ　ナウ
舎利子　善　根　無



ヤ テー キャ シャ チ バ タ テイ サン レヤ リ
上 生 繫 彼 舍利

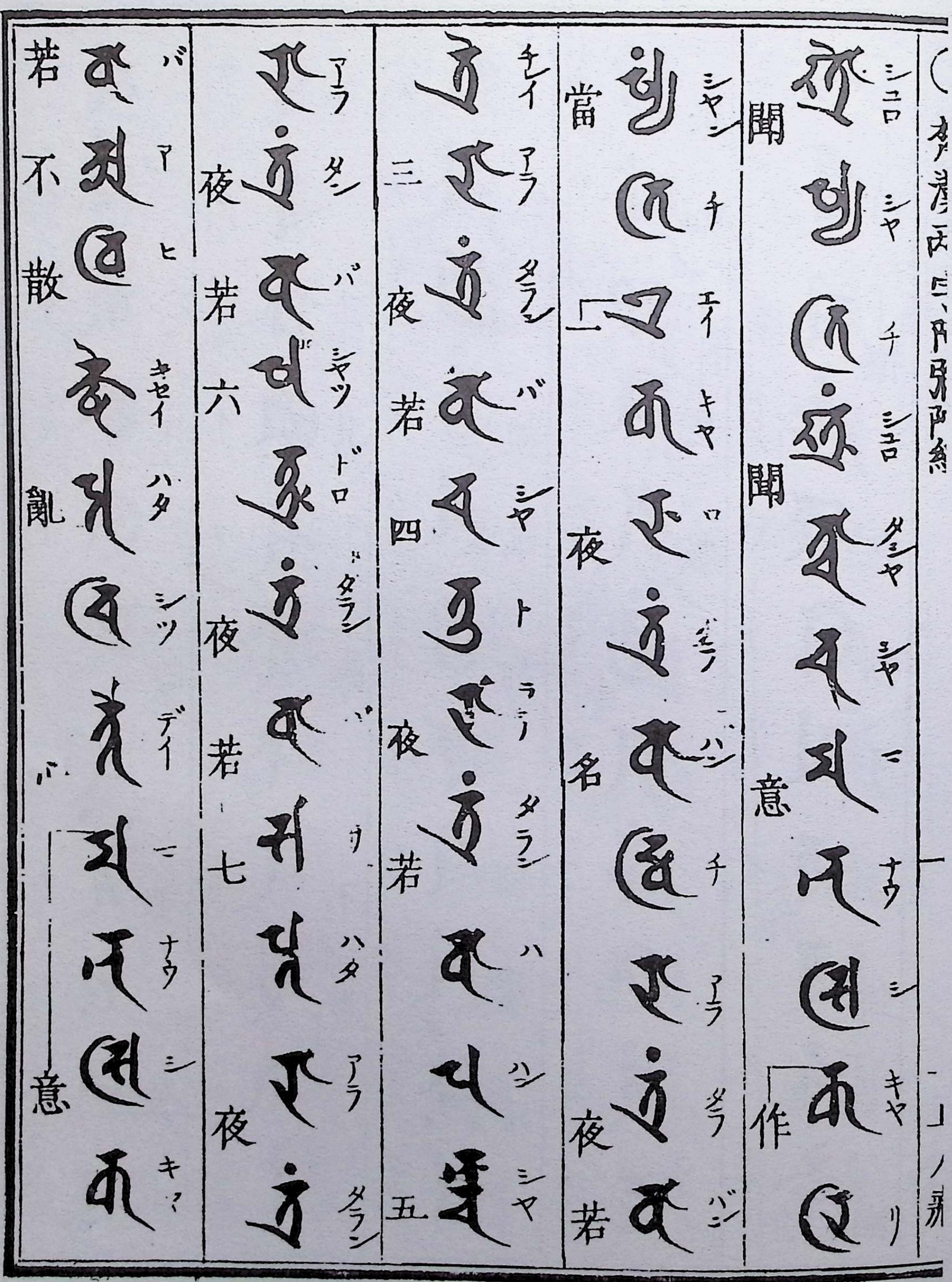
ロ タラ ダウ チ サ トハ ナン ナウ ソ キャ ラン
子 菩 薩 不 易

ハラ ニア キャ トン ア チャ タラ ハラ メイ ヤ ソウ
說 唯 除 無 量

キテイ ヤ イ チ ソウ ギャン キャ シャウ チ タ タラ
數 如 是 數

キャ コ ハラ ナウ シャ リ ロ タ ダ タ キセイ
時 復 舍 利 子 佛 國

梵漢両字阿彌陀經 十九 上 入 賤



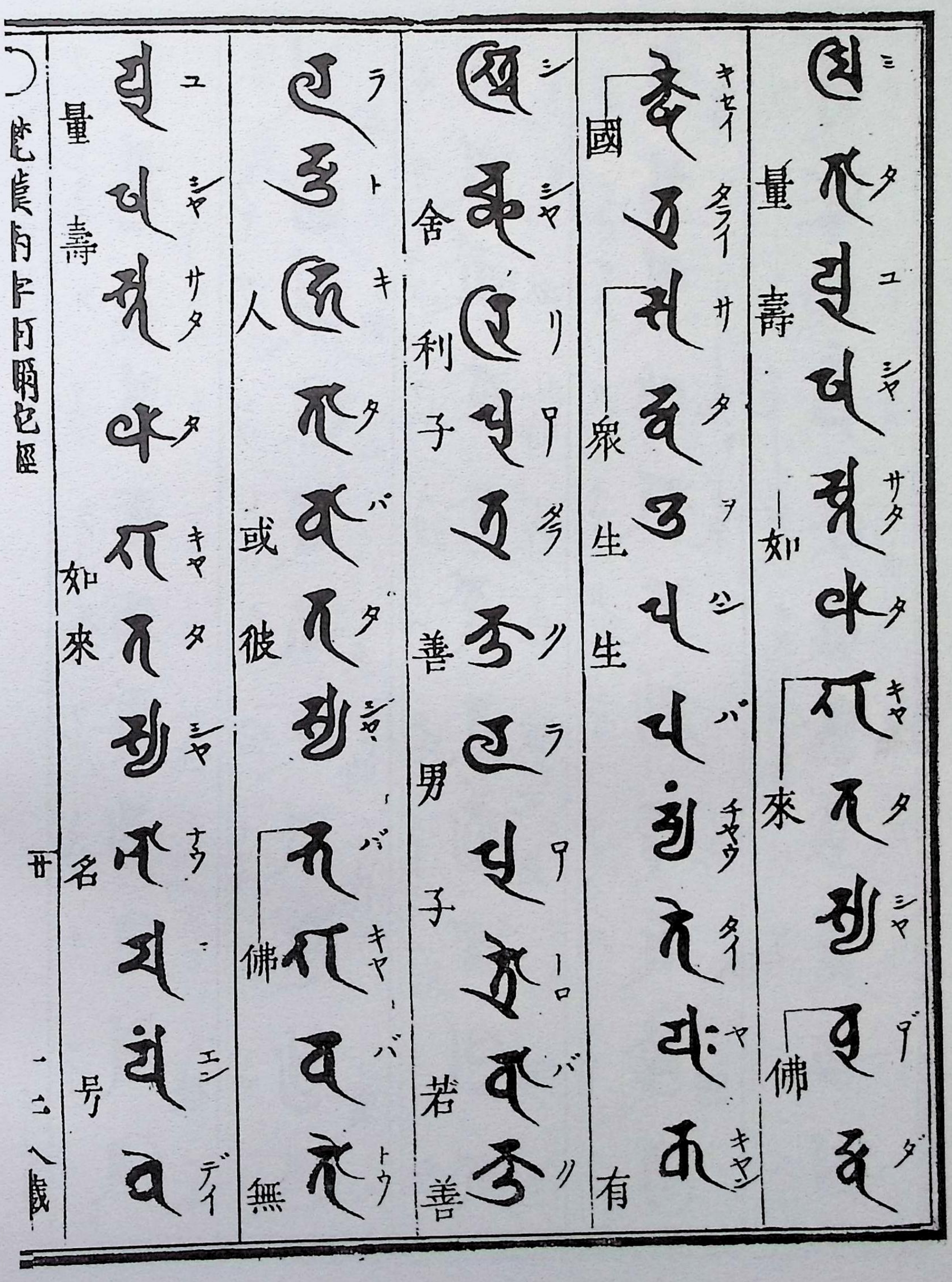
シュロ シヤ チ シュロ タニヤ シヤ ニ ナウ シ キヤ リ
聞 聞 意 作

シヤン チ エイ キヤ ロ ハラ ハン チ アラ タラ バン
當 夜 名 夜 若

チイ アラ タラ バ シヤ ト ラノ タラシ ハ ハン シヤ
三 夜 若 四 夜 若 五

アラ タン バ シヤツ ドロ ドタラン サ ハタ アラ タラン
夜 若 六 夜 若 七 夜

バ ア ヒ キセイ ハタ シツ デイー ニ ナウ シ キマ
若 不 散 亂 心 意



ミタユシヤサタタキヤタシヤア゙ダ

量壽如來佛

キセイタライサタヲムバチヤウタイヤキヤン

國衆生生有

シシヤリア゙多クラア゙ーロバク

舍利子善男子若善

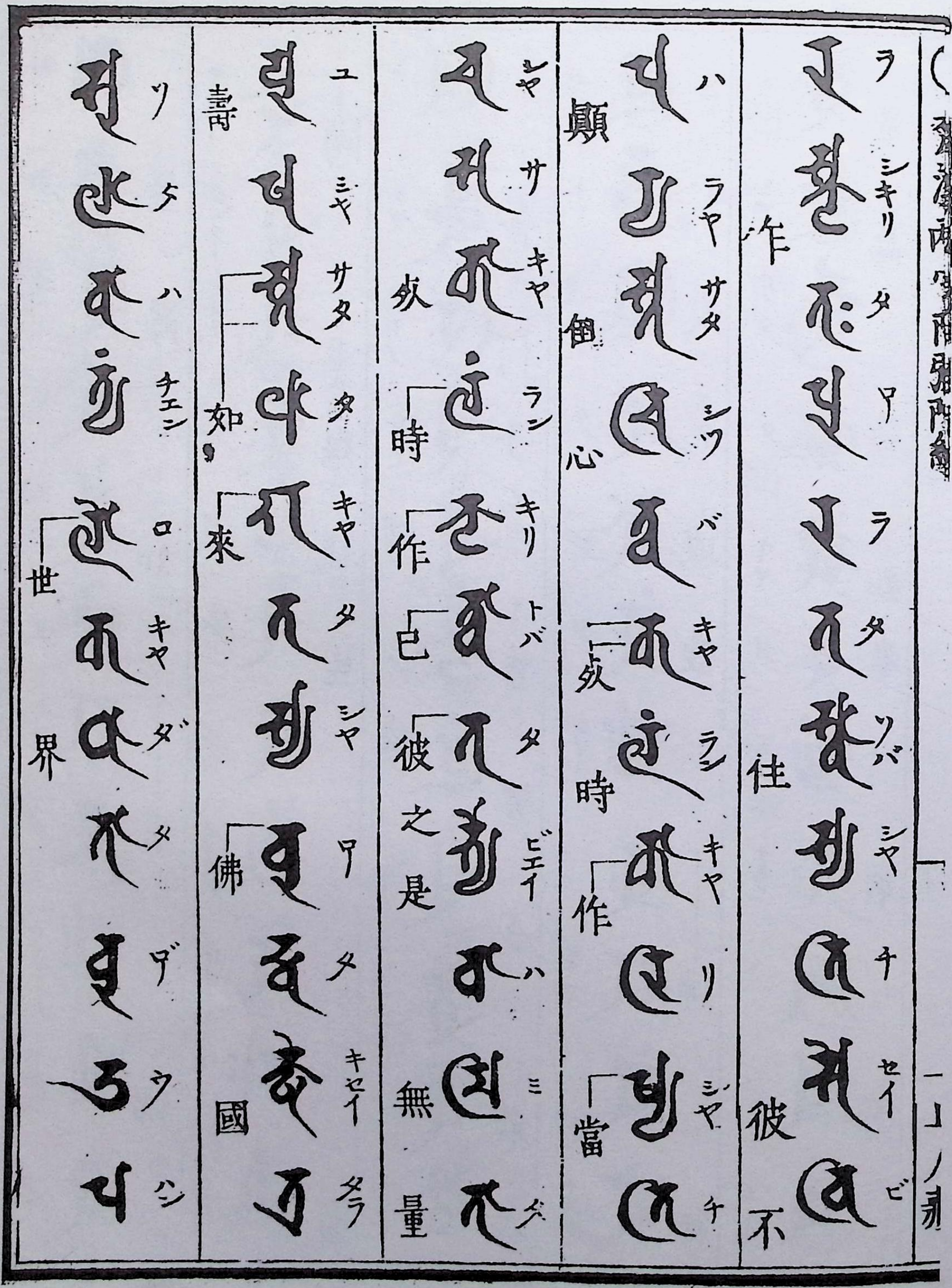
ラトキタバダジヤバキヤバトウ

人或彼佛無

ユシヤサタタキヤタシヤナウエンディ

量壽如來名号

梵漢両字阿彌陀經　廿　一二八蔵



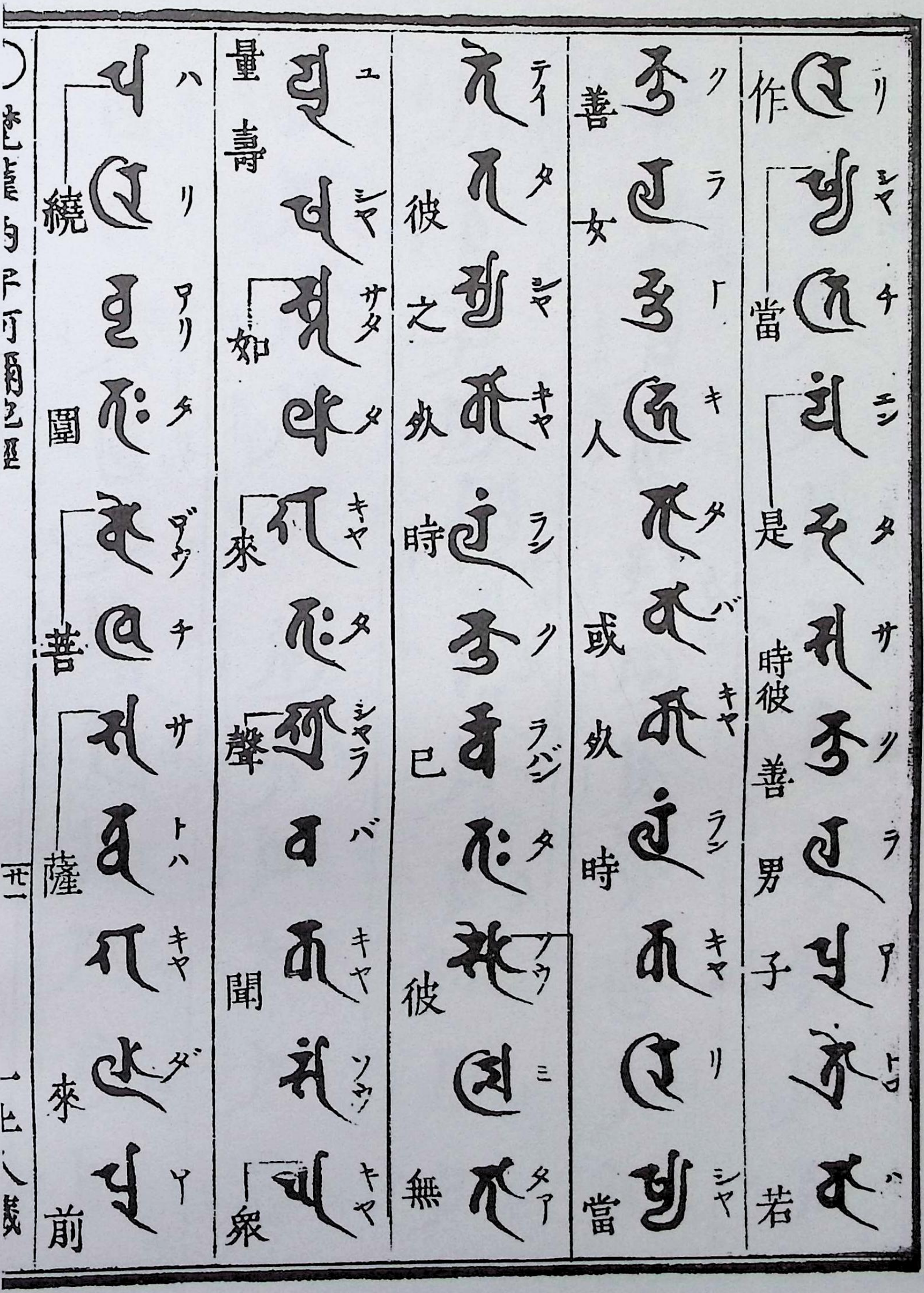
ラ シキリ タ ア ラ タ ツバ シヤ チ セイ ビ
作 住 彼 不

ハ ラヤ サタ シツ バ キヤ ラン キヤ リ シヤ チ
顛 倒 心 夾 時 作 當

シヤ サ キヤ ラン キリ トバ タ ビエイ ハ ミ ダ
夾 時 作 已 彼 之是 無 量

ユ ミヤ サタ タ キヤ タ シヤ ア タ キセイ タラ
壽 如 來 佛 國

ツ タ ハ チエン ロ キヤ ダ タ ダ ウ ハン
世 界



リ シヤ チ エン タ サ ノ ラ ア トロ ハ

作 當 是 時彼 善 男 子 若

ク ラ ト キ タ バ キヤ ラン キヤ リ シヤ

善 女 人 或 於 時 當

テイ タ シヤ キヤ ラン ク ラバン タ ノウ ミ タア

彼 之 於 時 已 彼 無

ユ シヤ サタ タ キヤ タ シヤラ バ キヤ ソウ キヤ

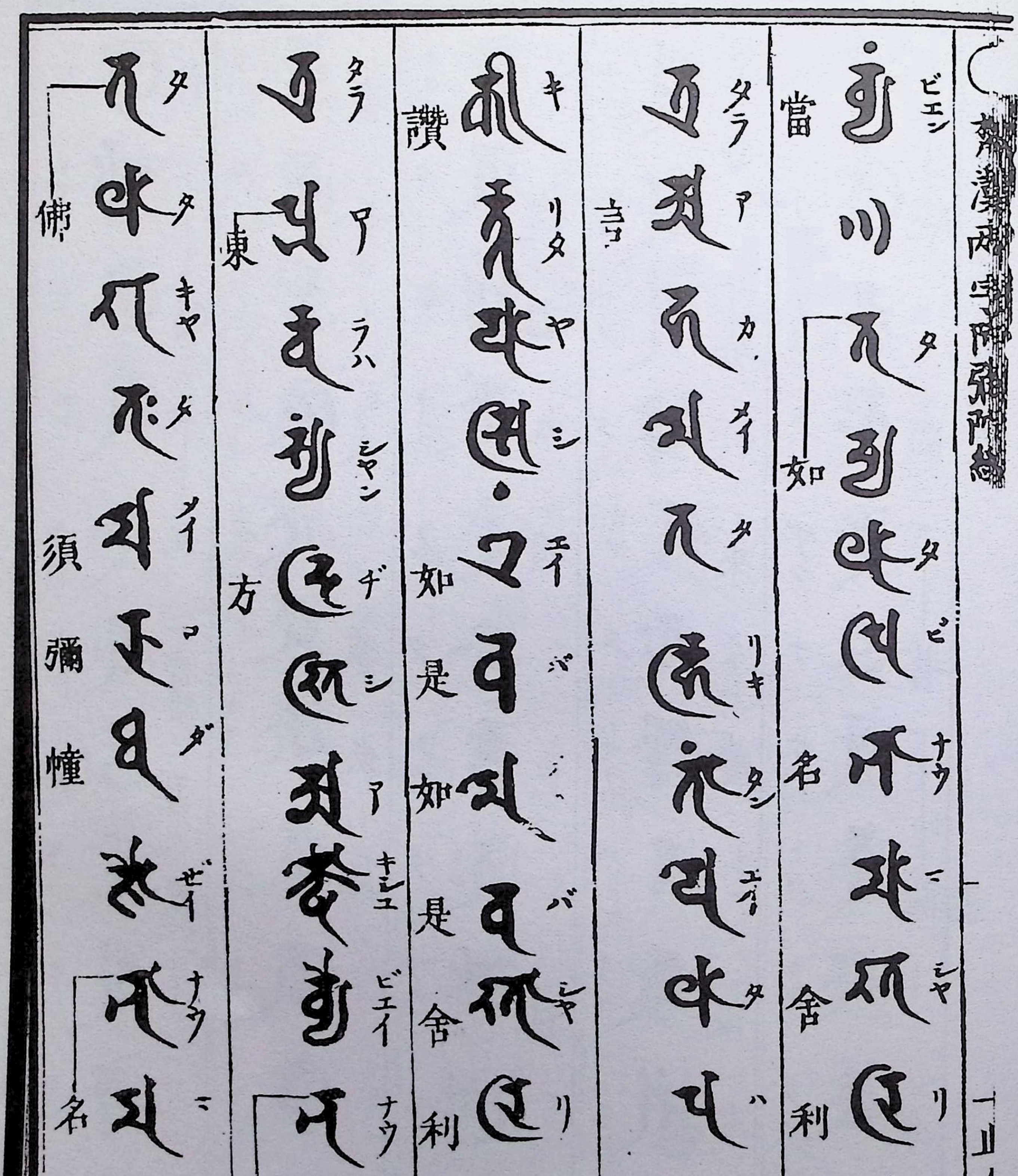
量 壽 如 來 聲 聞 衆

ハ リ アリ タ ブツ チ サ トハ キヤ ダ ヤ

繞 圍 菩 薩 來 前

廿一

一七八



ビエン タ タ ピ ナウ ニ シヤ リ プ

當 如 名 舍 利 子

タラ ア カ メイ タ リキ タン エイ タ ハ リ

言 稱

キ リタ ヤ シ エイ バ バ シヤ リ タ

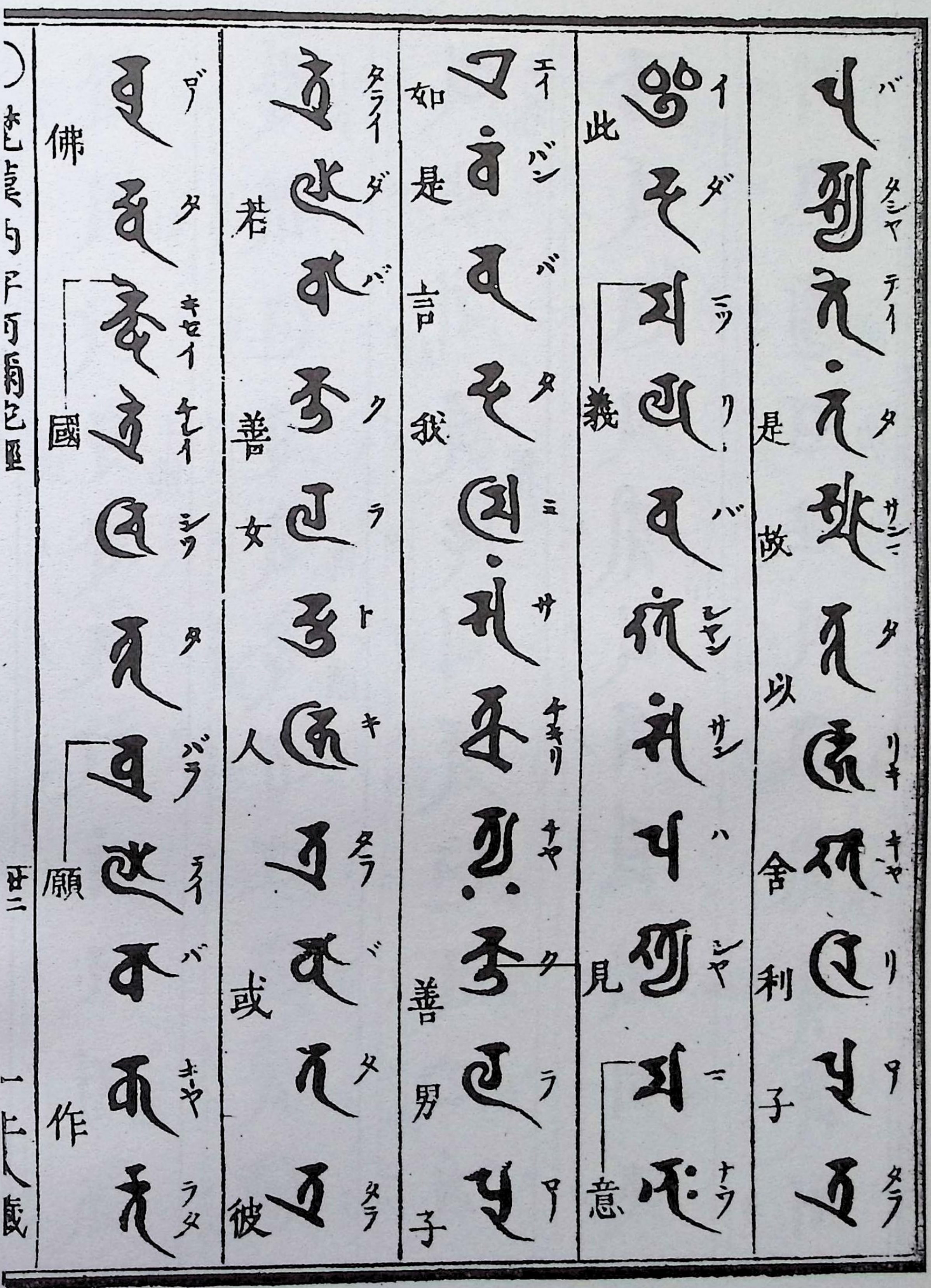
讚 如 是 如 是 舍 利 子

タラ ア ラハ シヤン チ シ ア キレユ ビエイ ナウ ニ

東 方 名

タ タ キヤ タ メイ ロ ダ ゼイ ナウ ニ タ

佛 須 彌 幢 名



バ タシヤ テイ タ サンニ タ リキ キヤ リ タ タラ

是故以舍利子

イ ダ ニツ リ バ ヒヤン サン ハ シヤ ニ ナウ

此義見意

エイ バン バ タ ニ サ ナキリ ナヤ ク ラ ア

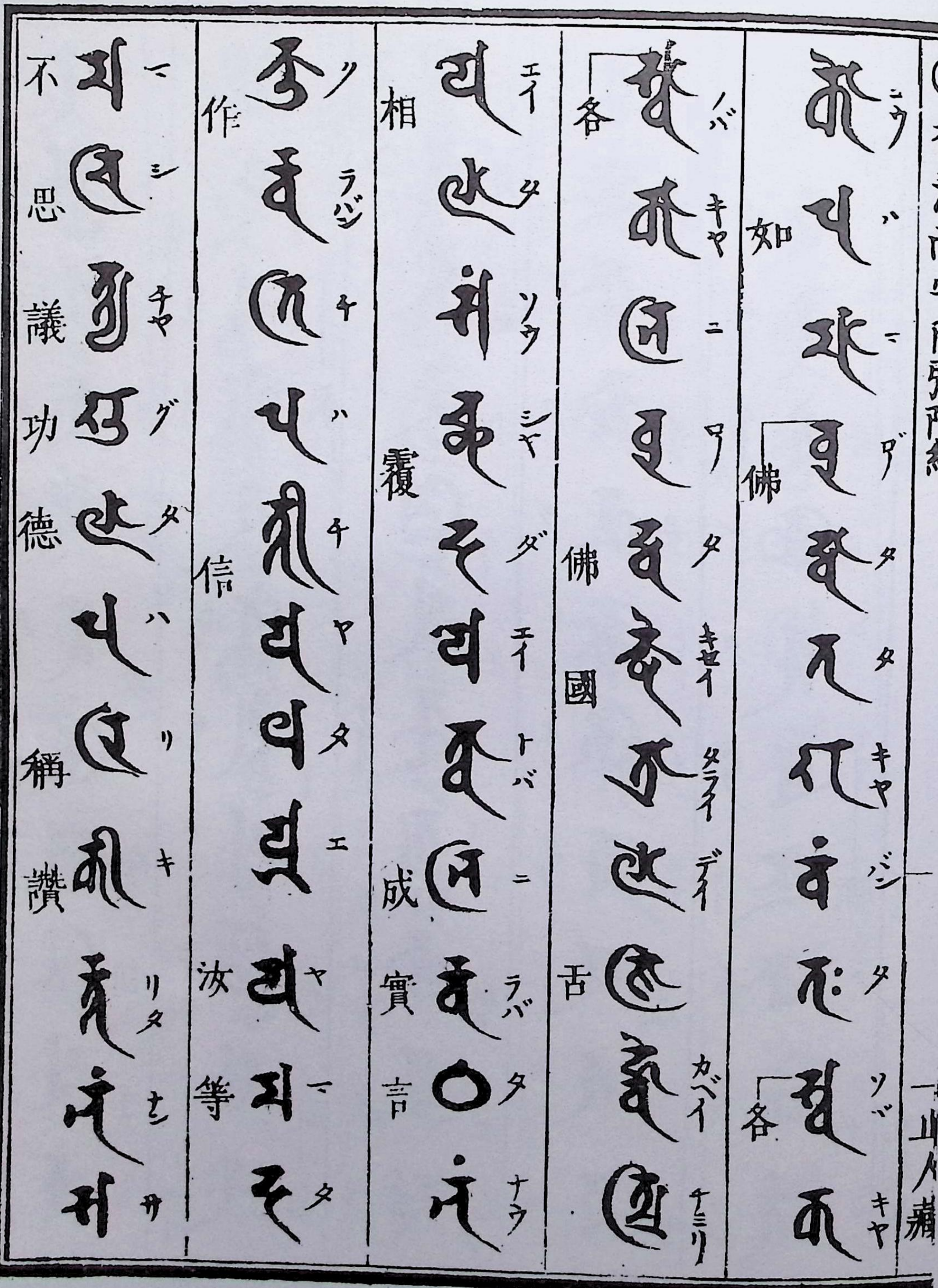
如是言我善男子

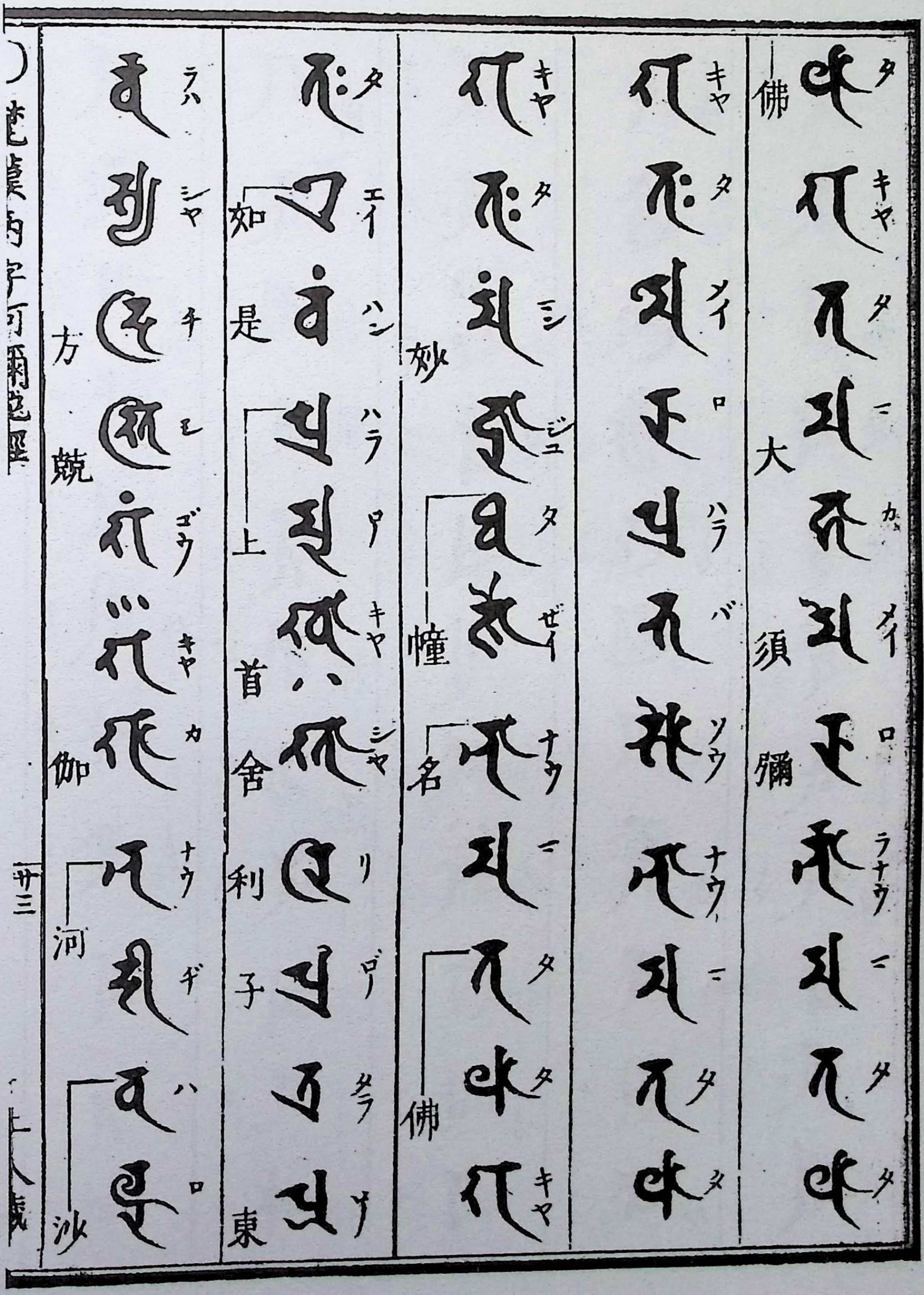
タライ ダ バ ク ラ ト キ タラ ビ タ タラ

若善女人或彼

ロ タ キセイ セイ シウ タ バラ テイ バ キヤ ラタ

佛國願作


ニウ バ ニ ダ タ タ キヤ バシ タ ソバ キヤ
如 佛 各
ノバ キヤ ニ タ タ キセイ タライ デイ カベイ チミリ
各 佛國 舌
エイ タ ソウ シヤ ダ エイ トバ ニ ラバ タ ナウ
相 覆 成 實 言
ソ ラジ チ ハ チ ヤ タ エ ヤ ニ タ
作 信 汝 等
ニ シ チヤ グ タ ハ リ キ リタ ヒ サ
不 思 議 功 德 稱 讚



タ キャ タ ニ カ メイ ロ ラナウ ニ タ タ
佛 大 須 彌

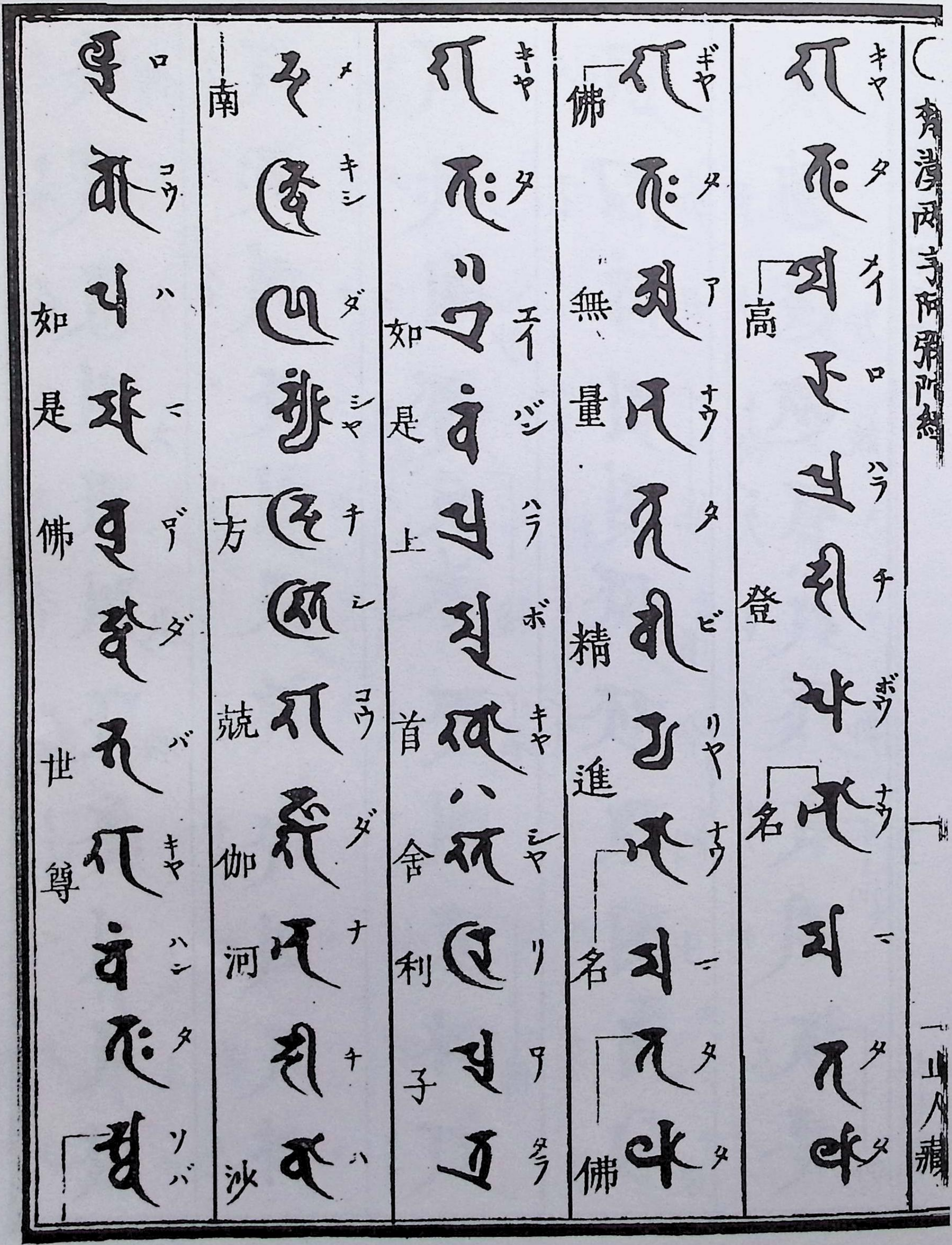
キャ タ メイ ロ ハラ バ ソウ ナウ ニ タ タ

キャ タ シ ジュ タ ゼイ ナウ ニ タ タ キャ
妙 幢 名 佛

タ エイ ハン ハラ ア キャ シャ リ ゴ タラ ナ
如 是 上 首 舍 利 子 東

ラハ シャ チ ミ ゴウ キャ カ ナウ ギ ハ ロ
方 兢 伽 河 沙

廿三



梵漢兩字阿彌陀經　一山人藏

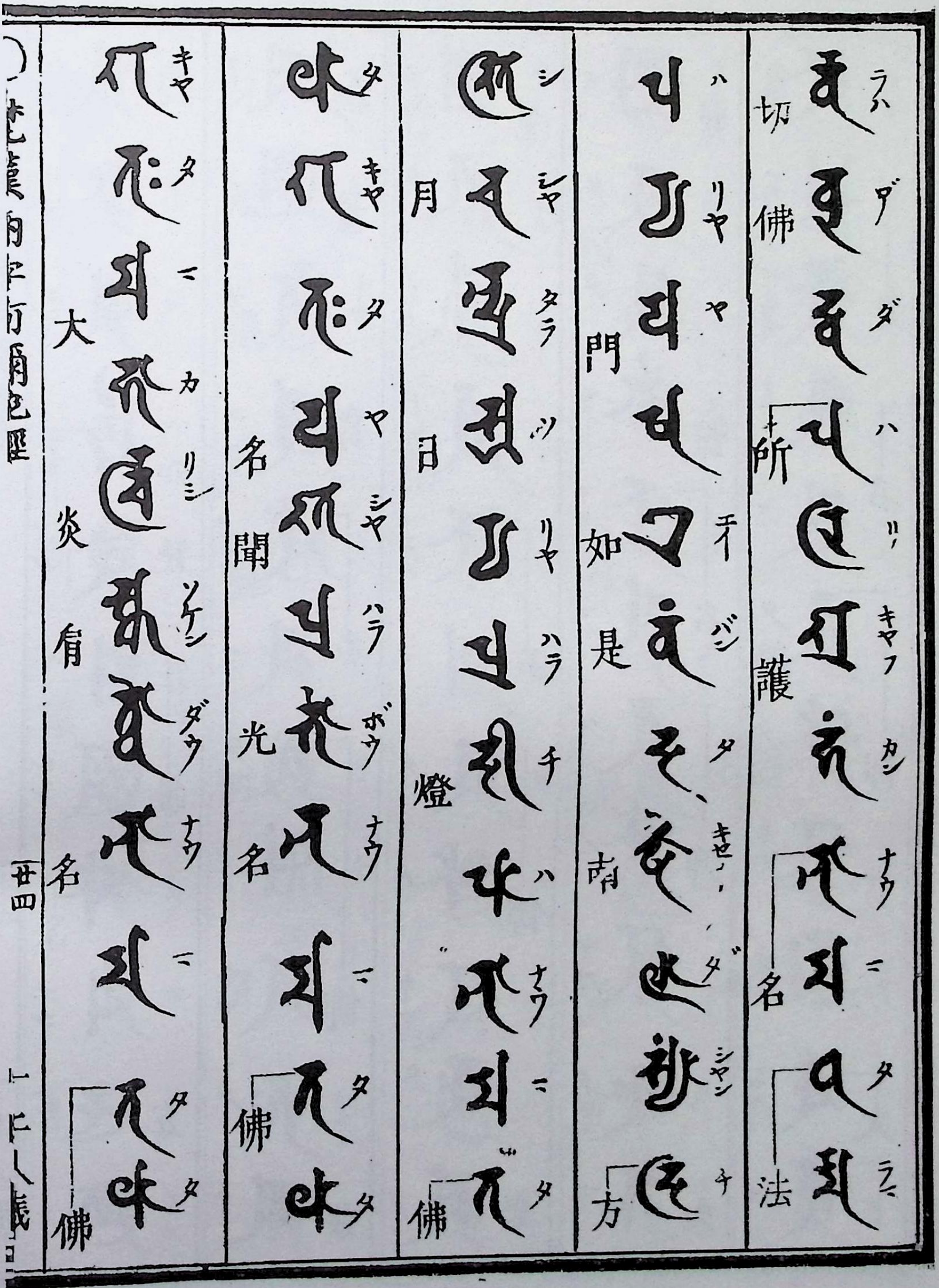
キャ タ メイ ロ ハラ チ ボウ ナウ ニ タ タ
高 登 名

ギャ タ ア ナウ タ ビ リヤ ナウ ニ タ タ
佛 無 量 精 進 名 佛

キャ タ エイ バン ハラ ボ キャ シャ リ ア タラ
如 是 上 首 舍 利 子

メ キシ ダ シャ チ シ コウ ダ ナ チ ハ
南 方 殑 伽 河 沙

ロ コウ ハ ニ ダ ダ バ キャ ハン タ ソバ
如 是 佛 世 尊



ラハ ダ ダ ハ リ キヤフ カン ナウ ニ タ ラ

切 佛 所 護 名 法

ハ リヤ ヤ テイ バン タ キセイ ダ シヤン チ

門 如 是 南 方

シ シヤ タラ ツ リヤ ハラ チ ハ ナウ ニ タ

月 日 燈 佛

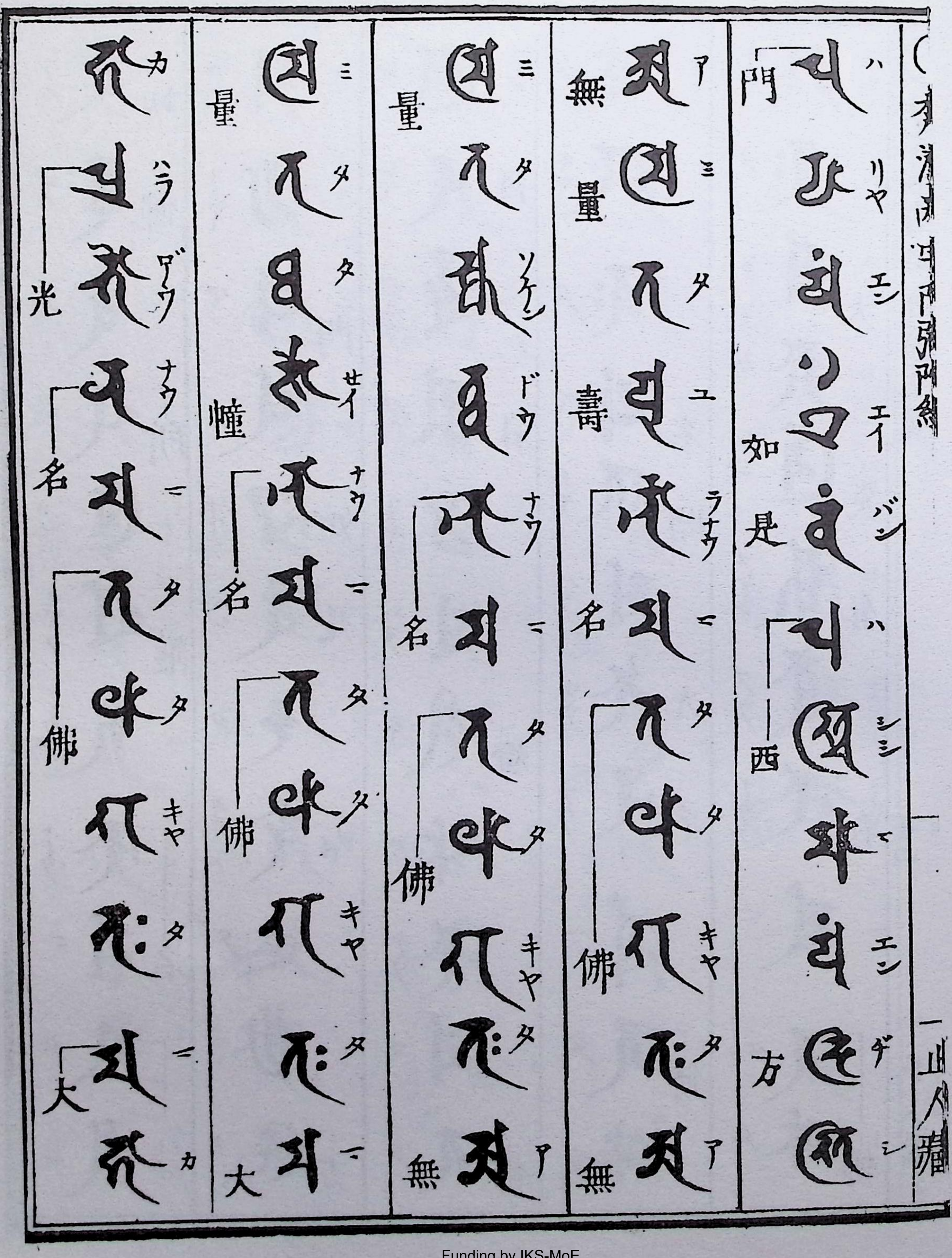
タ キヤ タ ヤ シヤ ハラ ボウ ナウ ニ タ タ

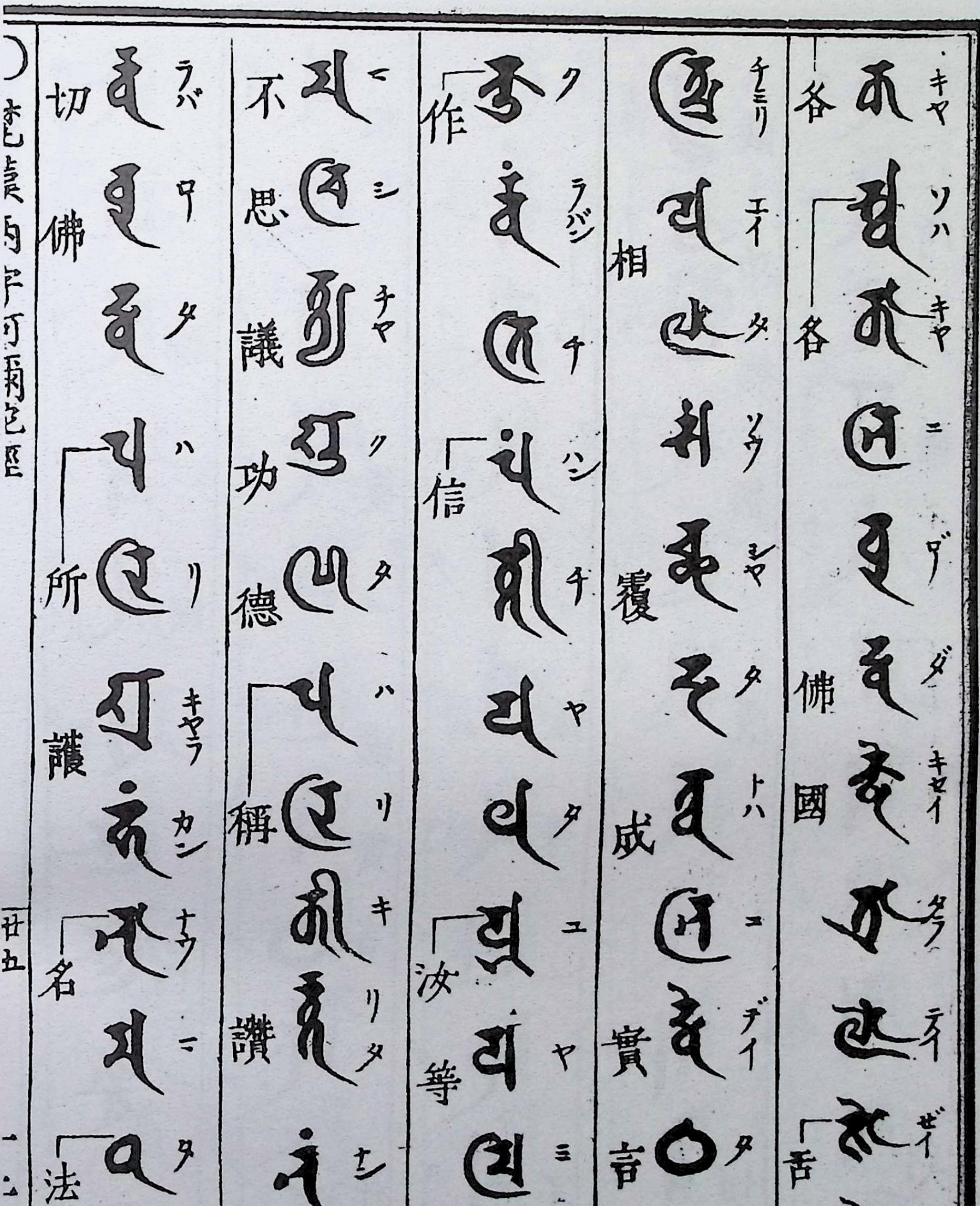
名 聞 光 名 佛

キヤ タ ニ カ リシ ソケン ダウ ナウ ニ タ タ

大 炎 肩 名 佛

廿四


ハ リヤ エン エイ バン ハ シシ マ エン ヂ シ
門 如 是 西 方
ア ミ タ ユ ラナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ ア
無 量 壽 名 佛 無
ミ タ ソケン ドウ ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ ア
量 名 佛 無
ミ タ タ セイ ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ ニ
量 幢 名 佛 大
カ ハラ バウ ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ ニ カ
光 名 佛 大



キヤ ソハ キヤ ニ ダ ダ キセイ タラ テイ ゼイ カバイ
各 各 佛 國 舌

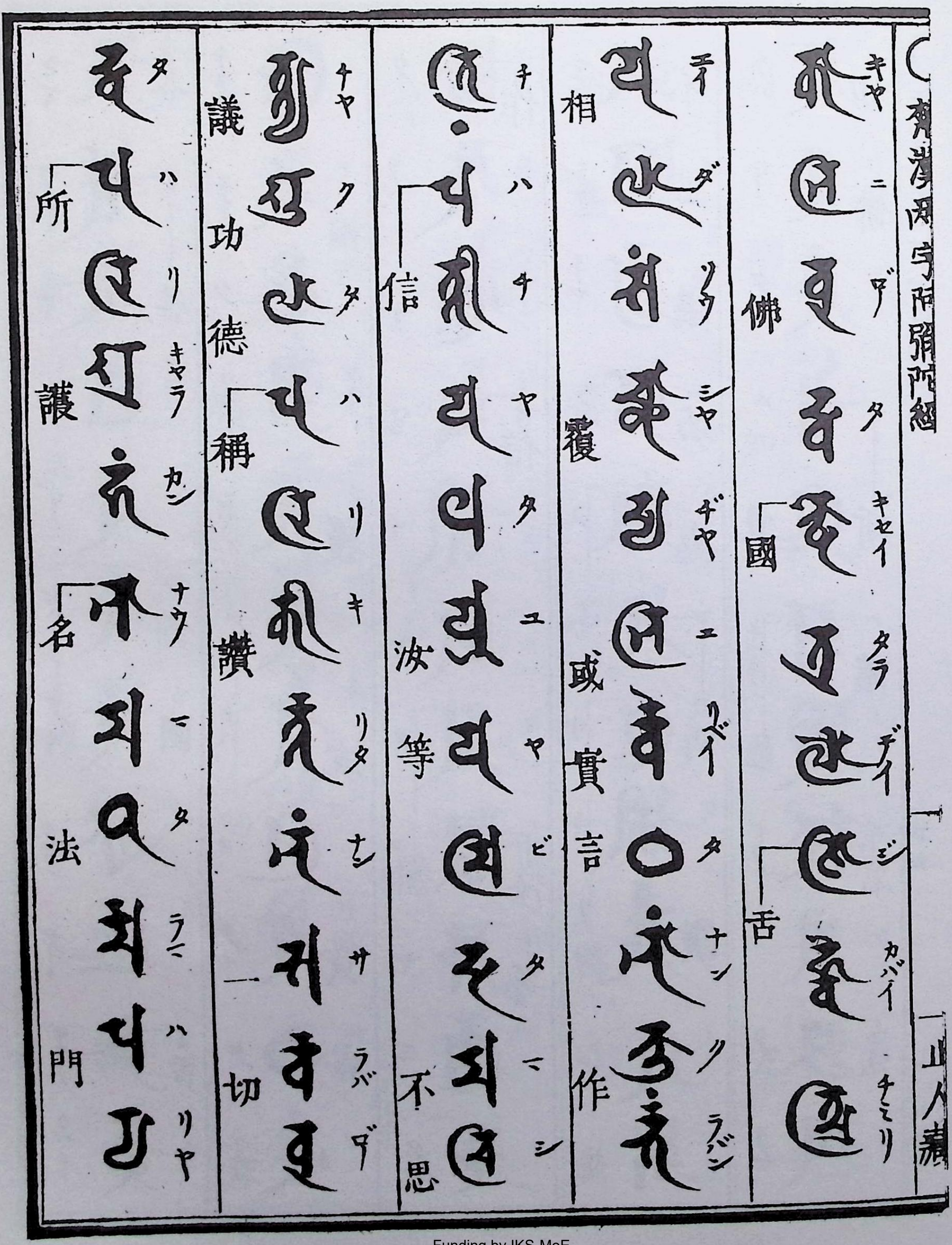
チミリ エイ タ ソウ シヤ タ トハ ニ デイ タ ナウ
相 覆 成 實 言

ク ラバン チ ハン チ ヤ タ ユ ヤ ミ タ
作 信 汝 等

ヒ シ チヤ ク タ ハ リ キ リタ ナシ サ
不 思 議 功 德 稱 讚 一

ラバ ウ タ ハ リ キヤラ カン ナウ ニ タ ラニ
切 佛 所 護 名 法

廿五



梵漢兩字阿彌陀經

キヤ ニ ヅ タ キセイ タラ ヂイ ジ カバイ チミリ
佛 國 舌

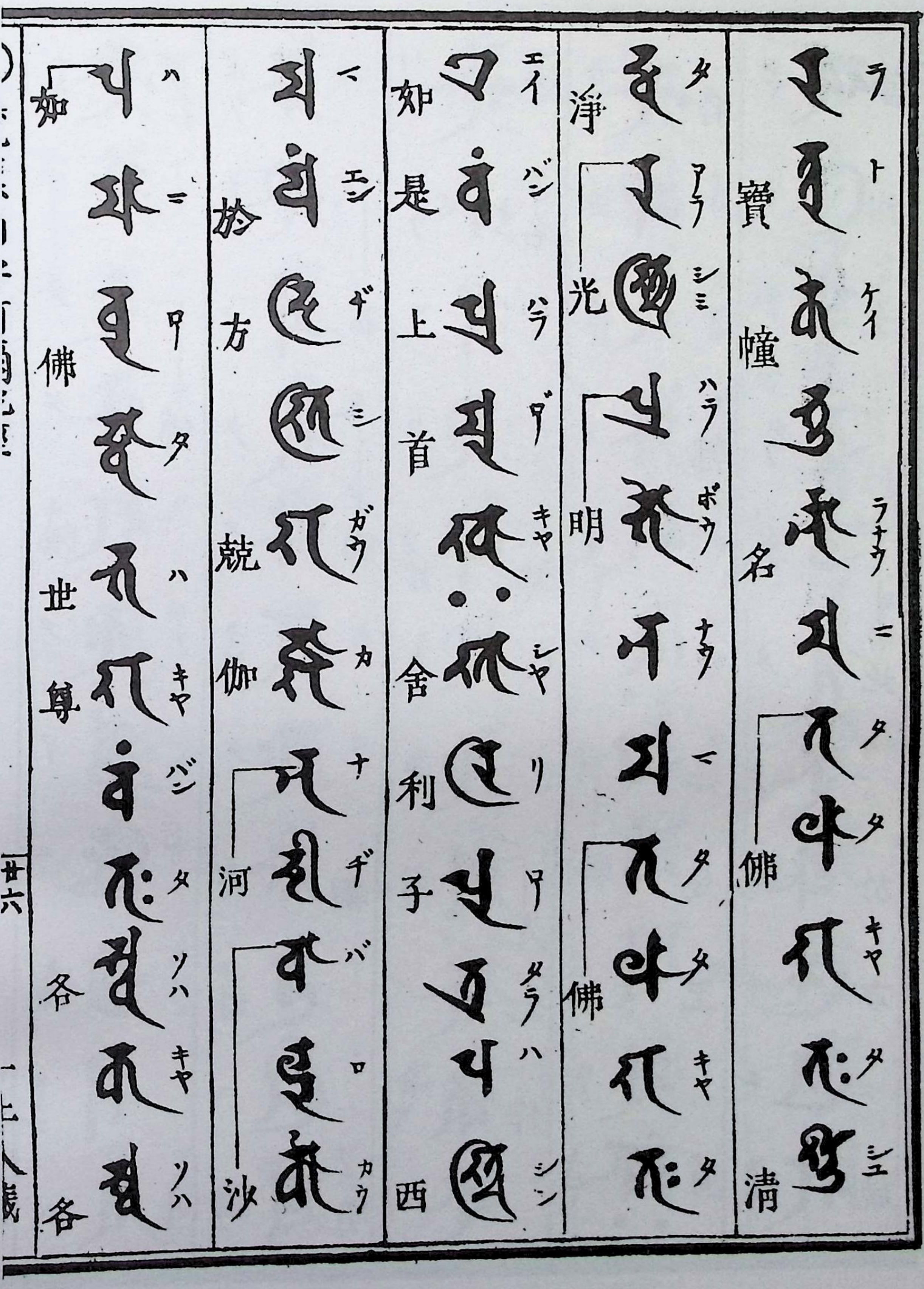
ヂイ ダ ソウ シヤ ギヤ ユ リベイ タ ナン ク ラバン
相 覆 或 實 言 作

チ ハ サ ヤ タ ユ ヤ ビ タ ニ シ
信 汝 等 不 思

ナヤ ク タ ハ リ キ リタ ナン サ ラバ ヅ
議 功 德 稱 讚 一 切

タ ハ リ キヤラ カン ナウ ニ タ ラニ ハ リヤ
所 護 名 法 門

Funding by IKS-MoE



ラ ト ケイ ラナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ シユ
寶幢名佛清

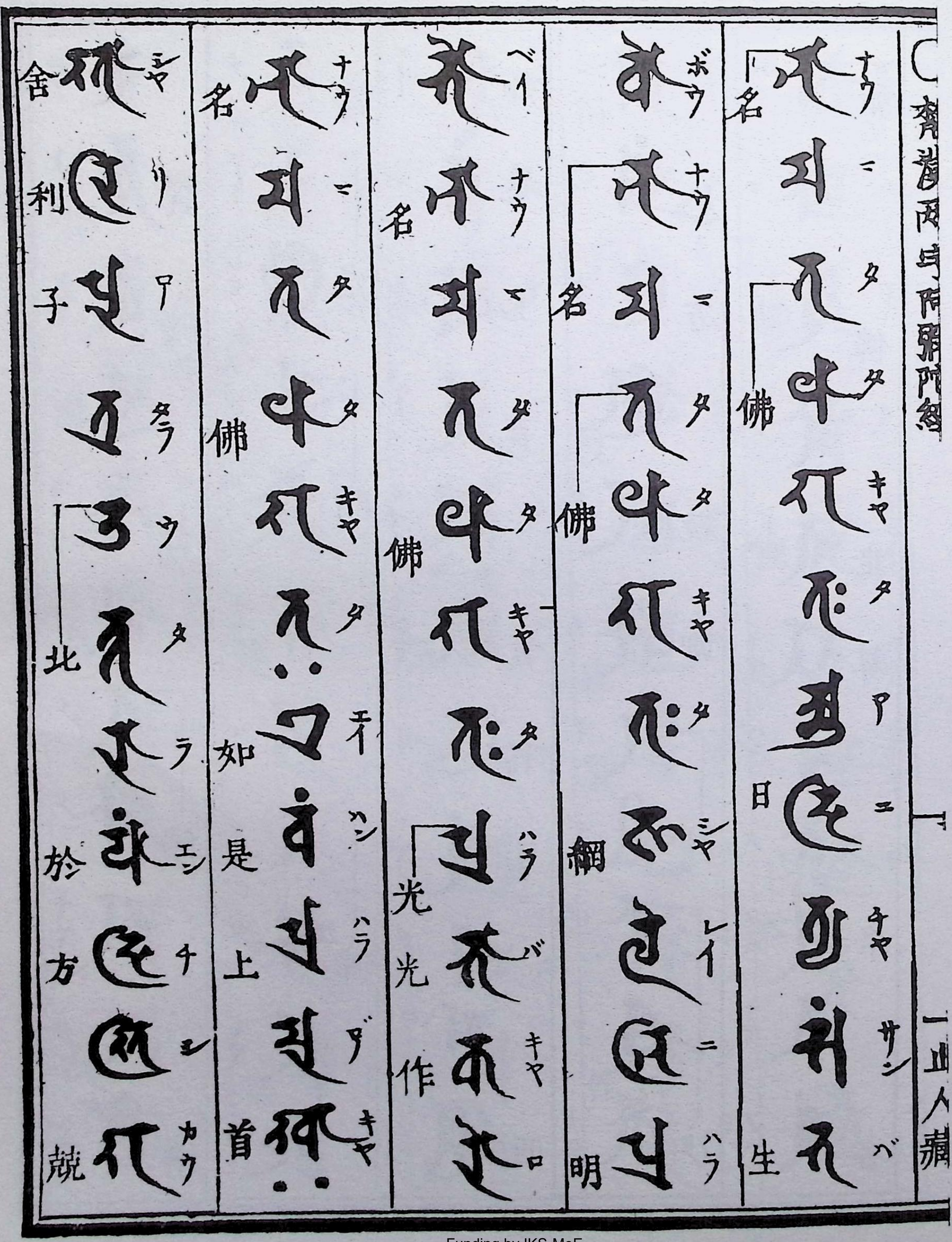
タ アラ シミ ハラ ボウ ナウ マ タ タ キヤ タ
淨光明佛

エイ バン ハラ ダ キヤ シヤ リ ワ タラ ハ シン
如是上首舍利子西

ヘ エン ヂ シ ガウ カ ナ チ バ ロ カウ
於方殑伽河沙

ハ ニ ワ タ ハ キヤ バン タ ソハ キヤ ソハ
如佛世尊各各

廿六



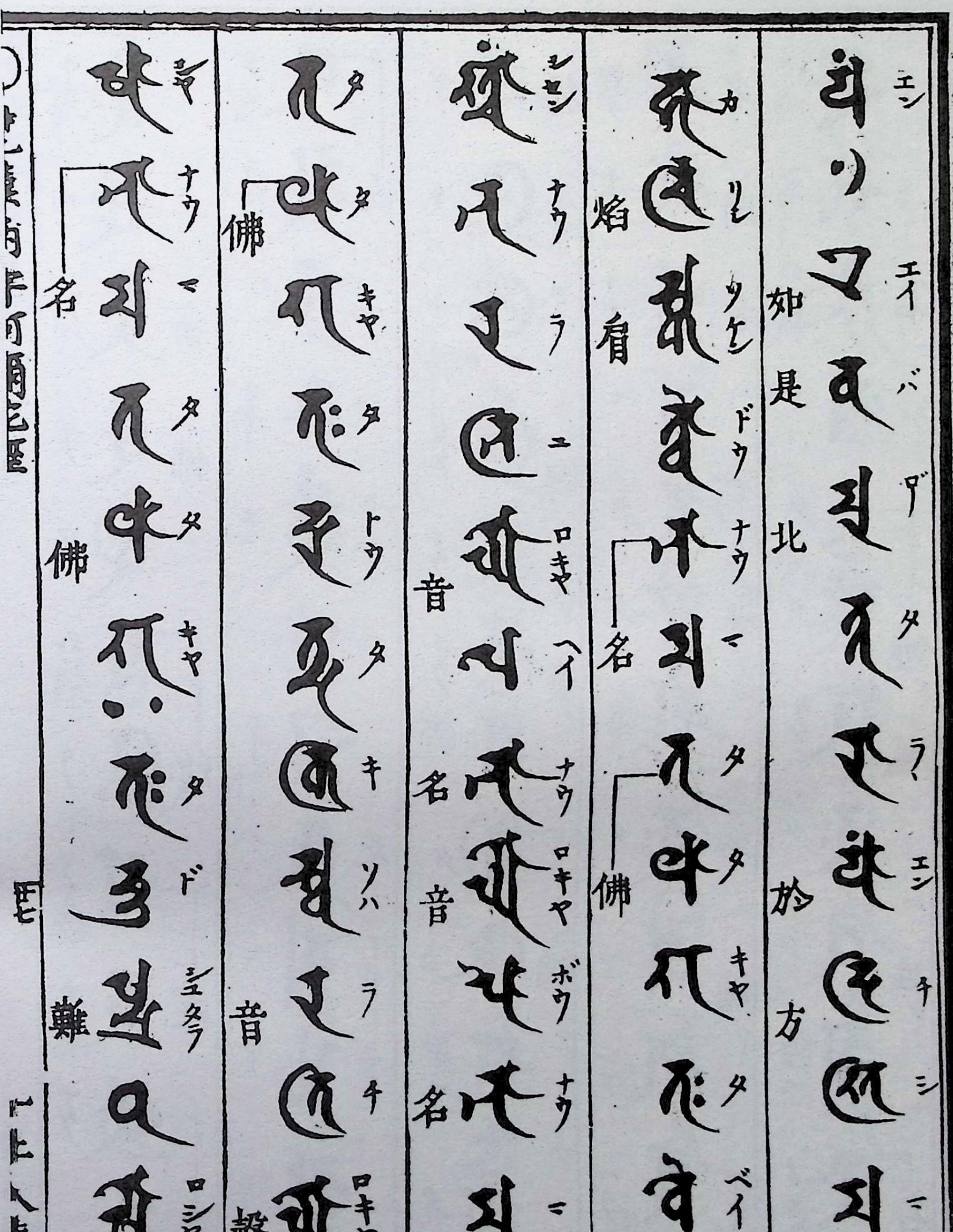
ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ ア ニ チヤ サン バ
名 佛 日 生

ボウ ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ シヤ レイ ニ ハラ
名 佛 細 明

ベイ ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ ハラ バ キヤ ロ
名 佛 光 光 作

ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ エイ カン ハラ ダ キヤ
名 佛 如 是 上 首

シヤ リ ワ タラ ウ タ ラ エン チ ニ カウ
舎 利 子 北 於 方 競



エン エイ バ ダ タ ラ エン チ シ ニ

如是北 於 方

カ リ ツケ ドウ ナウ マ タ タ キヤ タ ベイ

焰 肩 名 佛

ゴンセン ナウ ラ ニ ロキヤ ヘイ ナウ ロキヤ ボウ ナウ ニ

音 名 音 名

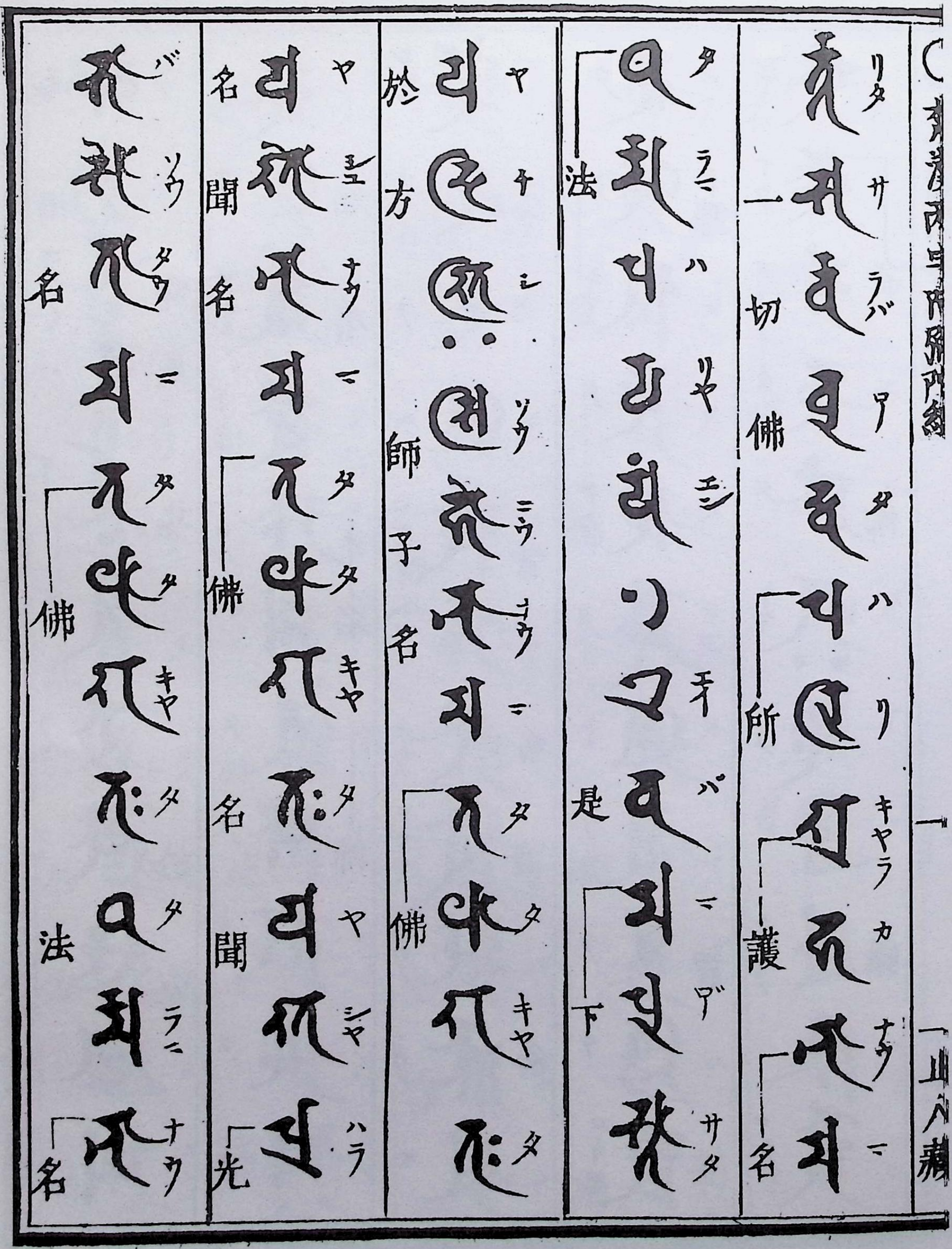
タ タ キヤ タ トウ タ キ ソハ ラ チ ロキヤ

佛 音 聲

ゴヤ ナウ マ タ タ キヤ タ ド シュタラ ロシヤ

名 佛 難

Funding by IKS-MoE



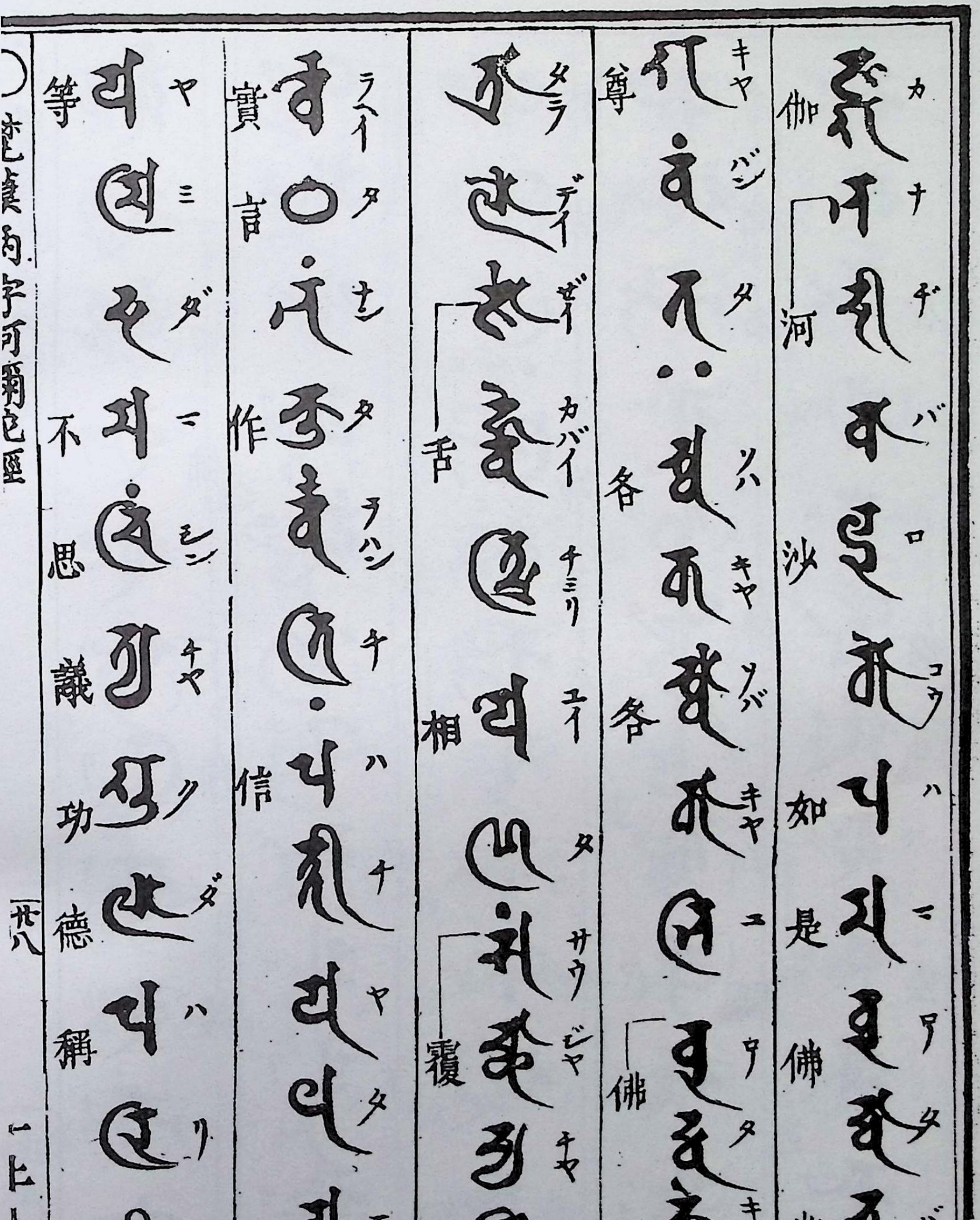
リタ サ ラバ ア タ ハ リ キヤラ カ ナウ ニ
一切 佛 所 護 名

タ ラニ ハ リヤ エン テイ バ ニ ア サタ
法 是 下

ヤ ナ ミ ソウ ニウ コウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ
於 方 師 子 名 佛

ヤ ユ ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ ヤ シヤ ハラ
名 聞 名 佛 名 聞 光

バ ソウ タウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ タ ラニ ナウ
名 佛 法 名



カ ナ ヂ バ ロ コウ ハ ニ ア タ バ

伽 河沙 如是佛世

キヤ バン タ ソハ キヤ ソバ キヤ ニ ア タ キセイ

尊 各各 佛國

タラ デイ ゼイ カバイ チミリ ユイ タ サウ ジヤ チヤ ニ

舌相 覆 成

ラヘイ タ ユ タ ラハン チ ハ ナ ヤ タ エ

實言 作信 汝

ヤ ミ ダ ニ ミン チヤ ク ダ ハ リ キ

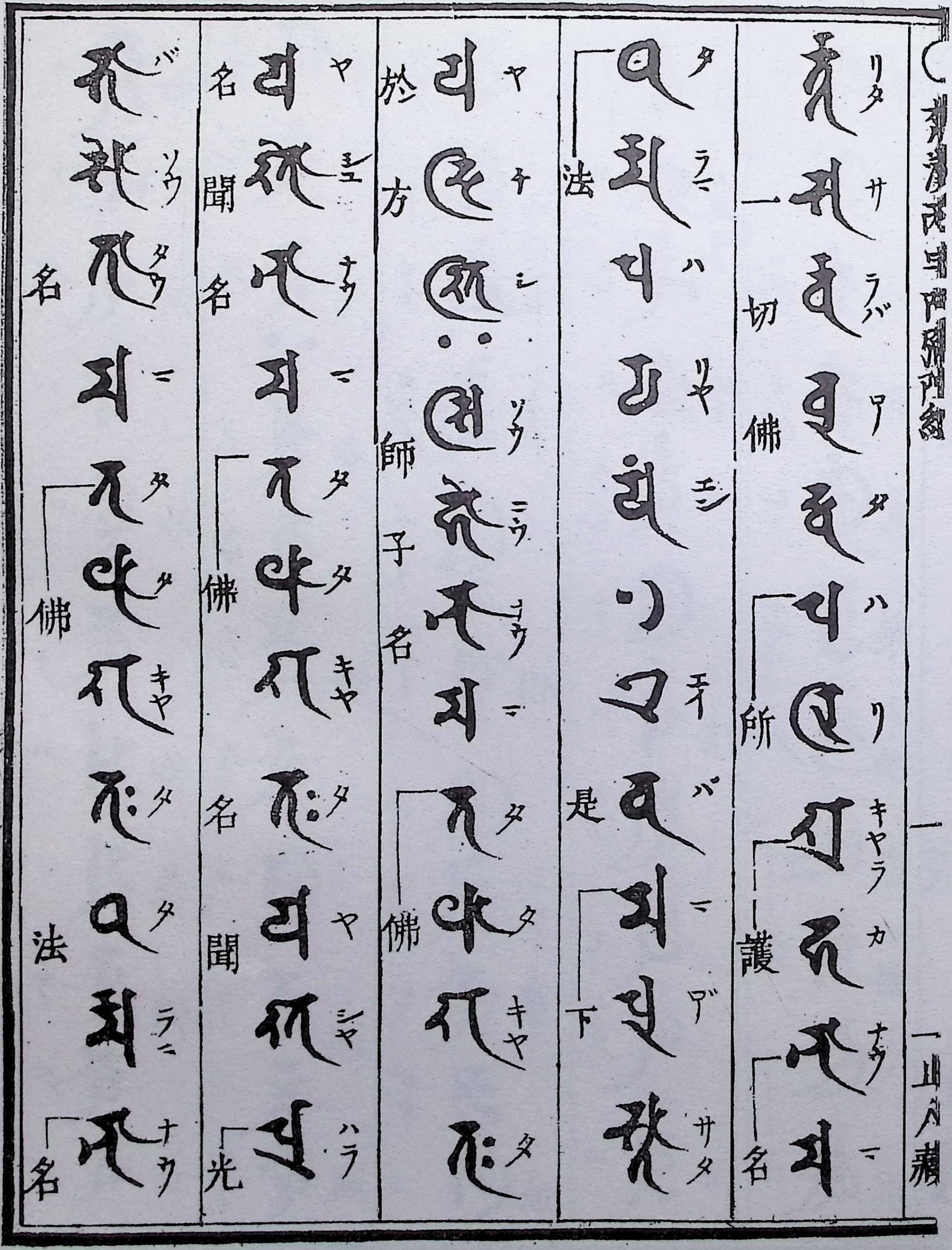
等 不思議功德稱說

梵漢兩字阿彌陀經

廿八

一上

Funding by IKS-MoE



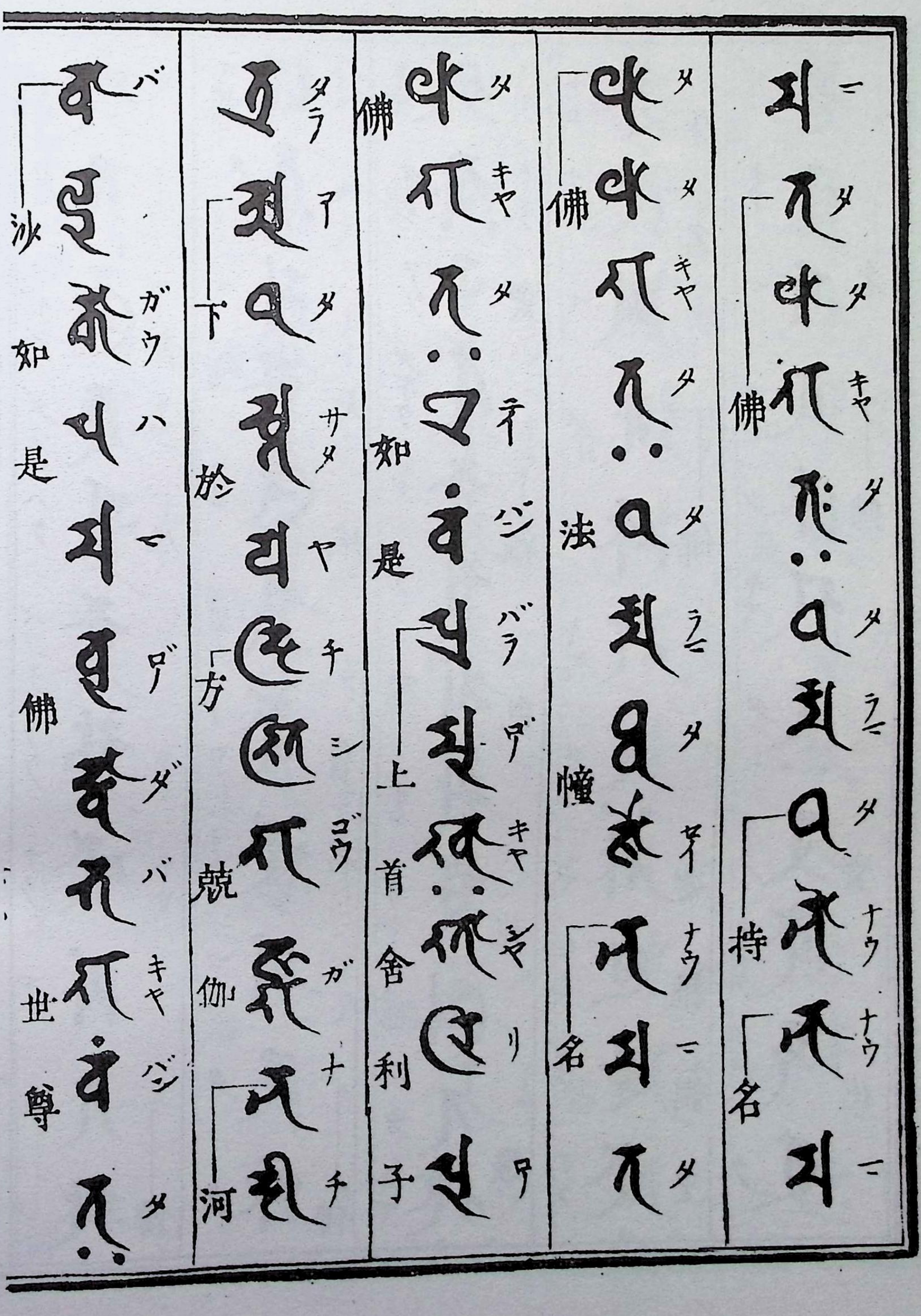
リタ サ ラバ ア タ ハ リ キヤラ カ ナウ ニ
一切 佛 所護 名

タ ラニ ハ リヤ エシ テイ バ ニ ア゙ サタ
法 是 下

ヤ ナ ミ ソウ ニウ ヨウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ
於方 師子 名 佛

ヤ ミ ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ ヤ シヤ ハラ
名聞 名 佛 名 聞 光

バ ソウ タウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ ラニ ナウ
名 佛 法 名



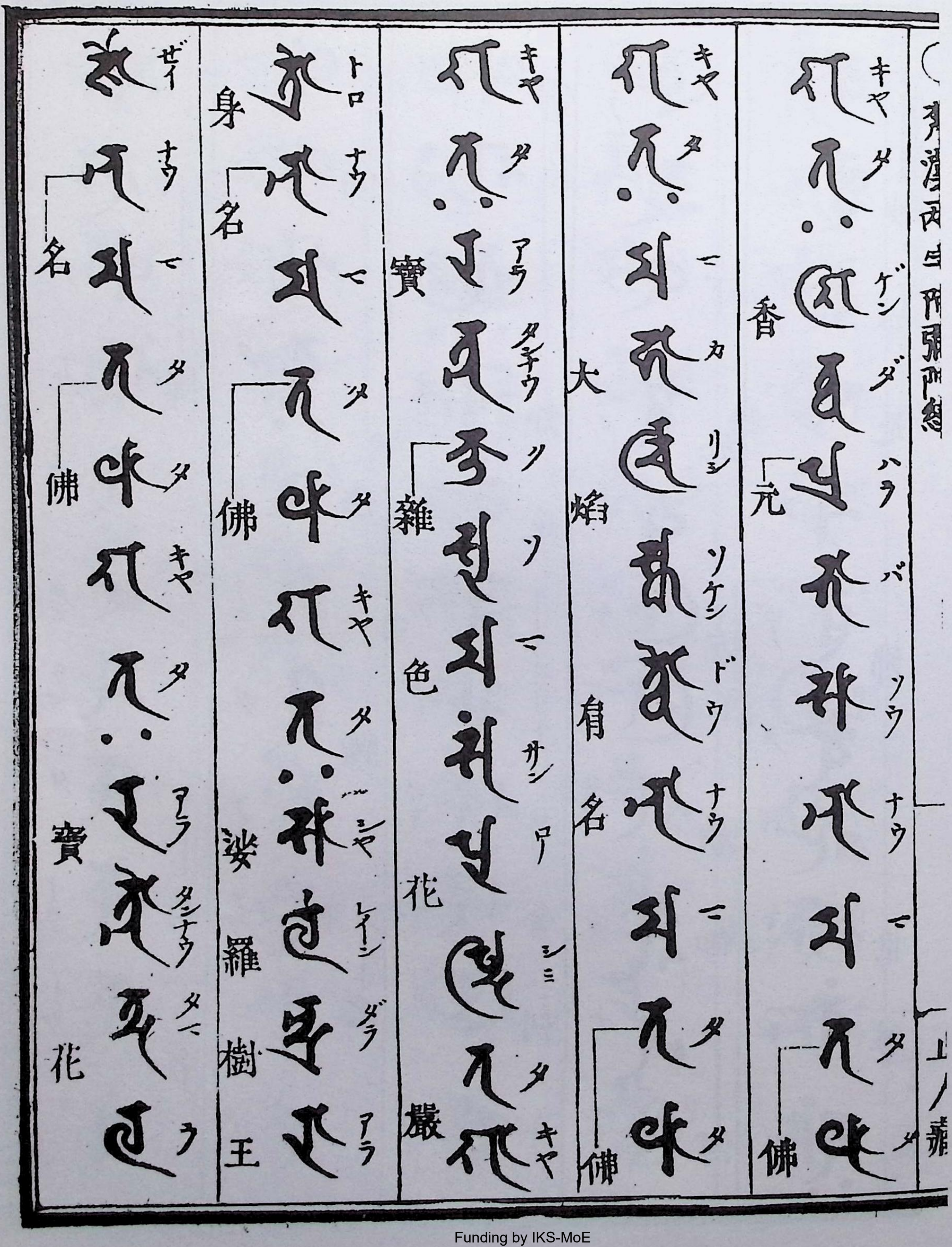
ニタタキャタタタラタナウナウニ
佛持名

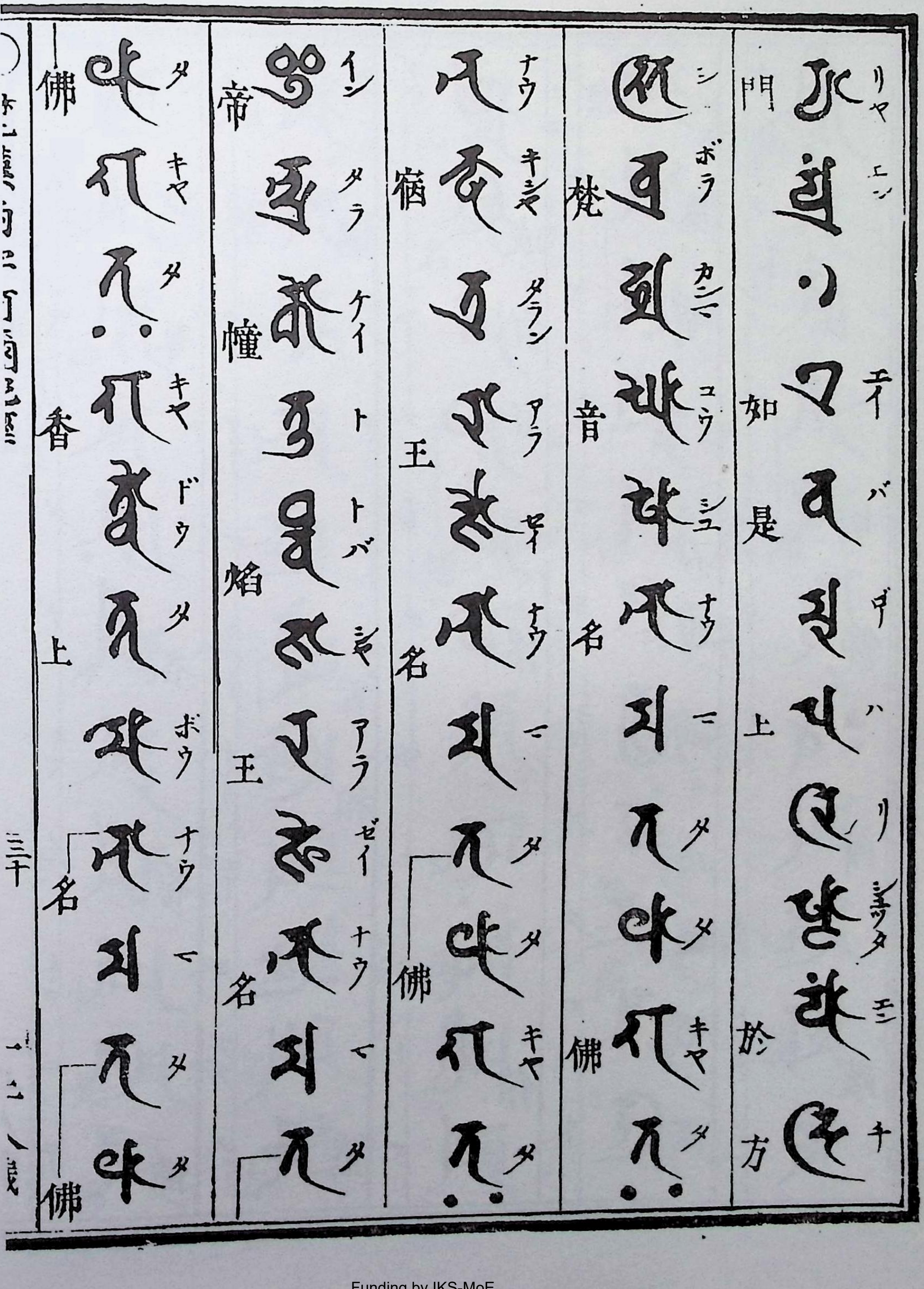
タタキャタタラタダナウニタ
佛法幢名

タキャタテイバンバラバキャジャリタ
佛如是上首舎利子

タラアタサタヤチシゴウガナチ
下於方競伽河

バガウハニバダバキャバンタ
沙如是佛世尊





リヤ エン テイ バ ダ ハ リ シッタ エン チ

門 如 是 上 於 方

シ ボラ カン コウ シュ ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ

梵 音 名 佛

ナウ キシヤ タラン アラ セイ ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ

宿 王 名 佛

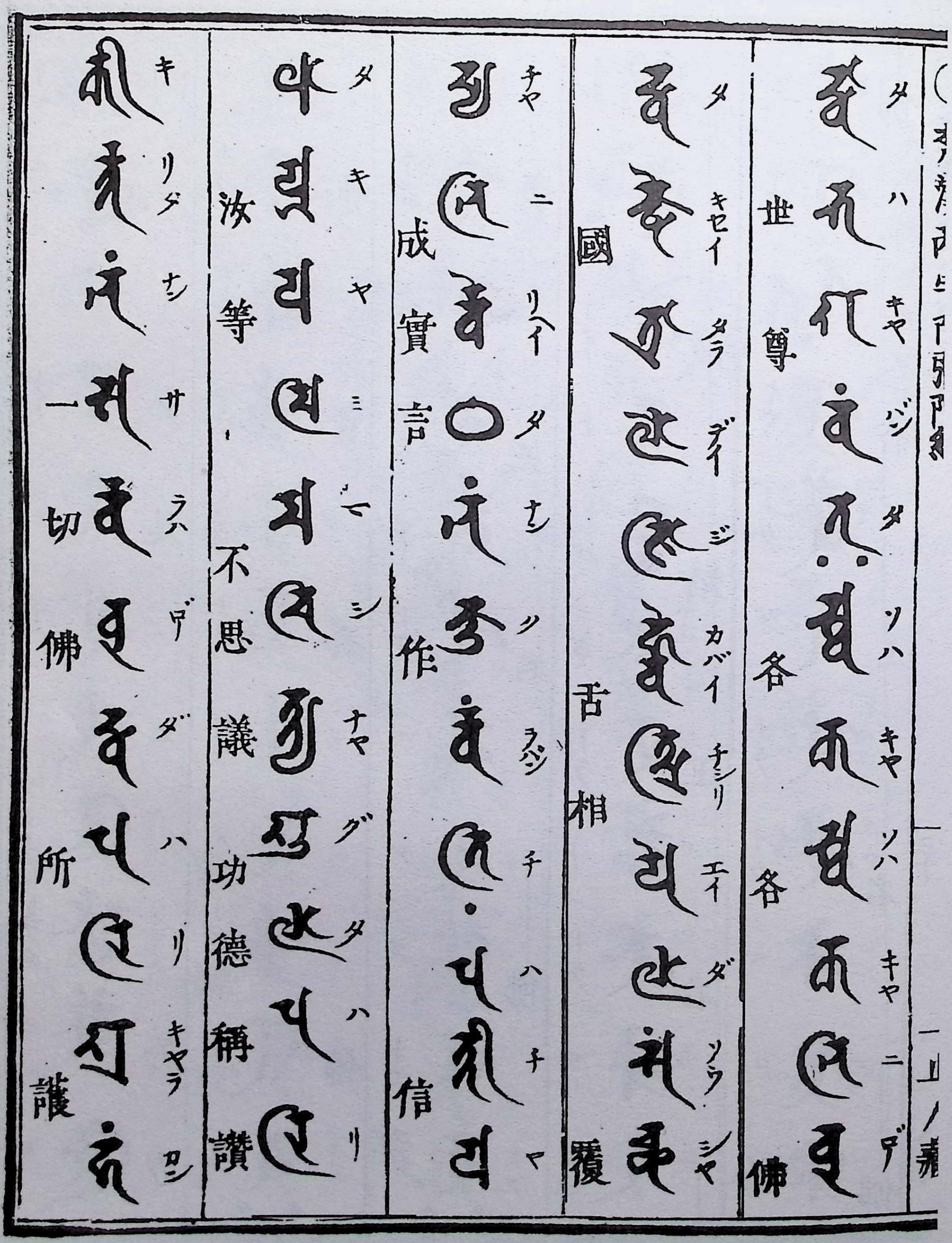
イン タラ ケイ ト トバ シヤ アラ ゼイ ナウ マ タ

帝 幢 焔 王 名

タ キヤ タ キヤ ドウ タ ボウ ナウ マ タ タ

佛 香 上 名 佛

三十



タ ハ キャ バン ダ ソハ キャ ソハ キャ ニ ヷ

世 尊 各 各 佛

タ キセイ タラ ディ ジ カバイ チシリ エイ ダ ソウ シャ

國 舌 相 覆

チャ ニ リヘイ タ セン ノ ラバン チ ハ チ ヤ

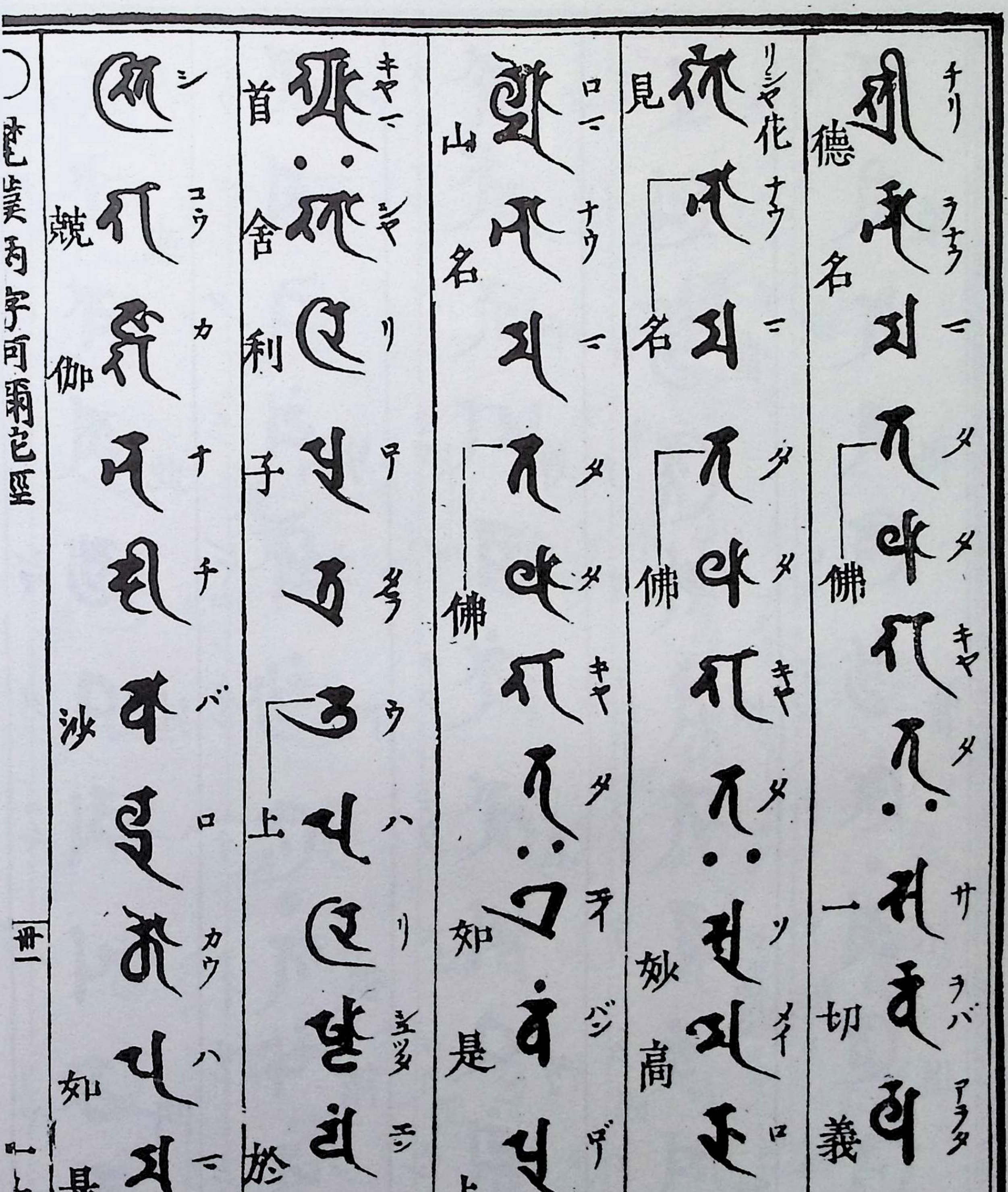
成 實 言 作 信

タ キ ヤ ミ ャ シ ナヤ グ タ ハ リ

汝 等 不 思 議 功 徳 稱 讃

キ リダ ナン サ ラハ ヷ ダ ハ リ キャラ カン

一 切 佛 所 護



チリ ラナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ サ ラバ アラタ ダ
徳 名 佛 一 切 義

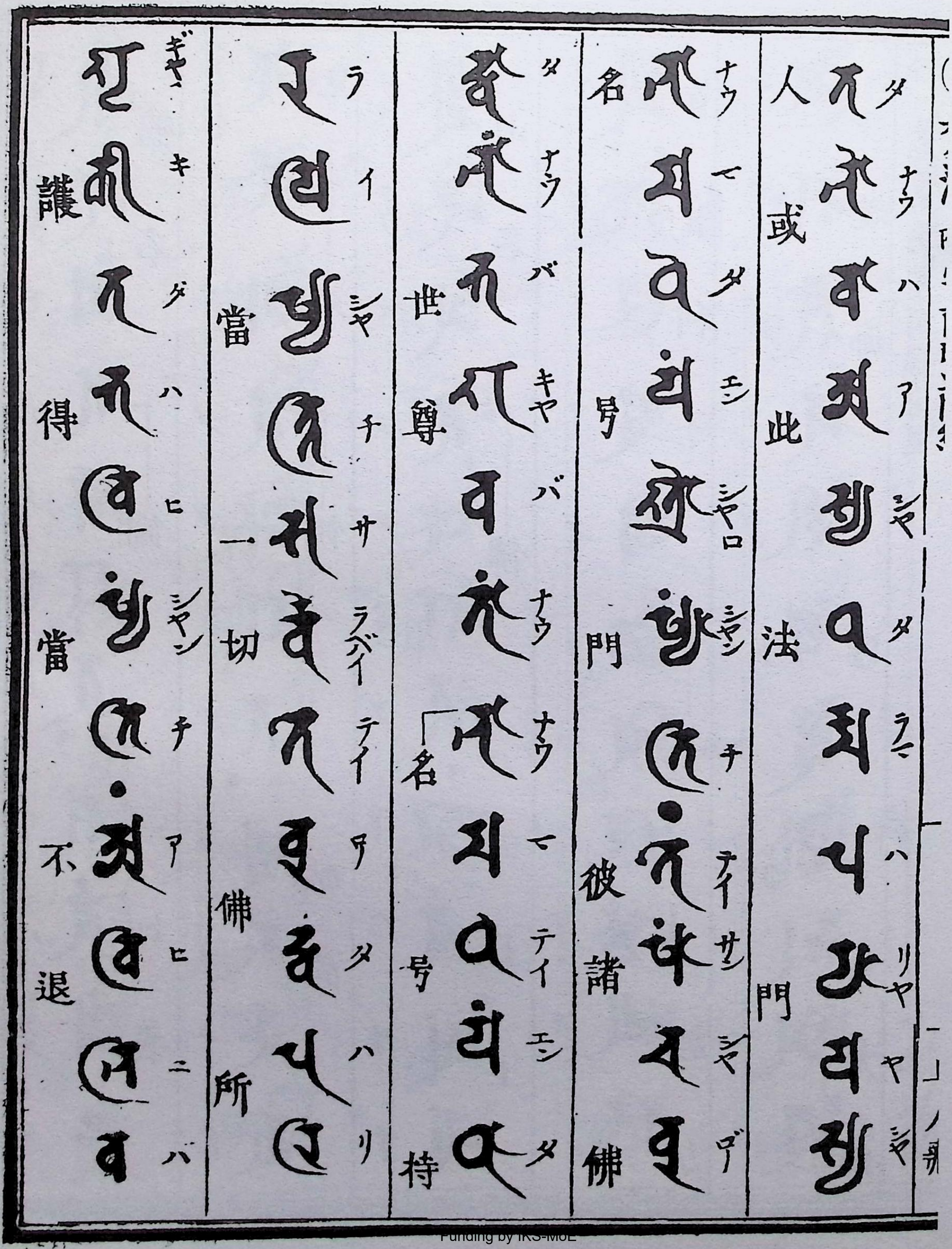
リシヤ花 ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ ソ メイ ロ キヤ
見 名 佛 妙 高

ロ一 ナウ ニ タ タ キヤ タ ヲ バシ ダ ヤ
山 名 佛 如 是 上

キヤ一 シヤ リ ホ タラ ウ ハ リ ミツタ エン チ
首 舎 利 子 上 於 方

シ コウ カ ナ チ バ ロ カウ ハ ニ バ
競 伽 沙 如 是 佛

梵漢兩字阿彌陀經 卅一 一上 入藏



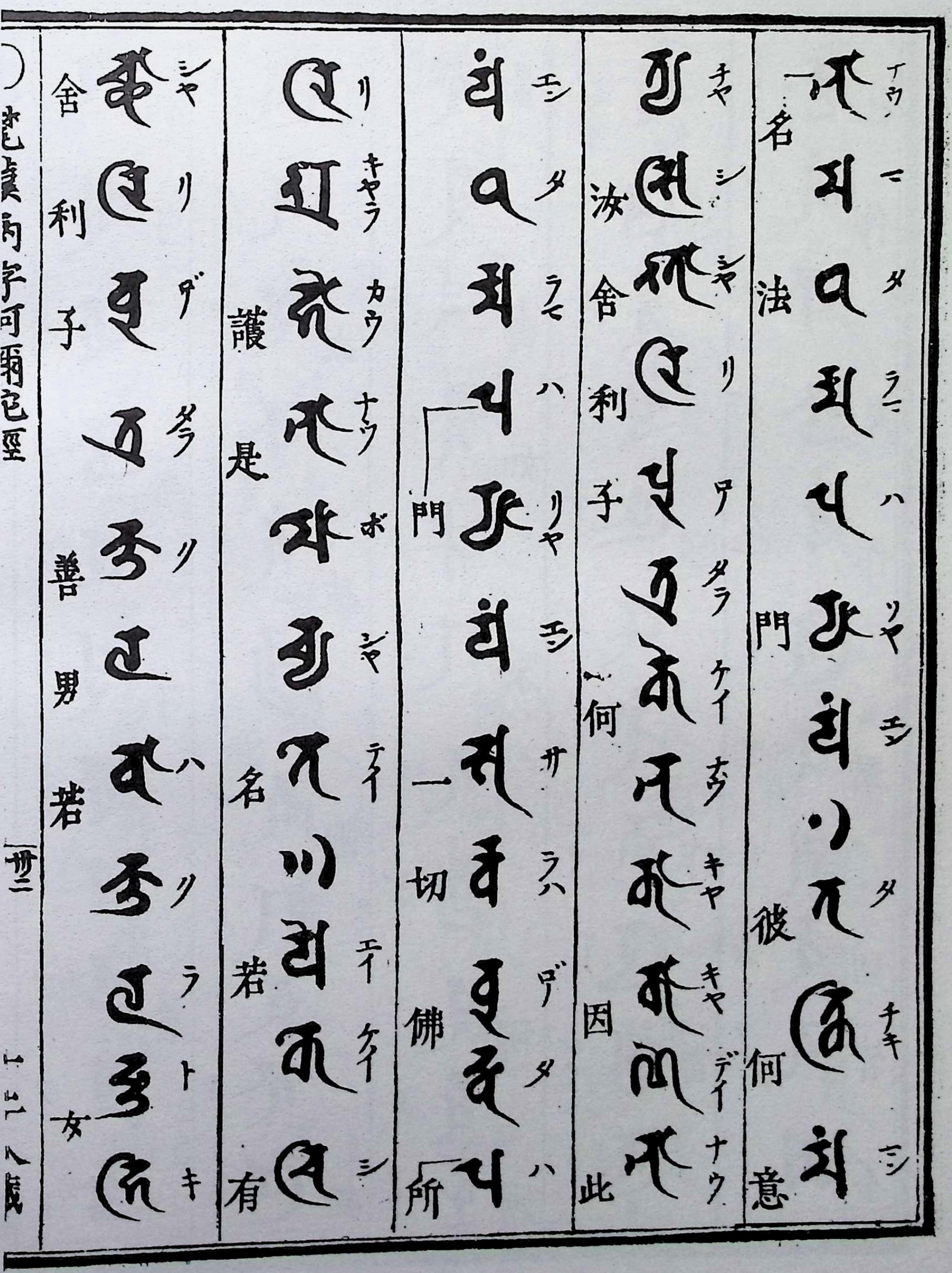
タ ナウ ハ ア シャ タ ラニ ハ リヤ ヤ シャ
人 或 此 法 門

ナウ マ タ エン シャロ シャン チ テイ サン シャ ゴ
名 号 門 彼 諸 佛

タ ナウ バ キヤ バ ナウ ナウ マ テイ エン タ
世 尊 「名 号 持

ラ イ シャ チ サ ラバイ テイ ヲ タ ハ リ
當 一 切 佛 所

ギャ キ ダ ハ ヒ シャン チ ア ヒ ニ バ
護 得 當 不 退



ナウ ニ タ ラニ ハ リヤ エン タ チキ ニン
名法門 彼何意

チヤ シ シヤ リ ヲ タラ ケイ ホウ キヤ キヤ デイ ナウ
汝舍利子 何因此

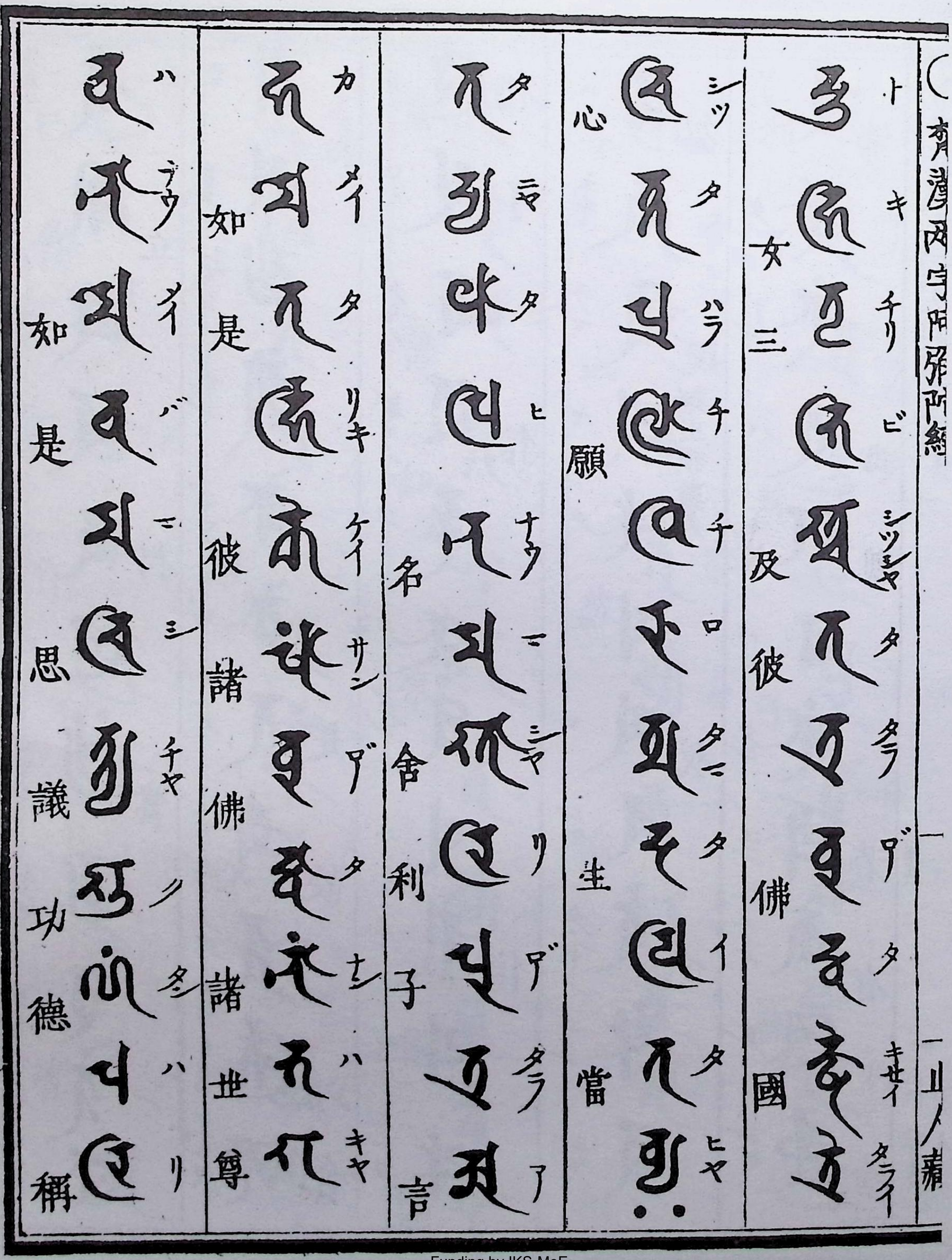
エン タ ラマ ハ リヤ エン サ ラハ ダ タ ハ
門 一切佛 所

リ キヤラ カウ ナウ ボ シヤ テイ エイ ケイ シ
護是 名若有

シヤ リ ダ タラ リ ハ ク ラ ト キ
舍利子 善男若女

悉曇梵字阿彌陀經 卅二

Funding by IKS-MoE



トキ チリ ビ シツエヤ タ タラ ア゙ タ キセイ タライ

女三 及彼 佛國

シツ タ ハラ チ チ ロ タニ タ イ タ ヒヤ

心 願 生 當

タ ニヤ タ ヒ ナウ ニ シヤ リ ア゙ タラ ア

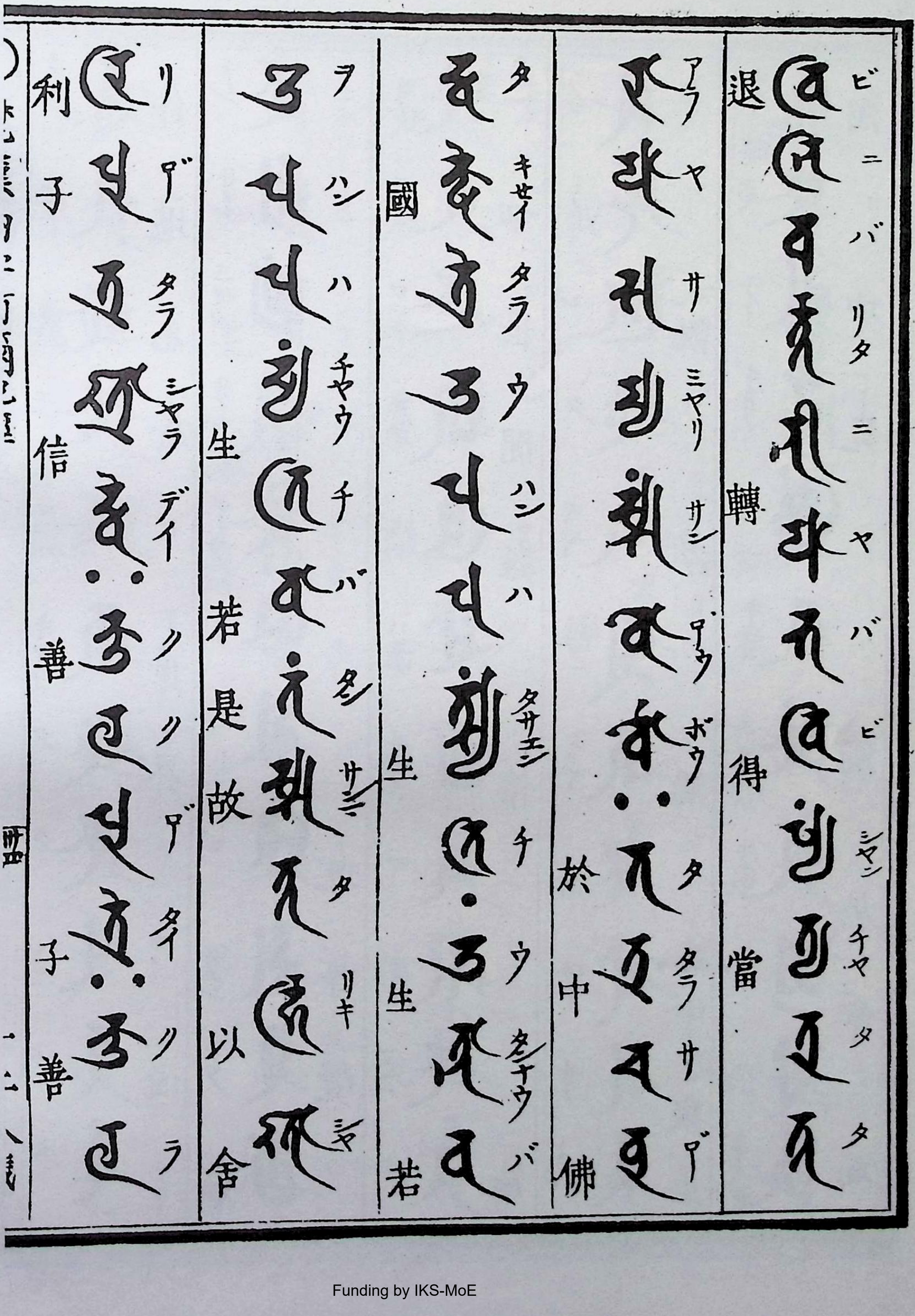
名 舍利子 言

カ メイ タ リキ ケイ サン ア゙ タ ナ ハ キヤ

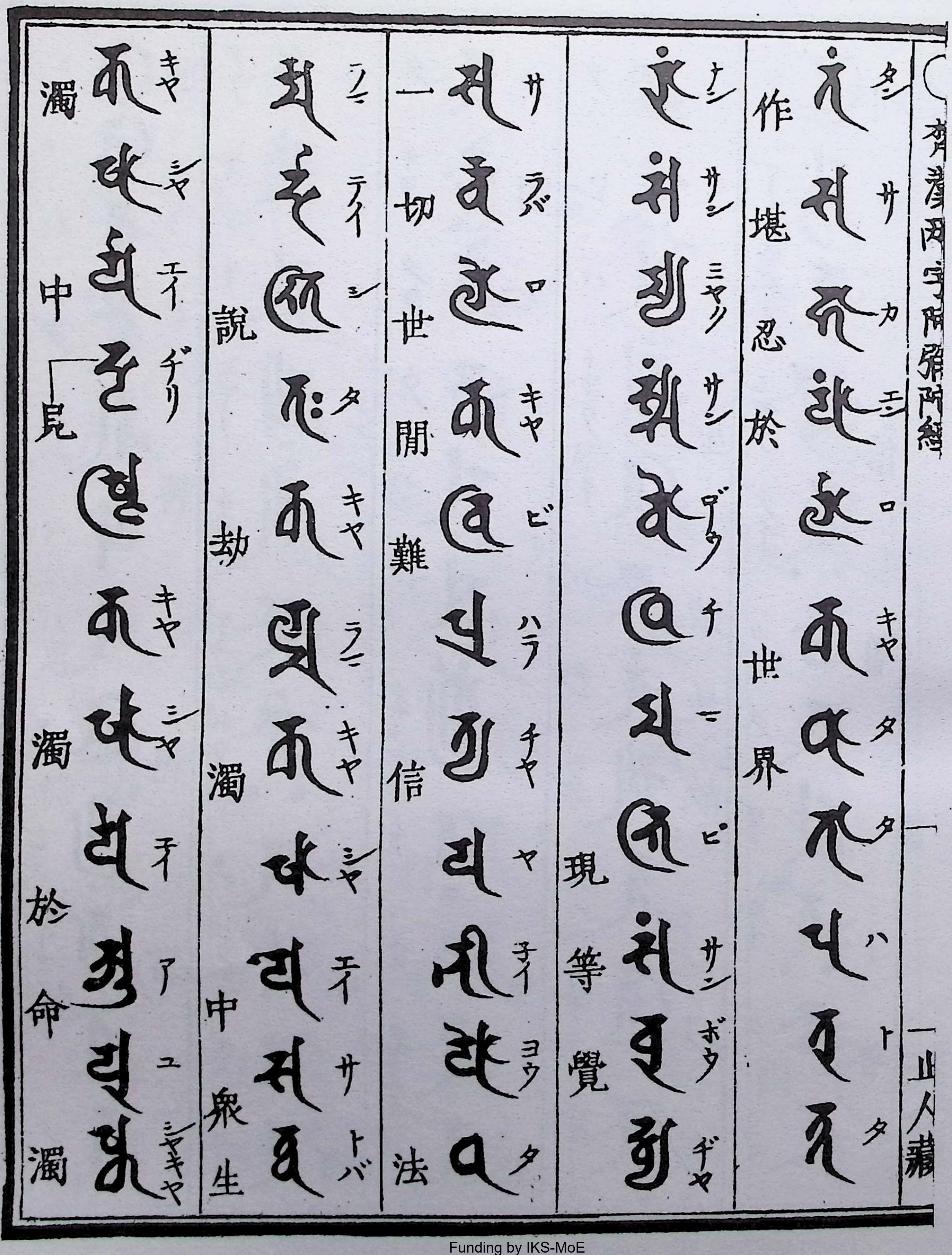
如是 彼諸 佛 諸世尊

ハ ブウ メイ バ ニ ミ チヤ ノ タ ハ リ

如是 思議 功德 稱



ビニバリタニヤバビシヤンチヤタタ
退轉得當
アラヤサミヤリサンヲウボウタタラサダ
於中佛
タキセイタラウハンハタサンチウタチウバ
國生生若
ヲハンハチヤウチバタンサンタリキシヤ
生若是故以舍
リダタラシヤラデイククダタイクラ
利子信善子善



梵漢兩字阿彌陀經

タン サ カ エン ロ キャ タ タ ハ ト タ

作堪忍於世界

ナン サン ミャク サン ボウ チ ニ ビ サン ボウ ヂャ

現等覺

サ ラバ ロ キャ ビ ハラ チャ ヤ チイ ヨウ タ

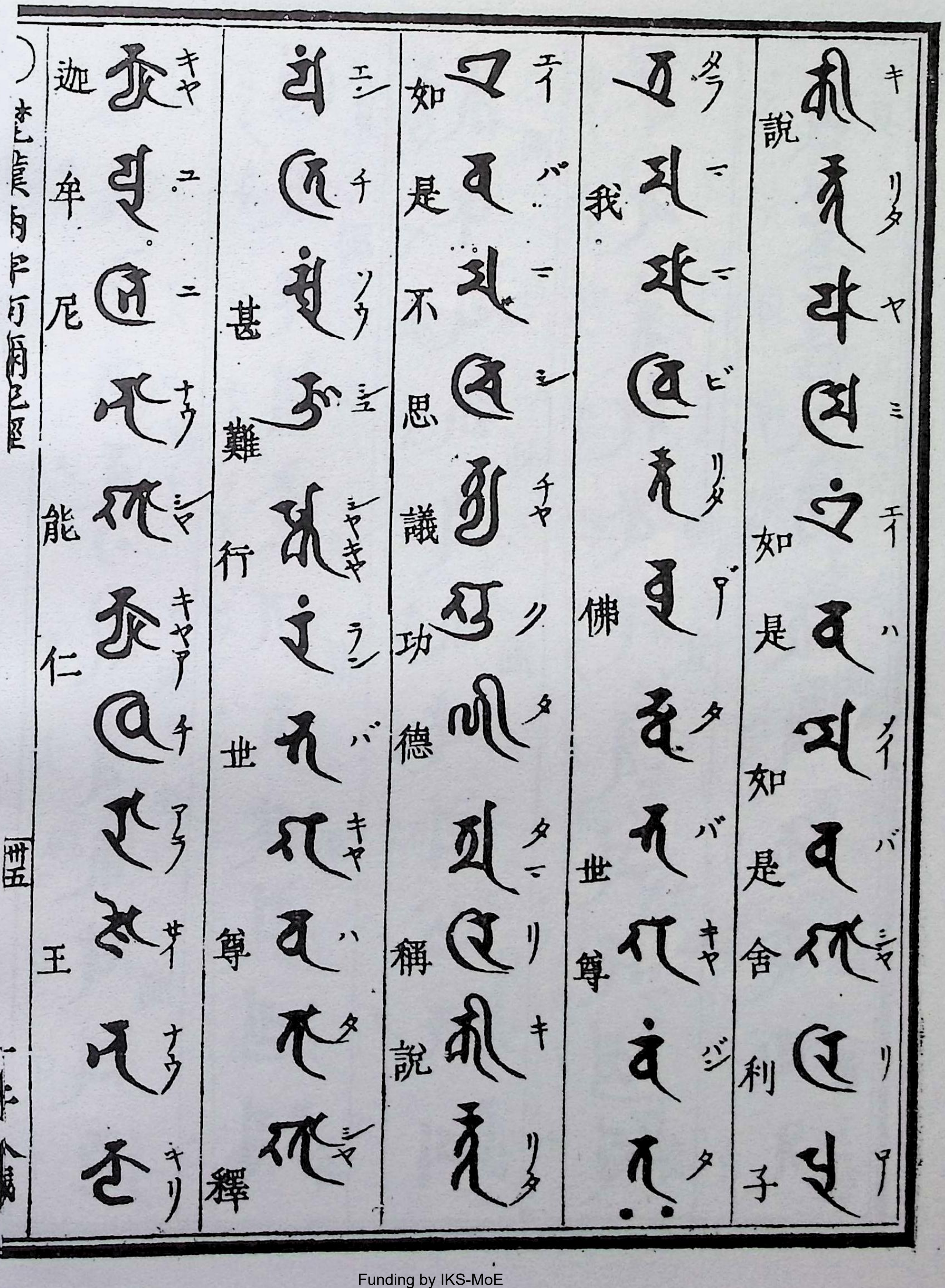
一切世間難信法

ラン テイ シ タ キャ ラ キャ シャ エイ サ トバ

說劫濁中衆生

キャ シャ エイ ヂリ キャ シャ エイ ア ユ シャキャ

濁中見濁於命濁



キ リタ ヤ ミ エイ ハ ネイ バ シャ リ ア

說 如是如是舍利子

タラ ニ ニ ビ リタ ア タ バ キャ バジ タ

我佛世尊

エイ バ ニ シ チャ ク タ タニ リ キ リタ

如是不思議功德稱說

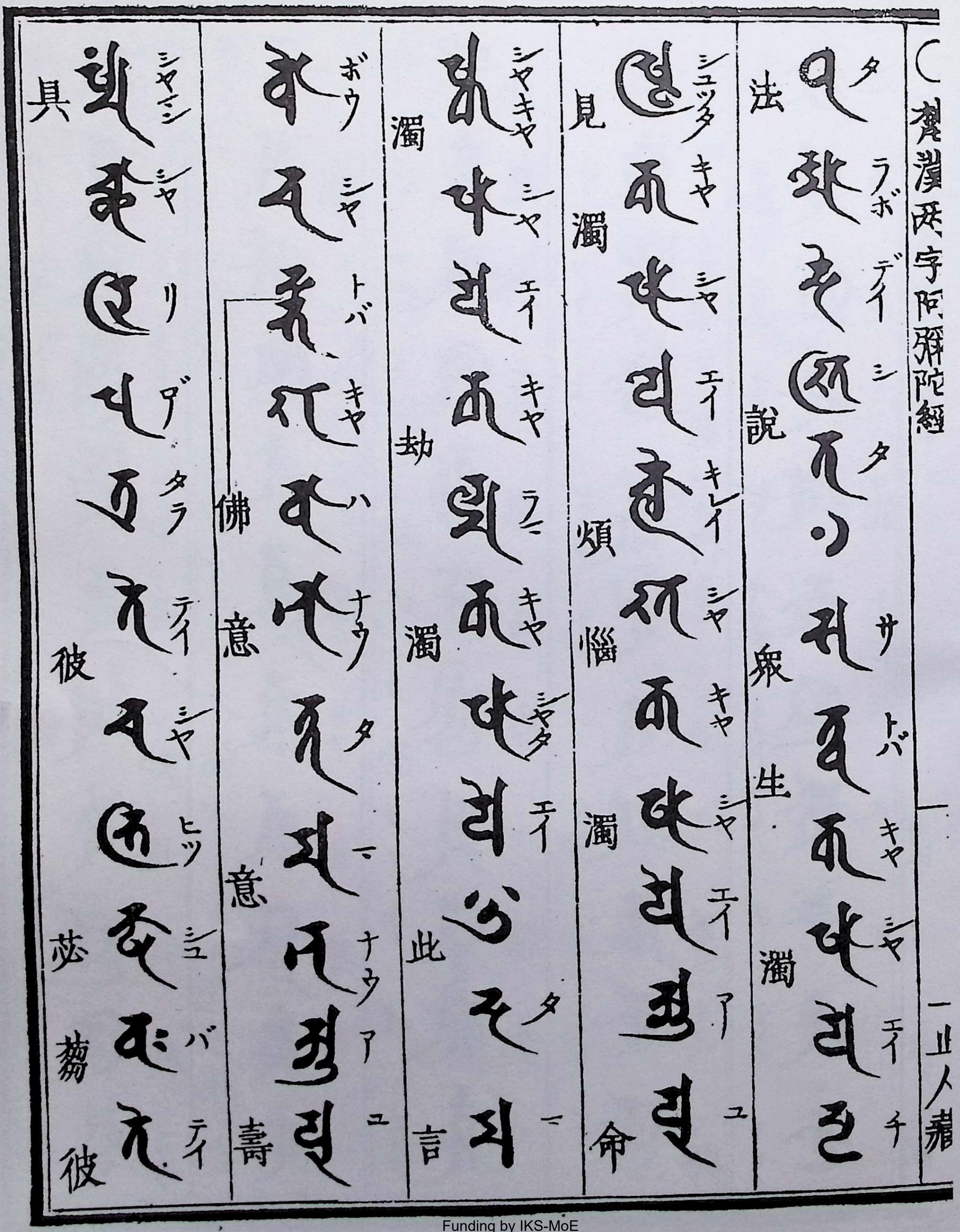
エシ チ ソウ シユ シャキャ ラン バ キャ ハ タ シャ

甚難行世尊釋

キヤ ユ ニ ナウ シャ キャア チ アラ サイ ナウ キリ

迦牟尼能仁王

Funding by IKS-MoE



梵漢兩字阿彌陀經

一止人蔵

タ ラボ デイ シ タ サ トバ キャ シャ エイ チ

法 說 衆生 濁

シュッタ キャ シャ エイ キレイ シャ キャ シャ エイ ア ユ

見 濁 煩 惱 濁 命

シャキャ シャ エイ キャ ラニ キャ シャタ エイ タ ニ

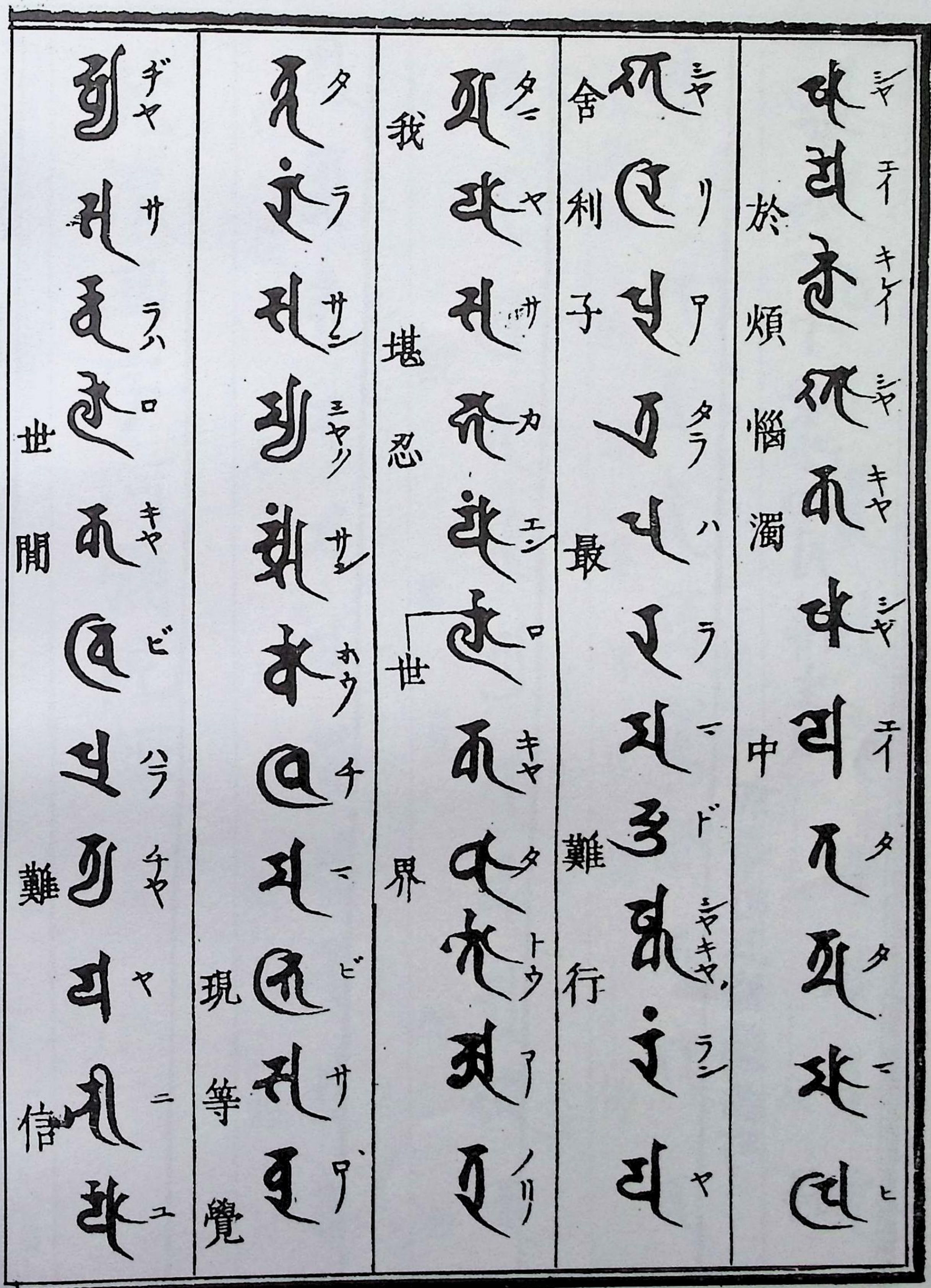
濁 劫 濁 此 言

ボウ シャ トバ キャ ハ ナウ タ ニ ナウ ア ユ

佛 意 意 壽

シャニシ シャ リ ダ タラ テイ シャ ヒツ シュ バ テイ

具 彼 苾 芻 彼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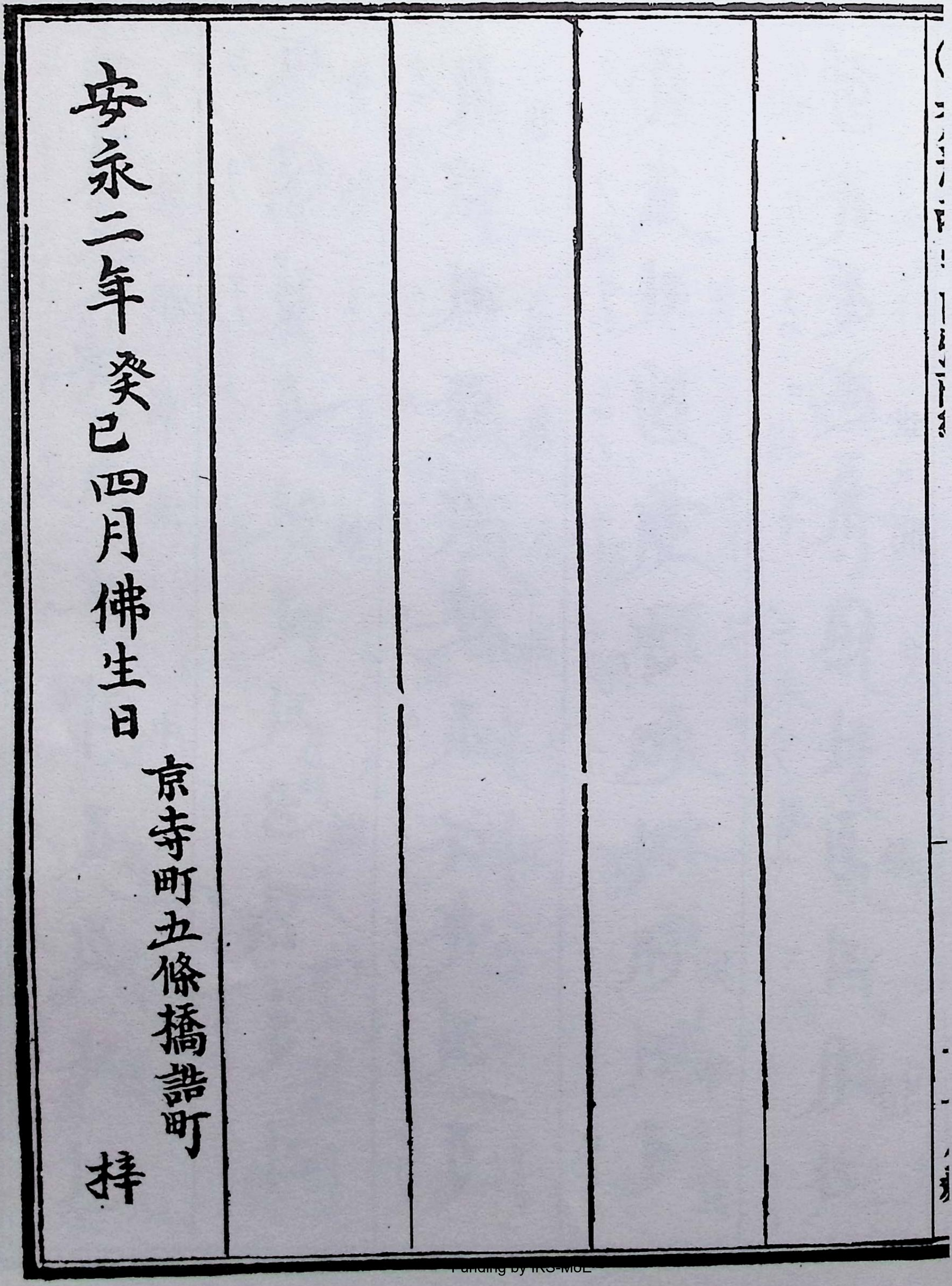

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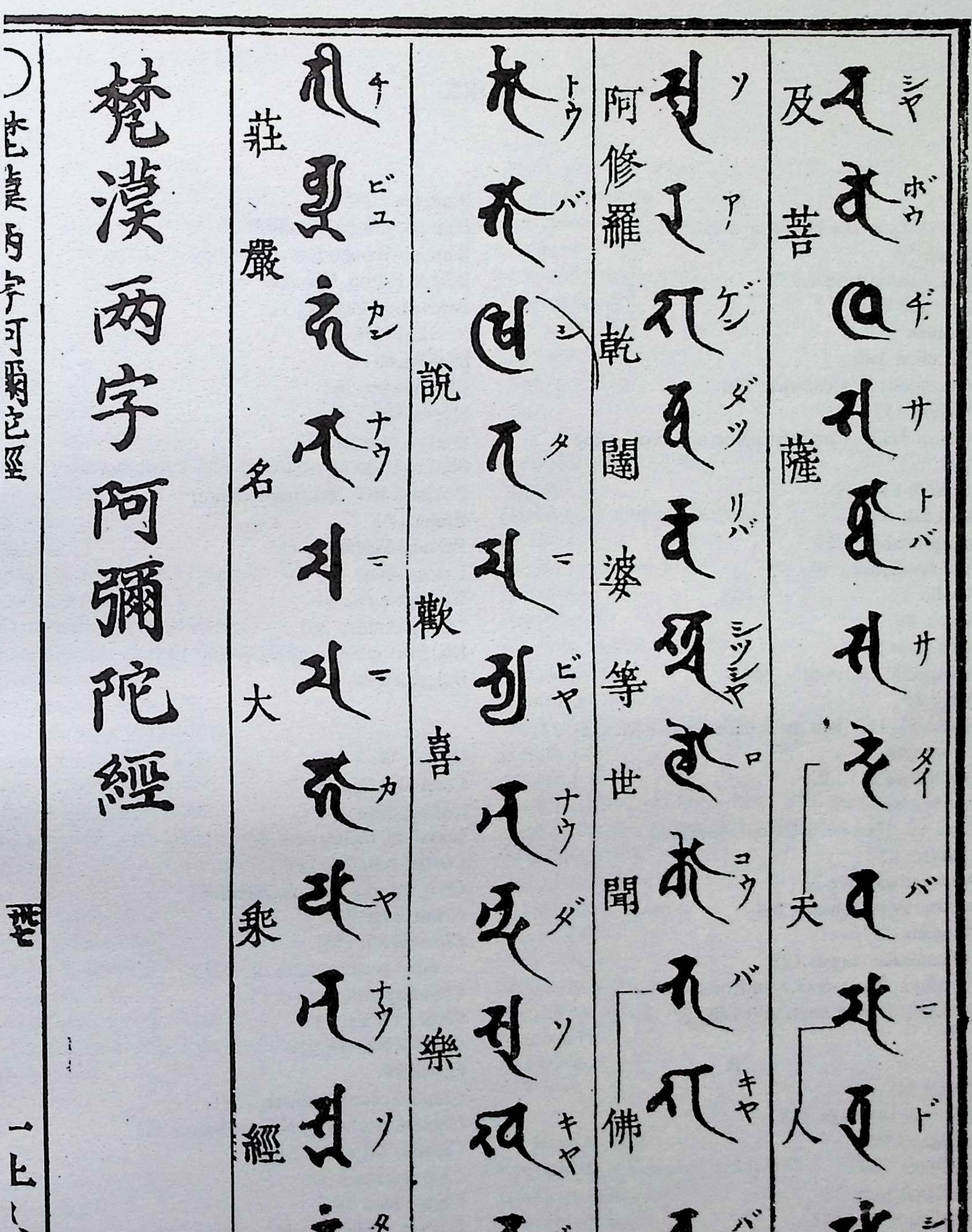

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